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THE

HISTORY OF THE WAR,

FROM THE

ESTABLISHMENT OF LOUIS XVIII.

ON

THE THRONE OF FRANCE,

TO THE

BOMBARDMENT OF ALGIERS;

INCLUDING

A COPIOUS NARRATIVE

OF THE

Battle of Waterloo,

AND OF THE

CONDUCT AND CONVERSATION OF NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE,

WITH

A Copious Description, accompanied by Historical Records,

OF THE

BARBARY STATES IN GENERAL,

AND

ALGIERS IN PARTICULAR.

By HEWSON CLARKE, Esq.
OF EMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

LONDON:

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1817.

HISTORY OF THE WAR

THE

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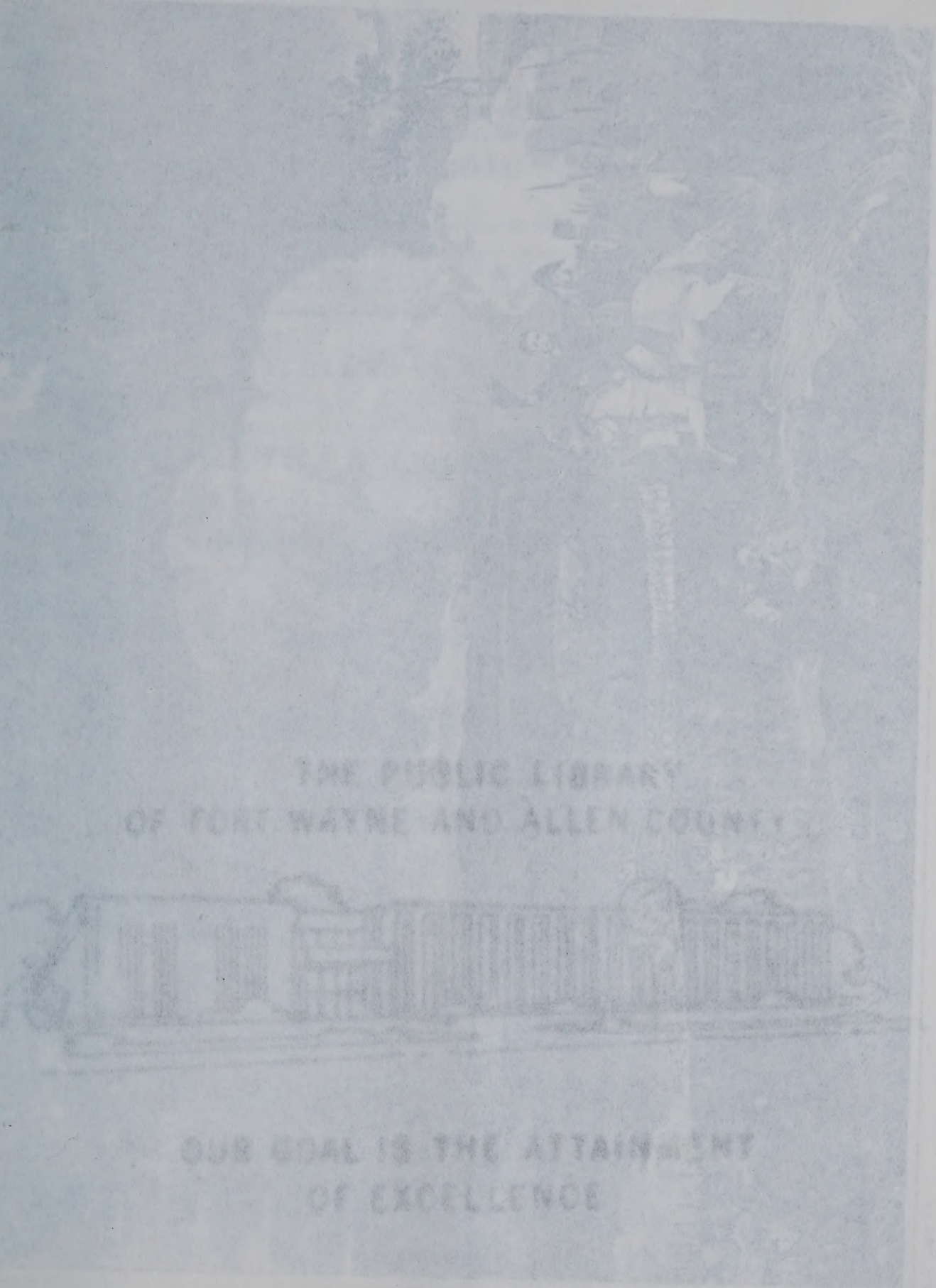
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OF FORT WAYNE AND ALLEN COUNTY
OUR GOAL IS THE ATTAINMENT
OF EXCELLENCE

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PREFACE.

TO notice within the compass of a brief introduction, even the principal events which have convulsed the political world since the commencement of the French revolution, would be a hopeless and unprofitable task. I shall confine myself therefore to a brief review of the circumstances which have preceded, during the last four years, the most awful and astonishing results.

At the period of Napoleon's entrance on the invasion of the Russian empire, he had attained the zenith of his glory, and was nearly master of the continent. Prussia, held completely within his grasp, was compelled to allow her whole military force to be employed in this war against her own independence. Austria agreed to furnish a contingent of thirty thousand men. Fifty thousand men were withdrawn from Spain, the only power which defied the aggressions of Napoleon, and baffled the experience of his generals. These troops, with all that could be spared from the interior of France, from Italy, and from every quarter of Germany, began their march, so that they might reach the Polish frontier at the season for opening the campaign; and by the beginning of June three hundred thousand veteran soldiers, imbued with the ardent love of military glory, and inspired by devotion to the emperor, were assembled to advance on this momentous and formidable expedition. The unfortunate result of the campaign, and the emperor's disastrous retreat, were insufficient to alienate the attachment of his friends, and on his return to Paris he was received with every indication of the most profound respect. His name and presence, still terrible, prevented the slightest indication of disturbance, and he proceeded, without resistance, to thin the population, and collect the resources of France, that he might again contend for the palm of victory. He astonished all Europe by the efforts that he was able to make after the destruction of his veteran armies in the Russian campaign; and the battles of Bautzen and Wurtzen proved that he had not lost those military talents which had so frequently obtained him the most portentous victories. His advance from the Saal to the Oder was a series of hard fought battles against superior numbers, and his best troops gradually melted away. Yet the dread entertained of his military talents by his enemies, and his imposing attitude, obtained him an armistice, which enabled him to augment his resources and renew the contest.

Never, perhaps, in all the records of history, had there occurred a moment so pregnant with mighty events as that which marked the conclusion of the armistice of 1813. The great conqueror of the age could not but perceive that he was about to play a desperate part, and in all probability his last game for the empire of the world. It was now to be determined whether Europe—whether all those regions on which chiefly depended the civilization and improvement of the human race, were to be restored to their native energies, or be sunk in hopeless bondage. The nations were now to make a final struggle for their privileges as citizens, and their birth-right as men; and if such were the interests to be decided, the actors were not less conspicuous. The sovereigns of Europe in suspense whether they should continue to sit on their thrones—her great captains and veteran armies formed by a warfare of twenty years—the flower of her youth drawn from the remotest extremities—all assembled to act their part on this terrible theatre of war;—all that was most illustrious in Europe hastened thither to witness the grand and apparently final decision of the destiny of the world.

The friends of peace and of humanity, confiding in the professions of the allies, beheld with enthusiastic rapture the termination of the battle of Leipsic, and of a dreadful succession of combats, to which the annals of Europe, sanguinary as they are, had never yet pro-

had wished to raise to its level the character of the French, but they were not capable of such a change. The Spaniards too have a character, and they have made a good use of it. I am going to live in an island—all islands must be connected with England—I am an English subject."

For some days his departure was delayed by his illness, and on the morning of the 20th he commenced his journey with lingering reluctance, after a conference with the commissioners, in which he declared, that if arrangements for his personal comfort were not made, he would stay where he was, or go to England. "I have," said he, "30,000 men only—but such men!" As to England, he had been its greatest enemy, but he thought she was too generous not to afford him an asylum. "Sir," replied one of the commissioners, "your majesty not having personally made war in that country, the reconciliation will certainly be less difficult." As the hour of his departure approached, he became more anxious to discover causes of delay. He appeared abstracted, and frequently uttered such phrases as these:—"I have done wrong—Perhaps I have sustained wrong—I am a dead man—It resembles a dream." He frequently shed tears. When an officer arrived to inform him, from marshal Bertrand, that it was now one o'clock, and the carriages were ready, he started, and exclaimed, "This is something new—Has it come to this, that I must be obedient to the watch of a field-marshal." He frequently and sorrowfully exclaimed, "If any one had told me three years ago a hundredth part of the truths I hear to-day, I should still have been upon the throne." During his misfortunes he still preserved his adventurous character, and prepared himself for the last scene of his expiring power. Suddenly assembling his remaining guards, he passed them in review. His features were visibly altered, and tears flowed down his cheeks. The guards awaited his orders in the most profound silence—not a cry of *Vive l'Empereur* was heard. These veteran warriors preserved the appearance of respect, but their souls seemed to be oppressed with sadness. After riding a few paces, he addressed them in a speech replete with his usual energy and animation, and concluded with, "I cannot embrace you all, but I embrace your general. Bring me the eagle." He embraced this also, and proceeded, "Dear eagle! may these kisses resound in the hearts of all my brave soldiers. Adieu! my children!" Having concluded this address, evidently much affected himself, and deeply affecting all who heard him, he stepped into his carriage, and was soon out of the hearing of the cries of "Vive Napoleon," with which the army greeted him. The district through which he was doomed to pass was the only one in which he would have been treated with insult or malignity. As he proceeded southward, the people evinced a malicious disposition, which in his own opinion endangered his life. At one place his effigy, dressed in his uniform, besmeared with blood, and covered with injurious mottoes, was, with the same destitution of feeling, and the same atrocity of character which have uniformly degraded the French people since the murder of Louis, hung so directly in his way, that the legs struck against the front window of his carriage. On more than one occasion he rode in disguise as a courier, wore the white cockade, and was obliged to answer the cries of *Vive le Roi*. The proverbial fickleness and destitution of principle so prevalent in the south of France, justify a suspicion that had Louis, instead of Buonaparte, been retiring to the coast, *his* treatment would have been the same. Sometimes Napoleon changed dresses with the commissioners, and he frequently assumed the name of an English officer. He was followed at a distance by fourteen carriages, and his escort, which he frequently left, employed sixty post horses. On the night of the 28th of April he embarked for St. Rapheau, a short distance from Frejus, in his British majesty's ship the Undaunted; and on the 3d of May landed in form on the island of Elba. At this eventful period our history commences.

HEWSON CLARKE.

February 5th, 1817.

THE

HISTORY OF THE WAR.

CHAPTER I.

Situation of Louis the XVIII. on his Accession to the Throne of France.—State of Parties in that unfortunate Country.—Measures of domestic Economy and foreign Policy.—Influence of the Clergy.—Debates on the Liberty of the Press.—Financial Arrangements.—Regulation of the Prisons.—Discussions on the Slave Trade.—Transactions in St. Domingo—Proclamation of the Emperor of Hayti.

THE situation in which Louis XVIII. was placed on his accession to the throne, required the display of the most splendid talents, and the utmost address and delicacy of demeanour. The natural temperament, however, of the new monarch was inactive and indolent, and he was by no means possessed of that firmness and comprehension of mind which were eminently requisite in the existing emergency. These deficiencies might possibly be supplied by the choice of wise and and prudent ministers, but in the present instance, the task of judicious selection was rendered peculiarly difficult by the claims of the emigrants, and exiled royalists, who naturally expected the largest portion of his countenance and favour. The emigrants were neither remarkable for their talents nor their prudence; and it might be doubted whether the sufferings of the exiled royalists had taught them wisdom. They latter were apt to estimate their services and distresses too highly, and the former dismissed from their recollection the important circumstance, that had they performed their duty as pastors and citizens, at the revolution, and steadily maintained their posts, the progress of crime, sedition and immorality might have been partially arrested, or totally repressed.

It was generally believed and industriously circulated, that Louis was subservient in every political measure, to the influence of the priests. The French indeed during the revolution had fallen back into so deplorable a state of indifference or infidelity, with regard to religion, that a judicious restoration of its rights, and a moderate inculcation of its doctrines, would have been an invaluable blessing to them, and to the world. Their love of military glory, and their ambition of conquest, had been cherished and strengthened by the looseness of their moral and religious principles. A change therefore in favour of the worship and doctrines of christianity, was one of the principal objects to which the attention of the new monarch was directed, but his efforts were rendered more dangerous than effectual by the jealousy of the people, who regarded every regulation in favour of the church and the clergy, as a precursor of the re-establishment of tythes, and the return of ecclesiastical oppression.

[1814.] But there were other difficulties and dangers which surrounded the restored monarch, besides those which had their origin and foundation in his personal character and habits, as contrasted with those of his subjects. He had been restored by the conquests and success of foreign powers, over the French people. Even those who were

THE

HISTORY OF THE WAR.

most weary of the tyranny and oppression of Buonaparte, and most desirous of the accession of the Bourbons, contemplated with a sense of bitter humiliation, the entrance of an invading army into the "sacred capital." It is an extraordinary but an undoubted truth, that the most loyal of the emigrants exulted in the victories of their countrymen, even when they were gained over the allies while the latter were fighting for the restoration of the Bourbons, and by Buonaparte, for whom they entertained a deep and deadly hatred. The influence of military glory in the bosoms of Frenchmen, is paramount to every virtuous, loyal, and honourable feeling.—Their former triumphs in the field of carnage, and their prospects of future conquest and revenge, are the subjects of their nightly dreams, and their daily meditation. It was justly feared, therefore, that the monarch who had been elevated to the throne of France, by the victories of her enemies, would long be regarded in no other light than as a *memento* of national defeat and disgrace, and as the object of feelings directly opposite to respect, or pride, or gratitude.

These unfavourable impressions were confirmed by the reflection that the restoration of the Bourbons was chiefly effected by the ancient and natural enemy of France: by a government which had long and successfully resisted her efforts to obtain the empire of the world, and had finally succeeded in forming the coalition by which her territories were invaded, and her capital besieged. The person of Louis had been protected, and his cause sustained by the British court, when no other state dared to grant him shelter, or acknowledge his pretensions; and his gratitude so far surmounted his discretion, that he awakened all the inflammatory passions of every class of French society, by ascribing his return to the intervention of the Prince Regent.

When Louis XVIII. was called from the retired tranquillity of his residence in England, to experience the dangers and anxieties of a throne, he had forgotten that a great proportion of the inhabitants had been born, or educated, at a period when the Bourbons were considered as pretenders to the crown: as a race of imbecile and sanguinary fugitives, who had fled the kingdom in the moment of danger and alarm, and for a long series of years had endeavoured to redeem the consequences of their own licentiousness and cowardice, by acts of cruel but impotent revenge. He assumed the sovereign powers, unknown to military fame, and incapable, from his infirmities, of leading into the field a nation of warriors, who had long been accustomed to believe that a monarch and a conqueror were synonimous. If he looked around him, the prospect presented half a million of soldiers attached to Buonaparte by the habits of their lives, and by their gratitude to the hero who had led them to conquest and to plunder. To the name of peace they entertained a natural and inveterate aversion, and it was impossible that they could love the individual who had deposed the emperor, and who, in all the qualities requisite to excite their esteem and confidence, was so dissimilar to their favourite.

It might have been supposed that the indulgence granted to France by the allies would have inspired the nation with gratitude, and have conciliated their attachment to a monarch, whose mediation between the confederates and his subjects had preserved his country from all the horrors of revengeful warfare. The provocations experienced by the allies were of a nature to have justified the most sanguine and unlimited retaliation on the capital and provinces of France, and their forbearance presented an honourable contrast to the measures of Napoleon, under circumstances precisely similar. The invaders, after having suffered the greatest degradation from Buonaparte, after they had seen their respective countries desolated by the conqueror, and themselves obliged to bend to his will, become masters of France: the capital of that country is surrounded; their soldiers, who feelingly recollect all the misery to which their own country had been exposed from France—many or most of whom could recal to mind their houses destroyed, and their nearest and dearest relations murdered,—behold Paris before them completely in their power; they pant for vengeance; they expect it from their leaders; it is due not only to their own sufferings, but also,

by the laws and usages of war: to the victories and conquests which they have so gloriously achieved. And yet, under all these circumstances, the allies spare Paris! they enter it not as conquerors, not as avengers of their own wrongs, but as friends! they treat it with as much respect and tenderness as if it had been one of their own capitals. Could such conduct fail to produce its proper impression on the minds of the Parisians, and of Frenchmen in general? The former, in particular, must have dreaded far different conduct; they must have recollected all that the allies had suffered from France, and that the people of Paris were always ready to lend themselves to the most tyrannical acts of Bonaparte's government: they must have recollected these things generally; but a more particular recollection must have dwelt upon their minds, of the recent devastation of a large portion of Russia, and of the conflagration of the ancient capital of that empire; of a capital which was regarded as holy by those soldiers who were now masters of the metropolis of France. What reason, therefore, had they to expect that Paris would be treated in a different manner from Moscow? Certainly, none. What ought therefore to have been their feelings towards the allied powers when Paris was spared; when it was not only spared, but when the hostile armies entered it as friends? And what ought to have been their sentiments towards Louis XVIII. on whose account principally the allies conducted themselves in a manner so unprecedented? Certainly, the allies and Louis had great reason to hope that the inhabitants of France, and Paris in particular, would manifest their gratitude in the mode which would be most acceptable to the former, by becoming loyal, obedient, and peaceful subjects to the latter. This was not much to hope, since it was only expecting that Frenchmen would discover their gratitude for being restored to peace and tranquillity, for being freed from a tyrant, and for having their country and capital spared by the conquerors, on conditions which alone could secure to themselves the blessings which they enjoyed.

But those who were intimately acquainted with the French character, doubted whether these considerations would have their proper effect. In a very short time this volatile and vain nation began to call in question the claims of the allies to regard themselves as the conquerors of France; and when once this fact was doubted, the debt of gratitude was speedily denied. France, they said, had been overrun by treachery; and Paris itself would not have been won, if it had been properly defended. They did not however think proper to recollect, that, even allowing all this to be true, they were not the less indebted to the allies for their clemency: they did not remember, for how many of her victories and conquests France had been indebted to treachery; these things they forgot, and contented themselves with the reflection, that if France had been true to herself she never could have been conquered. As soon as this feeling and belief sprang up, it was evident that the attachment to Louis would be weakened.

To counteract the influence of these unpropitious circumstances, implicit confidence was reposed in the fidelity of Talleyrand. Louis had placed him at the head of the government, with the entire management of the negociations at Vienna.—With respect to the political honesty of Talleyrand great doubts may justly be entertained. He had acceded with equal readiness to the republican form of government at the commencement of the revolution, and afterwards to the despotism of Bonaparte. It must be recorded, however, in justice to his character, that during the latter years of Napoleon's reign he had forfeited the good opinion of his master, by endeavouring to dissuade him from the prosecution of the war in the peninsula. Whether this advice were given from any principle of humanity and virtue, or from a conviction that the attempt to conquer Spain would end in disappointment and disgrace, is of little consequence in the estimation of his merits. He displayed the virtue of intrepidity, and if he be denied the praise of integrity, demands at least the eulogium due to talent and fortitude. No man was so well calculated to conduct the affairs of France in this critical emergency as Talleyrand; cool,

penetrating, and cautious, he could devote his wonderful talents, and unequalled experience to bear on the object which he had in view, without exciting the suspicion of his opponents in council and diplomacy. Two circumstances, however, operated against the policy, otherwise so conspicuous of promoting Talleyrand to his situation: those of the French nation who were still attached to Buonaparte beheld him with dislike, as the betrayer of their only favourite and his former master, while the partizans of the Bourbon family entertained a natural suspicion that his attachment to the new government would only continue while their power remained permanent, and that he would desert them as he had deserted Bonaparte in the time of the greatest need. Waving the consideration of these two circumstances, it could not be doubted that his abilities and experience would enable him essentially to contribute to heal the wounds inflicted by the revolution and by the despotism of Napolean, while, as far as the honour and external relations of the country were involved, he would contribute to raise them as nearly as possible to the level of its former rank and glory.

But the disposition and feelings of the bulk of the French people formed the chief support on which Louis could depend for the permanence of his government. The capital of France no longer retained its ancient influence over the inhabitants of the provinces, and the revolution dividing the estates of the noblesse into possessions of a much more moderate size, and thus increasing the number of those who were desirous of peace, and placing the agricultural tenantry of the kingdom on a more respectable and independant footing, rendered the inhabitants of the country of much more weight and importance. Over these also the revolution had shed much less of its baneful effects, than over the inhabitants of Paris and other large cities: their manners were less frivolous, their morals less corrupt, their understandings and feelings virtuous and intelligent. On this class of people, therefore, Louis might safely rely for support, provided he secured to them their possessions, and that portion of respectability, independence, and liberty which they regarded as their undoubted right.

The commercial and mercantile branches of the population must also have seen their interest in peace. They had suffered long and severely from the anticommercial plans of Buonaparte. Peace, and more especially a peace with England, was expected with impatience and received with gratitude. On these two classes, therefore, the agricultural and commercial, the security and permanence of the government of Louis finally depended.

There was only one other class in France whom it will be necessary to consider with respect to their influence on the government of Louis. Buonaparte had extensively curtailed the power of the clergy, degraded their rank, and reduced their emoluments. His system of discouragement united to the strong and general passion for military rank and glory, and with the indifference to religion produced by the revolution, powerfully operated in diminishing the influence of the priesthood over the people of France. Louis, from his natural disposition and habits, must have been strongly urged to replace the clergy as nearly as possible in the same scale of rank and wealth which they held before the revolution, a measure which would secure in his favour a most powerful body. Many obstacles were opposed to his procedure. A great part of the property of the Church was sold, and could not be restored, and the very intimation that such an object was in view would create the greatest alarm in the breasts of all who had purchased confiscated property. The revenues of the Clergy before the revolution, were in part derived from tithes. To endeavour to reimpose them would be the signal of universal discontent, and might possibly be followed by the re-establishment of feudal oppression. It seemed impossible to restore the clergy to their possessions; yet Louis by his demeanour evinced his anxiety for their political ascendancy and their pecuniary interest. By his evident attachment to the sacred order he certainly gave offence to the Parisians, and his proclamations for the celebration of mass in remembrance of Louis the XVI. and for the strict obser-

vance of the sabbath, if they offended the profane and licentious rabble of the Boulevards, gratified the devout and virtuous inhabitants of the provinces, and contributed by extending the influence of the clergy to the support and stability of the throne.

Considerable gloom and apprehension were excited in Paris by the refusal of Louis to receive the constitution exactly as it had been framed and accepted in his name, by his brother the Count d'Artois. On reflection, however, these feelings subsided; for Louis, though certainly unwilling to grant the extent of liberty demanded, and assuming the title of king by divine permission, was evidently disposed to sanction a degree of public freedom, unknown before or since the revolution.

About the middle of August a body of resolutions was framed under various titles, by which the intercourse between the king and the two legislative chambers was to be carried on. These regulations comprised the form of the constitution, describing the process of legislation, and apportioning its powers.

The most remarkable part of this body of regulations is contained in title 4th; from which it appears that if the king refuses to accede to any request of the chambers, and disapproves of any law presented for his sanction, he must say, *Le roi veut en deliberer.—The king wishes to deliberate on the subject.* But if he refuses his final approbation to a law which has passed the chambers, he is pledged to use the precise form of words prescribed by the British constitution. What follows under titles 5, 6, and 7, relates to matters of form merely, with the exception of the two following articles: That the chambers can never form a junction; nor put forth addresses to the people.

The first discussion of importance respected the liberty of the press, which had been stipulated for in the 8th article of the constitutional charter. On the 6th of July the abbé de Montesquiou and the count de Blacas were introduced into the chamber of deputies, being ordered by the king to present a law on the liberty of the press: this was prefaced by an explanatory speech from the former, of which the following is the outline:

"Gentlemen, the king charges me to present to you the plan of a law relative to the press, in fulfilment of the 8th article of the constitutional charter. The press has rendered such great services to society, it is become of such necessity among civilised nations, that it ought not to be subjected to rigorous restrictions. The king, gentlemen, is not less interested than his subjects in seeing the revival of these services: it is his interest to hear the truth, as it is yours to tell it to him: but it is truth friendly to order, which wisdom always inspires, which calms instead of irritating the passions, and which teaches the people equally to dread oppression and licentiousness.

"The question is simple in itself. The object is so to consecrate the liberty of the press, as to render it useful and durable. That liberty, so often proclaimed in France during the first years of the revolution, became its own greatest enemy. The slave of popular opinion, which it had not time to form, it lent to licentiousness all its force, and could never supply reason with sufficient means of defence. The causes of this existed in the effervescence of the popular passions, in the nation being little accustomed to public affairs, in the facility with which a people were deceived and deluded, still incapable of judging of the writings addressed to them, and of foreseeing their consequences.

"Have these causes now disappeared? Can we flatter ourselves that they will not again come into action? We fear that we cannot: the mute servitude which succeeded the turbulence of the first years of the revolution has not better trained us for liberty: the passions which could not display themselves during that interval would now burst forth fortified by new passions.—What should we oppose to their explosion? Almost as much inexperience, and more of weakness. Reasonable men, disgusted with the long inutility of their efforts, would keep in the back ground, rather than expose themselves in a contest of which they had so often been the victims; interests the most opposite, and sentiments the most exaggerated, would again come into mutual combat, with all that additional violence which would be lent by the bitterness of recollections; the people

still unenlightened as to their interests, still unconfirmed in their sentiments, would follow blindly the impulse which might be given them; and whichever might be the victorious party, it would soon take exclusive possession of the press, to turn it against its adversaries.

"Such is the nature of that liberty, which must have been enjoyed in order to know how to use it: give it all the extent necessary to the nation's learning how to benefit by it; but oppose to it some bounds, that it may be saved from its own excesses."

With regard to the principal provision of the law M. de Montesquiou spoke thus:

"It has been long perceived and acknowledged, that writings of small bulk, which it is easy to circulate with profusion, and which are read with avidity, may immediately disturb the public tranquillity: repressive laws are sufficient against the effects for which the author, perhaps, can only be punished when the mischief has already become too great, not merely to be repaired, but even arrested in its progress. Writings of this sort are, therefore, the only ones against which the law takes precautions beforehand. Every work of ordinary size may be published freely; the king and the nation will have nothing to fear from them; and if the author commit any offence, the tribunals will be in readiness to punish him."

After explaining the other parts of the law, the abbé concluded thus:—

"If we lived at a period when reason, long trained and tried, had a stronger sway than that of the passions; when national interest, clearly understood and strongly felt, had attached to its cause the majority of private interests; when public order, strongly consolidated, no longer feared the attacks of imprudence or folly; then the unlimited liberty of the press would be unattended with danger, and would even present advantages: but our situation is not so happy; our character, even as well as our situation, forbids the establishment of an indefinite liberty. Nature has distributed her gifts among nations as among individuals; the diversity of the institutions has fortified these primitive differences: we have received for our share a vivacity, a mobility of imagination, which require restraint: let us not complain of this; let us not envy a neighbouring nation the enjoyment of advantages of another kind. Ours have procured us enough of happiness and glory, wherewithal to be content: to them we owe that elegance of taste, that delicacy of manners, which is shocked by the least neglect of decorum, and which does not permit us to violate it, without falling at once into the most unbridled licentiousness.

"The king proposes to you nothing that does not appear to him absolutely necessary to the safety of the national institutions, and to the march of government: assist him with your information and your influence; unite with him for the interests of liberty as for those of peace; and you will soon see that liberty unfold itself without storms, amidst the order which you shall have concurred in maintaining."

The projet of the law proposed by the king was divided into two parts: the first respected the publication of works; the second, the superintendance of the press: according to the first, every work of above thirty sheets might be published freely, without previous examination or revision. The same liberty was to be given to all writings in the dead, or in foreign languages;—prayer books, catechisms, &c.; law reports, if they were sanctioned by the names of professional persons; and works of literary or scientific societies established by the king, whatever was the number of the sheets which they contained.—The liberty which was apparently given in this part of the projet, was however in a great measure withdrawn by the proposal that the director-general of the press might ordain, according to circumstances, that all writings of thirty sheets or under should be communicated to him before being printed. The appointment of censors was to be vested in the king; and the director-general was to cause every work to be examined by one or more censors; and if two at least of these conceived the writing to be defamatory or dangerous, or immoral, the director-general might forbid the printing: he was however to be obliged to communicate all the works, or parts of works, suppressed by him, to a committee of both houses, consisting of three peers and three

deputies, with three commissioners appointed by the king; and if the motives of the censors should appear insufficient, the committee might order the printing. *No journals or periodical writings were to appear without the king's authority.* In a country such as Britain, where the inhabitants derive all their knowledge of passing events from the journals, this part of the projet will appear as putting a most effectual barrier to the most essential and valuable part of the liberty of the press. The journals in this country are undoubtedly often mere party publications: they often mislead the public both with regard to the facts which they ought to believe, and the opinions of public men and measures which they ought to entertain; but there can be not the smallest doubt that, if it were not for our journals being entirely independent of the acknowledged and direct control of government, our rulers would be much less cautious than they are in their conduct, and public opinion would have much less weight than it actually has. But there is no country in the world besides our own (with the exception of America) in which government does not interfere too much; to such a degree, indeed, as if they thought the people were incapable of thinking or acting for themselves, or as if they were conscious that their own actions would not bear to be fairly represented and canvassed. In the last clause of that part of the projet which relates to the publication of works, it was proposed that the author and printer may, if they think proper, require the examination of the work previously to sending it to press; and if it should be approved, they are discharged from all further responsibility, excepting as to the claims of injured individuals.

If this part of the projet appears inimical to the liberty of the press, the other part is still more decidedly so: by the first regulation in it, no person can be a printer or bookseller, without the king's license, nor without taking the proper oaths; and the license might be withdrawn on violation of the laws or regulations. All the printing establish ments not properly notified and permitted by the director-general of the press were to be deemed clandestine, and as such were to be destroyed, and the proprietors subject to a fine of 10,000 francs, and six months imprisonment. If notice was not given and a deposit made of the copy of any work, the impression might be seized; and in such case, a fine of 1000 francs for the first offence, and 2000 for the second, was to be levied: if the printer's name and residence were omitted in the title page of any copy of a work, there was to be a fine of 3000 francs; and in the case of the substitution of a false name or address, a fine of double that sum, besides imprisonment. Every bookseller exposing to sale a work without a printer's name, to pay a fine of 2000 francs, which was to be reduced to 1000 upon disclosure of the name. The projet concluded with the proposal that the law should be revised in three years, for the purpose of making the improvements which experience might show to be necessary.

It is scarcely necessary to point out the essential difference between the liberty of the press which this law proposed to establish in France, and that which we enjoy in Britain. It has been often complained that the nature of the libel and law respecting it is very obscure and uncertain; and that the consequences are, that a person does not know whether what he publishes will expose him to the law, or not. This certainly is the case; and the theory as well as the practice of our constitution would be much improved if libel were distinctly defined, so as that it could be known beforehand whether a publication were libellous or not. But even with this imperfection our law respecting the liberty of the press is infinitely preferable to that proposed and adopted in France; since in every respect the cause of truth, and the independence of character and mind of the people are much better secured, where every thing may be published, though the publication leads to danger, than where nothing can be published but what has met the approbation of censors of the press. In the first place, it must be better, as well as safer, to trust to the opinion of a jury of our countrymen (obscure as the law of libel is) than to the opinion of censors: secondly, the most despotic or timid government will be disposed to suffer many publications to go on,

after they are once given to the world, which they would have suppressed had they possessed the means before they were printed. But the chief consideration in estimating the advantages of the two modes is, that in a country where every work is permitted to be published, the public at large can judge whether, if punishment be inflicted, that punishment is deserved; whereas, where publications are suppressed, the public cannot know whether the suppression takes place because they are beneficial to society and hurtful only to the ruling powers, or because they are really injurious to the community. In short, where free discussion is not permitted, there cannot be that controul of public opinion over governments which there ought to be, both for the real interests of the governors and the governed; nor can there exist in the public mind that calmness and comprehension with respect to their duties as well as their rights, which will always constitute the most effectual guard against sudden and violent revolutions.

The only other subject of debate, not connected with the political economy of France, related to the unsold estates of the emigrants. One of the greatest safeguards of the throne of Louis arose from his declaration that property should be respected; but while this declaration was highly satisfactory to those who had purchased estates, it was of course distressing and unpopular to the emigrants. They naturally expected that on the restoration of Louis they should regain their property; this object, however, could not be accomplished to its full extent; and even the proposal to restore the unsold estates created great alarm, as it was mistaken for a preliminary step to a further and more important innovation, that of restoring *all* the estates of the emigrants.

The law for restoring the unsold estates of the emigrants passed the chamber of deputies by a large majority. It was then carried up to the chamber of peers, where it passed by a majority of 100 to 3. The Duke of Tarentum pronounced on this occasion a discourse which had a great effect. At the close of his speech he announced his intention of proposing, on an early day, a *projet* of a law to be submitted to the king, granting life annuities to those of the emigrants who had been left unprovided by the sale of their estates. "According," said he, "to the calculations whsch I shall have the honour to lay before the chamber, the funds necessary for these annuities will add but little to the burdens of the public; while this measure, so just and politic, will at the same time compensate those who have lost their all, and dissipate the apprehensions of the fair purchasers of the estates sold as national property."

It was usual during the dominion of Buonaparte for the minister of the interior to lay before the senate and legislative body an exposé of the state of France. Besides the exaggeration which these exposés obtained, they dwelt with great pomp and ostentation of detail on particular improvements in architecture and commerce of the most trifling nature. Soon after the accession of Louis a similar exposé of the state of France was laid before the two chambers, and furnishes much important and interesting information respecting the state of the empire at this momentous crisis.

It was read by the abbé de Montesquiou, minister of the interior, occupied 11 columns of the Moniteur, and draws a deplorable picture of the state of France. The following is an abstract of its contents.

His majesty, on assuming the reins of government, was desirous to make known to his people the state in which he found France. The cause of the misfortunes which broke down our country has disappeared; but its effects remain; and for a long time further, under a government which will devote itself solely to reparation, France will suffer under the wounds inflicted by a government which gave itself up to the business of destruction. It is necessary, therefore, that the nation should be informed of the extent and the cause of its misfortunes, in order to be able to set a due value upon, and to second the cares which are to soothe and retrieve them. Thus enlightened upon the extent and nature of the mischief, it will in future be required only to participate in the labours and exertions of the king, to re-establish what has been destroyed not by him, to heal wounds not inflicted by him, and to repair wrongs to

which he is a stranger. War, without doubt, has been the principal cause of the ills of France. History presented not any example of a great nation incessantly precipitated against its will into enterprises constantly increasing in hazard and distress. The world has now seen, with astonishment, mingled with terror, a civilized people compelled to exchange its happiness and repose for the wandering life of barbarous hordes; the ties of families have been broken; fathers have grown old far from their children; and children have been hurried off to die 400 leagues from their fathers. No hope of return soothed this frightful separation; habit had caused it to be regarded as eternal; and the peasants of Brittany, after conducting their sons to the place of separation, have been seen to return to their churches to put up for them by anticipation the prayers for the dead!

It is impossible to estimate the horrible consumption of men by the late government; fatigue and sickness carried off as many as battle; the enterprises were so vast and so rapid, that every thing was sacrificed to the desire of ensuring success; there was no regularity in the service of the hospitals—none in providing subsistence on the marches; the brave soldiers whose valour constituted the glory of France, and who gave incessantly new proofs of their energy and patience, sustaining the national honour with so much brilliancy, saw themselves deserted amidst their sufferings, and abandoned, without resource, to calamities which they were unable to support. The goodness of the French was insufficient to supply this cruel negligence; and levies of men, which, under other circumstances would have formed great armies, disappeared in this manner without taking part in any engagement. Hence arose the necessity of multiplying levies without number, to replace incessantly by new armies the almost total annihilation of the armies preceding. The amount of the calls ordered since the end of the Russian campaign is frightful—

11th January, 1813	350,000
3d April—Guards of honour	10,000
1st battal. of national guards	80,000
Guards for the coasts	90,000
24th August.—Army of Spain	30,000
9th Oct.—Conscription of 1814, and preceding years	120,000
Conscription of 1815	160,000
15th Nov.—Recall of years 1811 to 1814	300,000
January 1813—Officers of cavalry equipped	17,000
1814—Levies en masse organized	143,000
	1,300,000

Fortunately, these last levies could not be fully executed. The war had not time to cut off all those who had joined the standards. But this simple statement of the requisitions, enforced on the population during an interval of from 14 to 15 months, suffices to give an idea what the losses of the nation must have been during the last 22 years. Many causes contributed, however, to repair these losses; the improvement of the condition of the country by the division of the great landed properties, the equal distribution of inheritances, and the progress of vaccination, were the most powerful. It was by means of the influence of these causes, and by exaggerating their success, that efforts were made to hide from the nation the extent of its sacrifices. The greater the number of men that were snatched away from France, the more studiously was it endeavoured to prove that she courted this frightful destruction.—But, even if the accounts placed under view had been correct, the only result would have been, that the number of births should cause the number of deaths to be regarded with indifference! But another argument was, to point out in the conscription itself a source of increasing population—an impure source which introduced disorder and immorality into marriages concluded with precipitation and imprudence. Hence a multitude of unfortunate families, of ridiculous or indecent connexions; so that many men, of the lower orders of the people, soon become weary of what they had embraced only to shelter themselves from the conscription, threw themselves once more in the way of the dangers they had sought to avoid, and offered themselves as substitutes, to escape misery which they had not foreseen, or to break ties so ill assorted.

How could they, besides, overlook the re-

flection, that although, by multiplying these deplorable marriages, the conscription should have increased the number of births, it took annually away from France a great number of those full-grown men, who constitute the real strength of a nation? The facts prove clearly the truth of so natural a consequence. The population under the age of 20 years fell off, but increased above that age. Thus, while the government attacked the sources of the national prosperity, it displayed incessantly in pompous array those remnants of resource that maintained a struggle against its wasteful measures; it studied to conceal the evil which it did, under the good, not of its production, which was yet undestroyed. Master of a country where long labours had amassed great treasures, where civilization had made the happiest progress, where industry and commerce had for the 60 previous years made a wonderful spring; it seized all the fruits of the industry of so many generations, and of the experience of so many ages, at one time to promote its lamentable designs, and at another to cover the sad waste of its influence. The simple account of the present state of the realm will immediately exhibit the inherent prosperity of the nation struggling against a destroying principle, incessantly attacked, often struck with terrible wounds, and perpetually drawing from itself resources always insufficient.

Under the head of agriculture the prospect is more flattering. The cultivation of land and the breeding of cattle have of late years been better understood. The proprietors of vineyards have suffered dreadfully, however, under the continental system. In the south, many vineyards have been rooted up. The attempts to breed Merinos have totally failed; and the breed of sheep has been deteriorated, by attempting to force the Merino cross into too hasty and unsuccessful use. The breed of horses, until the fatal years 1812 and 1813, was also excellent, and afforded a numerous cavalry. The loss in a few months, in these years, amounted to 230,000 horses, to be replaced at an expense of 105,200,000 francs. The stock was, of course, exhausted. Every horse cost the government at the rate of 400 to 460 francs—about 20*l.* sterling.

The mines in France have very sensibly increased. Our territory now presents 478 mines of every different kind now working, which employ 17,000 workmen, and produce to France a raw material to the value of 26,800,000 francs, and to the state a revenue of 251,000 francs. This revenue has been applied to the payment of the administration of the mines. But this particular fund, which on the 1st of Jan. last amounted to 700,000 francs, has been employed by the government in defraying the expenses of the war. Yet in the midst of these continual vexations, this changeable and tyrannical legislation, our fields have been cultivated, our mines worked, and our flocks even preserved and ameliorated. Certainly nothing more evidently proves the industry of our nation, and its happy disposition for the first of all the arts, than the progress of its agriculture under an oppressive government.

Our cotton manufactures are stated to employ 400,000 persons, and a capital of 100 millions. Those of Rouen have already considerably revived. The linen manufactures of Laval and Bretagne suffered much by the war with Spain, where they found their principal market. Those of silk experienced the same fate. Their produce also passed through Spain to America and the colonies; but that channel was soon closed; Italy alone remained for them. But what may we not hope to gain by the renewal of our communications with all Europe?

In 1787 the manufactures at Lyons kept at work 15,000 looms; during the late war that number was reduced to 8000; but Lyons has already received considerable orders, and promises to regain its former prosperity. The manufactures of woollens, leather, &c. suffered in an equal degree, from the fatal influence of the continental system, the absurdity of which they strikingly evinced.

Commerce, subject as it was to the caprices of government, and shackled in all its proceedings, suffered immense losses; and the system of licences ruined and discouraged a great number of merchants, by raising hopes that were destroyed in a moment by the will which had fostered them. A long peace, and stable and liberal laws, can alone inspire mer-

cantile men with sufficient confidence to embark without apprehension in their useful pursuits.

The public exchequer suffered in an equal degree, and it was difficult to meet the expenditure in spite of the contributions. The budget of the minister of the interior for 1812 amounted to 150 millions, and in 1813 to 140 millions, of which the exchequer never contributed more than from 58 to 60 millions, the surplus being raised by special duties and imposts.

The public works have produced some movements of real utility; but most of them originated solely in vain ostentation. The roads were neglected, and the sums destined for their repair were diverted to other purposes. The canals are in a better state, but the works far from finished. That of Burgundy, which has already cost 12 millions, will require five more; and that of the Ouraq, undertaken on too expensive a scale, will yet want at least 13 millions. The works for the embellishment of the capital, though of a less useful description, will not be abandoned; the total expense of them is estimated at 53,500,000 francs, and more than 24 millions have already been laid out on them. All these objects fall under the superintendance of the minister of the interior, the arrears of whose department are not yet ascertained, but are computed at from 40 to 50 millions.

As to the department of the minister at war, it exhibits, especially for the last three campaigns, a real chaos. On the 1st of May last, the land forces of France amounted to 520,000 men, exclusively of 122,597 retired, or on half-pay, and 160,000 prisoners returning from foreign countries. The war of 1812 and 1813 destroyed, in artillery and ammunition, a capital of 250 millions; and the fortified places in the countries ceded by France had, since 1804, cost her 115 millions. The expenditure of this department would amount, according to the scale of last year, to 740 millions.

The navy has for 14 years been weakened by the very means which have been used to give it the appearance of strength. The government considered our seamen as merely recruits for the land forces—a system which has led to the annihilation of the population of our coasts, and the complete exhaustion of our arsenals. The remonstrances of the most enlightened men, and of the most experienced mariners, and the evidence of facts, were incapable of checking those foolish enterprises, those violent measures, which belonged to a plan of domination oppressive in all its parts. Thus, in 1804, the projected invasion of England was pompously announced. Ports which had never yet been entered, except by fishing-boats and packets, were immediately converted into vast maritime arsenals; immense works were commenced on a beach which the winds and tides were incessantly covering with sand; forts, batteries, magazines, workshops, were erected; thousands of ships were built and bought up on all the coasts of the ocean, and in the interior of the rivers, without considering how they should go to the place of rendezvous; Paris itself saw a dock-yard formed within its walls; and the most valuable materials were employed in the construction of these vessels, which were not even fit for their destination.

And what now remains of all these armaments? The wrecks of some of the vessels, and accounts, which prove that for the successive creation and destruction of this monstrous and useless flotilla, upwards of 150 millions have been sacrificed since 1803.—All our arsenals are completely dilapidated. The immense naval stores collected by Louis XVI. are squandered, and during the last fifteen years France has lost, in ill-judged expeditions, 43 ships of the line, 82 frigates, 76 corvettes, and 62 transports and packets, which could not be replaced at an expence of 200 millions. As the arsenals were neglected, so the ships also were stripped of real seamen, whose places were supplied with conscripts, while they themselves received the organization of regiments of the line, and lost in camps their professional habits and attachments.

In respect to finances it resulted that the improvidence of the late rulers of France has produced during the last 13 years, a deficit of 1,645,469,000 francs (about 66,800,000*l.*) Public morals have been neglected, the best institutions have been corrupted, every bad passion has been stimulated, and there exists a general selfishness and egotism. Such was

the dark and gloomy picture drawn by the minister of the interior. This report was succeeded by a message to the chamber of deputies on the subject of national schools. During the time of Buonaparte, almost all the schools in France, at least those which were most patronized by government, were entirely confined to a military education: instruction in the duties of civil life, and of society, as well as in religion, was entirely neglected. Perhaps Louis might have benefited the rising generation much more effectually than by the establishment of ecclesiastical schools. Indeed here in England, where the people do every thing of this kind, and the government nothing, we are apt to consider the interference of government as objectionable in many respects; but in France, where the government has long been in the habit of regulating and interfering in cases where the public mind, if it were independent and enlightened, would act for itself, the case is very different; and we ought to consider the endeavour of Louis for the establishment of ecclesiastical schools, with reference to the habits and opinions prevalent in France. In this view, it was undoubtedly well calculated to supply that country with a well regulated priesthood, and repress the growing irreligion. The protestants, also, were not wanting in their endeavours to restore to France the blessings of morality and religion; and as they now can publicly profess and defend their tenets, much good may be expected.

Another ordinance of Louis was much less objectionable, and at the same time equally necessary: this related to the regulation of the prisons in such a manner as might correct the vicious habits of criminals condemned by the sentence of the tribunals, and prepare them, by order, labour, and moral and religious instruction, to return peaceful and useful members of society, when their periods of imprisonment were terminated. For the purpose of effecting this desirable end, all prisoners condemned for crimes, under 20 years of age, were directed to be collected together in one prison, to be called The Prison of Experiment; the director of which was to be charged with the superintendance of its police, and of the labour and instruction deemed necessary for the reform of the criminals; an assistant and six inspectors to be placed under him: these different offices to be gratuitous. The minister of the interior to make a report every month of the state of the prison; and besides that, a commission, composed of a counsellor of state and two masters of request, and another composed of three members of the court of session, to visit it twice a year, and to give in the result of their observations on all the details of its management and effects; the director-general to furnish them with all the requisite aid and information; and also, at the end of each year, to give a moral and detailed account of the state of the prison, and an account of the receipts and expenses: this account, after it had been verified and approved by the minister of the interior, to be laid before the king and the public. This wise and salutary plan seems to have originated with one of the most enlightened and benevolent men in France, the duke de la Rochefoucault, who was appointed director-general of The Prison of Experiment.

In this, as well as in most of the other plans and measures of the new government, there is one feature which deserves particular notice; we allude to the express declaration, that the public should be informed of the effects of all these plans and measures: a proof that the new government considered the people of France of much more consequence than they were ever considered before.

Still, however, notwithstanding the peaceable disposition of Louis, there were in France too many restless spirits, and too great a fondness for national glory:—the consequence was, that the hope of regaining, at least, part of what he had been obliged to give up by the peace of Paris, still animated the public mind. This feeling was so strong and powerful, that it overcame the sense of justice and humanity. By the treaty of Paris, the French were to be permitted to carry on the slave trade for a certain number of years: This clause gave great offence, and excited indignation in England; to such a degree, that the Prince Regent gave instructions to lord Castlereagh, his minister at the congress of Vienna, to endeavour to put a stop to this nefarious traffic immedi-

ately. The French ascribed this feeling of the English entirely to interested motives; and thought, if they could fix this imputation upon us, they justified their own continuance of the slave trade. They had, however, other arguments which they adduced; the islands which were to be restored to them were not adequately supplied with negroes; and therefore they wished for the continuance of the trade only till that supply could be obtained. They also looked forward to the conquest of St. Domingo, where Christophe had issued the subjoined admirable proclamation:

"Solicitous to adopt every means for recovering our internal prosperity, at all times attentively observing the events that passed in Europe during the bloody struggle supported there, we never for a single instant lost sight of our military system of defence.

"In that attitude we expected that Buonaparte, the enemy of the world, would attack us, either by force of arms, or by perfidy—his accustomed means. We have not forgot that, after the peace of Amiens, his first object was to enter on that famous expedition for our extermination.

"But the God of armies, who raises and overturns thrones according to his will, did not, in his justice, consent that this oppressor of nations should accomplish his horrible design. We hope that his fall will give repose to the world,—we hope that the return of those liberal and re-animating sentiments which influence the European powers, will induce them to acknowledge the independence of a people who require only the enjoyment of peace and commerce, the object of all civilized nations.

"It will be in vain to attempt again, by means of force or seduction, to reduce us under a foreign dominion. The absurd maxim of deceiving men in order to govern them is no longer dangerous to us. Taught by experience, we have acquired the aid of truth, of reason, and of force. We shall no longer be the victims of credulity; we cannot forget that attempts have already been made to take away our liberty. The painful recollection of the horrible punishments which precipitated into the grave our fathers, our mothers, and children, will never be effaced from our minds.

"We can never again be deceived: we know the perverseness of our enemies: we have before our eyes the projects of those men named Malouet, Barri de Saint Venant, Pages, Bruiley, and other colonists. The political religion of those traffickers in human flesh—of those counsellors of misfortunes—is well known to us:—it is slavery and destruction. We are not ignorant of the criminal plots, the shameful measures of those apostles of criminality and falsehood; they are even more distinguished by their writings than by the tortures they inflicted on us.

"We call upon all the sovereigns of the world, we call upon the brave and loyal British nation, which was the first, in its august senate, to proclaim the abolition of the infamous trade in blacks; and which, making a noble use of the ascendency of victory, notified its resolution to the other states with which it concluded treaties: we call upon all philanthropists, upon all men, and upon the whole world, and ask what people, after 25 years of conflicts, and after having conquered their liberty and their independence, would consent to lay down their arms, for the purpose of again becoming the sport and the victims of their cruel oppressors? The last of the Haytians will yield up his last sigh sooner than renounce his independence.

"We will not do any power the injustice of supposing that it entertains the chimerical project of establishing its sway in Hayti by force of arms. The power that would undertake such an enterprise would have to march for a long time over ruins and dead bodies; and after having wasted all its means, if it could attain its object, what advantage would it derive from the loss of so much blood and treasure? It is not presumptuous to suppose that his majesty Louis XVIII. following the impulse of that philanthropic spirit that reigns in his family, after the example of his unfortunate brother Louis XVI. in his political conduct towards the United States of America, will imitate that monarch in acknowledging the independence of Hayti. This would not only be an act of justice, but a reparation of the evils which we have suffered from the French government.

"It is in vain that our calumniators shall dare again to allege that we should not be considered as a people aspiring to independence, and collectively employed in the means of attaining it. This absurd assertion, invented by perfidy, wickedness, and the sordid interests of slave traders, deserves the profoundest contempt and indignation of men of property in all countries. This assertion has been sufficiently falsified during eleven years of independence, and its happy results. Free in point of right, and independent in fact, we will never renounce these blessings; we will never consent to behold the destruction of that edifice which we have cemented with our blood, until we are buried under its ruins.

"We offer to commercial powers, who shall enter into relations with us, our friendship, security to their property, and our royal protection to their peaceable subjects, who shall come to our country with the intention of carrying on their commercial affairs, and who shall conform to our laws and usages.

"The king of a free people, a soldier by habit, we fear no war or enemy. We have already signified our determination not to interfere in any way in the internal government of our neighbours. We wish to enjoy peace and tranquillity among ourselves, and to exert the same prerogatives which other people have, of making laws for themselves. If, after the free exposition of our sentiments, and the justice of our cause, any power should, contrary to the laws of nations, place a hostile fort in our territory, then our first duty will be to repel such an act of aggression by every means in our power.

"We solemnly declare that we will never consent to any treaty, or any condition, that shall compromise the honour, the liberty, and independence of the Haytian people. Faithful to our oath, we will rather bury ourselves under the ruins of our country, than suffer our political rights to sustain the slightest injury.

"Given in our palace of Sans Souci, the 18th of September 1814, eleventh year of independence, and the fourth of our reign.

(Signed) HENRY.

"By the king, the secretary of state, minister for foreign affairs,

Count de LIMONADE."

CHAP. II.

Fickleness and uncertainty of the English temper.—Dissension in the Royal Family.—Exclusion of the Princess from the drawing-room.—Elopement of the Princess Charlotte.—Parliamentary grant to her mother.—Speculations on the life of Buonaparte.—Conspiracy to raise the price of Omnium.—Trial and sentence of Lord Cochrane and his supposed co-adjutors.—His spirited defence in parliament.—Honours and rewards paid to Lord Wellington.—He is created a Duke, and receives from parliament a grant of half a million.—His reception in the House of Commons.

IT has been frequently and justly remarked, that the people of this country are easily roused to the vehement expression of their sentiments, and that their enthusiasm as easily subsides. Their first emotions of anger or indignation on any political question are so violent, that a stranger might suppose some overwhelming commotion was at hand, but the lapse of a few weeks, on the occurrence of some trivial event, diverts the populace from the recent object of their resentment; and every former grievance is forgot-

ten in the contemplation of some new subject of complaint or curiosity. The restoration to power of the Duke of York presented a singular example of that fickle and uncertain temper to which I have alluded. The agitation of the public mind previous to his dismissal, was so great and general, that many symptoms of determined dissatisfaction made their appearance, but his recall to the duties of his important office was beheld with indifference. The case of Walcheren is still more in point. In the expedition to that place more circumstances had conspired to disappoint, irritate, and inflame the public mind, than had ever been united in one single enterprize; and its failure excited a very general and strong displeasure among the people. Yet, while the investigation was proceeding in the House of Commons, the case of Sir Francis Burdett occurred, and gave rise to a still more ardent degree of irritation, which was itself lost in other causes of popular complaint. In the sympathy excited by the wrongs of the Princess of Wales, feelings were enlisted which could not enter into any of the former cases. She was a woman and a stranger; the mother of the heiress to the throne: she had been, in the opinion of the nation, most grossly calumniated; and this calumny her husband rather encouraged than repelled. Sentiments arising from these causes were blended with motives of a public nature, and her advocates declared that they should not cease their exertions till her traducers had been punished, and she herself had been restored to the protection and favour of her husband. Certainly neither of these events took place. A reluctant and indecisive acknowledgment of the innocence of the Princess was indeed given in Parliament by the ministers of his Royal Highness, but the injuries which she still experienced proved that this acknowledgment did not receive an echo in the Prince Regent's breast. Yet long before the close of 1813 the Princess was forgotten; even the fresh indignities she endured in the early part of the present year, produced only a feeble and partial rising of public interest in her favour; and that interest was divided with the astonishment and curiosity excited by the delinquency of Lord Cochrane. The indiscretion of the Prince Regent, however, revived the attachment and the indignation of the people. A short time previous to the arrival of the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia in this country, when, of course, it was to be expected that the levies and drawing rooms would be unusually splendid, the Princess of Wales received a letter from the Queen, in which her Majesty stated that she considered it "her duty to lose no time in acquainting the Princess of Wales, that she had received a communication from her son the Prince Regent, in which he declared that he considered his presence at his own court indispensible, and desired it might be distinctly understood, for reasons of which he alone could be the judge, to be his fixed and unalterable determination not to meet the Princess of Wales on any occasion, public or private." The Queen added, that she was thus placed under the painful necessity of intimating to the Princess of Wales the impossibility of receiving her Royal Highness at her drawing-room.

To this letter the Princess of Wales replied, by recalling to the recollection of her Majesty the affectionate regard with which she had been honoured by the King, who had bestowed upon her the most gratifying and unequivocal proofs of his attachment and approbation, by publicly receiving her at court, at a season of severe and unmerited affliction, when his protection was most necessary. She was now without appeal or protection; she could not so far forget her duty to the king and to herself as to surrender her right to appear at any drawing-room to be held by her Majesty; yet, that she might not add to the difficulty and uneasiness of her Majesty's situation, she yielded in the present instance to the will of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. A letter was at the same time transmitted to the Prince Regent, in which she represented the peculiar hardship of her case, in being treated with this new and unprovoked indignity, at the moment when many illustrious strangers had arrived in England, on the eve of her daughter's nuptials, and amidst the general rejoicing of the people. She reminded the Prince that a time might possibly arrive when, in the event of a coronation, she must appear

in public along with his Royal Highness.—No notice being taken of this letter, she addressed a statement to the speaker of the House of Commons, in which she explained the nature of the wrongs she had sustained, and inclosed copies of the communication between her Majesty and herself. The debates which ensued were attended by no other result than a pecuniary addition to her establishment, to be partly paid from the public purse, and partly from the coffers of the Prince Regent. It was generously proposed by Lord Castlereagh that 50,000*l.* per annum should be granted from the consolidated fund, to be replaced by future arrangements, but at the request of the Princess herself the sum was afterwards reduced to 35,000*l.* a year.

In the parliamentary discussions respecting the conduct of the Princess of Wales, it was vehemently contended that neither the nation at large nor the legislative bodies ought to interfere on so delicate a topic: that a quarrel between man and wife was above the reach of public interference; and that an officious invasion of the privacy of domestic life would only exasperate the feelings of the respective parties. It was forgotten by the enemies of public interference, that the object of those who supported the Princess was not the reconciliation of the two parties, for that was impossible, but to induce the Regent to change his treatment of the Princess, and to allow her to intermix in those circles to which her rank, as his consort, gave her an undisputed title. Nor can the Prince and Princess of Wales be regarded as private persons. Their private demeanour has a decisive and visible influence on their public conduct, and their indiscretions and infidelities may frequently affect the stability and even the *inheritance* of kingdoms.

A striking testimony of the evils occasioned by such dissensions was presented in the behaviour of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, who took a decided part in the dispute between her mother and the Regent. This young Princess had been educated chiefly in retirement, and regarded the injuries of her parents with an enthusiasm more indicative of native and amiable feeling, than of her proficiency in the intrigue and hypocrisy of courts. It was determined therefore to repress her spirit of independence, and extend her knowledge of mankind by a matrimonial connection with one of the Princes of the continent The person selected was the young Prince of Orange; he was recommended by the length of his residence in England, by his education at an English university, and by the connection between his family and that of Brunswick He was likewise favourably known by the courage which he had displayed in the campaign of the Peninsula, under Lord Wellington. It never appeared, however, that he was very acceptable to the Princess Charlotte of Wales; but as mutual attachment is seldom deemed a requisite in royal marriages, it was imagined that the union would take place, notwithstanding any indifference or repugnance on her side. The real objection of the Princess to her intended husband have never been perfectly understood: she certainly expressed a strong unwillingness to leave the country, especially at a time when her mother required her countenance and consolation.—This objection it was endeavoured to remove, by promising that her absence should be by no means permanent, and that after her visit she should never be required to return to Holland. In these conditions the Princess appeared to acquiesce, and the marriage settlements were prepared. Suddenly, however, her Royal Highness expressed doubts as to the promised security that she should not be compelled to reside longer than she wished in Holland, and demanded that a clause should be inserted in the marriage contract, prohibiting her from quitting the kingdom on any account, or for any time, however short. To this the Prince of Orange could not consent, as the Dutch had already engaged him to obtain a complimentary visit from the exalted female with whom it was expected that he would form a matrimonial connection.

Obstacles of this description might have been easily removed, but the affections of the Princess were already pre-occupied. In the suite of the exalted visitors who now honoured the court and the metropolis of England by their presence, the third son of

the Prince of Saxe Cobourg was peculiarly distinguished by the symmetry of his person, and the elegance of his deportment. He was regarded by the Princess Charlotte with no unapproving eye, and was received in the private circles of the Queen with unusual courtesy. As the Prince Regent was unsuspicious of the real cause by which his daughter was influenced in the rejection of the Prince of Orange, her obstinacy was ascribed to the influence of her attendants, and they were all dismissed. The Prince, accompanied by the bishop of Salisbury, proceeded to Warwick House, the residence of the Princess Charlotte, upbraided her Royal Highness with her late undutiful demeanour, and instructed the persons who had just been placed in attendance to watch her conduct with the strictest scrutiny. While they were thus employed the Princess took an opportunity to descend the back stair-case, left the house in a private manner, entered a hackney coach, and sought refuge with her mother. She was, however, induced the next day to return, and was immediately removed from Warwick House to Carlton House, the mansion of her father.

In consequence of this transaction the Duke of Sussex, in the House of Lords, put several questions to the Earl of Liverpool, as prime minister, respecting the communication of the Princess with her friends, since her residence in Carlton House; whether she would be allowed the use of the sea-baths which were recommended by the physicians, and whether there existed any intention to form a nuptial establishment adequate to her station. The Earl of Liverpool declined to answer these questions, and his refusal was sanctioned by the Lord Chancellor. The Duke of Sussex then gave notice of a regular and formal motion on the subject, but was afterwards induced to withdraw it.

At this time peculiar reasons existed for refraining from every measure which might disclose these lamentable and degrading differences. I allude to the visit of the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, and other illustrious strangers to this country.—It is not my intention to describe the complacency of the Prince Regent on this memorable occasion, or the fetes and exhibitions, so remarkable for their licentious vulgarity of taste, and their extravagance of expenditure. To atone for the folly and profligacy of these pageants, the impression left on the minds of the people of England by the foreign monarchs, especially the Emperor of Russia, was highly favourable. His demeanour was at once conciliating and dignified, and he and his fellow visitors, accompanied by his sister, the Duchess of Oldenburg, examined with the utmost vigilance and activity, every useful manufacture, and every curious invention. The impressions received by the monarchs and their suite must upon the whole have been highly favourable to the English character, and they probably witnessed a greater degree of downright and warm honesty of heart, of manly confidence, and of comfort and cleanliness, than any part of the continent exhibits.

Next to the circumstances attending the dissensions of the royal family, the delinquency of Lord Cochrane attracted the interest of the public. It would be needless and tiresome to enter into a detailed account of Lord Cochrane's case, but some observations are requisite to elucidate the nature of a fraud which has so repeatedly disgraced the annals of English history. One of the consequences of the wars in which we were engaged with revolutionary France, was a total change in the management of our mercantile transactions. Our merchants, unlike their ancestors, instead of looking forward to the gradual accumulation of a fortune, by the exertion of a long and unwearied industry, trust almost entirely to speculation, and in a very short space of time are, generally speaking, either men of large or of no property. All wars, by rendering regular trade difficult and uncertain, must in some degree produce this change in the character of mercantile transactions, but the late French wars rendered this change much greater and more general than before. It was not to be expected that the transactions of the Stock Exchange would be untainted by this spirit: speculation, to use the mildest and most unappropriate name, was the very element in which the members of that establishment lived, and the French wars were therefore particularly serviceable to their views

At no period was there so much reason for speculation as in the spring of 1814. At this time the power and even the existence of the French government seemed on the very verge of destruction, and the fall of Buonaparte was hourly expected. If he were driven from the throne of France, or his death took place, stocks would rise, and many enterprising speculations would prove lucrative and advantageous. It was therefore the interest of the stock-holders, or stock-jobbers, to give circulation and credence to every report concerning the fate or death of the French emperor; and more particularly in the existing circumstances of the loan. At no former period had *omnium* risen to so high a premium, yet the purchasers were numerous and adventurous. They bought under the idea and the hope that it would afterwards rise to such a premium as would render this speculation highly lucrative. If it did not by a certain time rise to that height, and much more of it fell, they would have serious cause to regret their imprudence; for as they were neither able, nor intended, to pay the instalments when due, they would be under the necessity of selling the omnium which they held, even at a loss, in order to remove their responsibility before the payments became necessary.

Thus we perceive the extent of the temptation, not only to give credit and currency to all the reports of Buonaparte's death, but also to invent them: his fall, or destruction, had long seemed inevitable; there could be little reason to doubt that it would soon occur. But the speculations of the jobbers in omnium would not admit of delay; they might be ruined before the expected and desirable event; unless it happened so as to raise the price of omnium before the instalment became due, it would be of no service to them. They therefore resolved to raise the price by a false report of Buonaparte's death.

Accordingly a plan was laid with considerable impudence and adroitness to propagate a seemingly official report that Buonaparte was assassinated: the scheme succeeded; a belief in the event, thus communicated, prevailed a sufficient length of time, before its falsehood was detected, to enable many who had purchased omnium at a very high rate to sell it again at a still higher. As soon however as the fraud was discovered, great indignation was excited on the Stock Exchange, and measures were immediately taken to discover, if possible, all those who were concerned in it. We have stated that the scheme was conducted with considerable adroitness; but the machinery employed was so complicated, that it was scarcely possible that every part of it should elude the vigilant and active scrutiny of the Stock Exchange. Accordingly it was soon ascertained, that the person who represented the official bearer of the dispatches announcing the death of Buonaparte had gone to the house of Lord Cochrane; and it was also found that, on the rise of the funds occasioned by the false rumour, his broker had sold out stock to a considerable amount. These circumstances combined, left no doubt in the minds of the Stock Exchange that he was a party in the scheme; and they also fixed suspicious circumstances on his uncle the honourable Cochrane Johnstone, De Berenger, who had represented the official bearer of the dispatches, and others. A true bill having been found against them by the grand jury, they were tried for a conspiracy, and found guilty. Lord Cochrane, with De Berenger and another were sentenced to stand in the pillory, as well as to suffer the penalty and punishment inflicted on the rest. Cochrane Johnstone had fled from the country before the trial.

The sentence of Lord Cochrane to the pillory excited very general surprise and indignation throughout the country: and these feelings were increased from several causes: in the first place, great doubts were entertained by many respecting his guilt: it is not our intention to enter on a discussion or examination of the probabilities for or against this point; as we must candidly confess, that most of the papers published by his lordship for the purpose of proving his innocence, tend, in our opinion, only to render the question more involved and intricate. It must however be admitted, that either from his own fault, or the fault of his counsel, his trial was not ably conducted; there were deficiencies in the evidence, as well as apparent

contradictions, which it afterwards was proved might have been filled up and removed. On these grounds Lord Cochrane moved for a new trial; but it was refused him on grounds no doubt sanctioned by law and precedent, but which we must nevertheless think very insufficient: a new trial was refused him because all the parties did not join in the application for it; so that, as Cochrane Johnstone was absent, it was impossible to obtain it. But can any thing be more absurd, and at the same time more unjust than thus to refuse a man a new trial, not because he does not shew he is now in possession of evidence to prove his innocence which he could not produce before, but because those who were connected with him in the supposed conspiracy do not join with him in the application? Besides the circumstance of one of the parties having fled from justice, as in the case of Cochrane Johnstone, may it not happen in a conspiracy, that one is innocent, while the others are guilty; and consequently that one may have reasons and hopes from a new trial which the others have not? Indeed it is not necessary to dwell any longer on this part of the business: so general was the conviction that the ground on which Lord Cochrane was refused a new trial was at variance with justice, that even those who thought the sentence of the pillory not too severe, were of opinion that a new trial ought to have been granted.

We shall now consider the circumstances which led a great many to feel an interest in Lord Cochrane, independently of the interest excited by a belief or suspicion of his innocence. In the first instance, the nature of the fraud itself, and the place where it was committed; it was alleged that it was extremely harsh to punish so severely the propagation of false intelligence on the Stock Exchange, among stock-jobbers, for the purpose of raising or depressing the stock, when it was notorious that scarcely a day passed, in the course of which some members of the Stock Exchange did not either countenance or create false intelligence, for the same purpose as Lord Cochrane was accused of, its influence on the funds. It was well known (said his advocates) that nearly the whole transactions on the Stock Exchange were of a speculative nature, and some of them what blunt and rude persons would not hesitate to call gambling transactions: consequently it was to be supposed, that every person who transacted business there, being acquainted with the character of the place, and the mode in which custom had rendered it common to transact business, would be upon his guard, and examine into the truth of every report likely to influence the funds, before he acted upon that report in buying or selling stock. It seemed hard, therefore, in the opinion of many, that Lord Cochrane should be punished for doing that which had been often done before with impunity by the individuals themselves who brought him to punishment, and which also seemed an essential part of the transactions of the place itself. In the second place, the committee of the Stock Exchange, who were appointed to take measures for the purpose of detecting and bringing to punishment the propagators of the false report, it was alleged, stepped beyond the line of their duty or their right, for they almost assumed to themselves the powers and functions of judge and jury; examining witnesses, and giving publicity to their opinion in such a manner as could not but be prejudicial to the cause of the supposed delinquents. Thirdly, a strong impression was made on the public mind in favour of Lord Cochrane, (for the other persons concerned did not excite nearly so deep or general interest,) from the idea that the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, before whom they were tried, did not conduct himself with that coolness and impartiality which became a person in his situation; and this want of coolness and impartiality was attributed to political causes—Lord Cochrane having been long remarkable for the violence of his attachment to the opinions of Sir Francis Burdett, while Lord Ellenborough was attached to the ministerial side. This account of the judge's behaviour on the trial was, however, proved afterwards to be void of foundation, or at least greatly exaggerated. Nevertheless, in a case like that of Lord Cochrane, in which the public took a great interest, and to which very many attached themselves, from their politics coinciding with those of his Lordship, the belief that Lord Ellenbo-

rough had conducted himself improperly remained, and Lord Cochrane was the more pitied and defended on that account.

But lastly, the chief reason which induced the most cool and impartial part of the public to interest themselves in Lord Cochrane's fate, was the conviction that his punishment, even on the supposition that he was guilty, was very disproportionate to his crime; especially that part of his sentence which sentenced him to the pillory. To this mode of punishment there are undoubtedly many very serious and well founded objections, not only of a general nature, but applicable to it when it is inflicted on particular persons: the principal objection of a general nature is, that it places the degree of punishment entirely in the hands of the populace. A person is put in the pillory: if the populace think him innocent, they have it in their power almost to make it a triumph, instead of a punishment:—if they are not incensed against the criminal, they are indifferent and inactive, and he in fact suffers nothing but the disgrace of having stood in the pillory; whereas if they are incensed against him, severe bodily punishment, and in some cases death itself, is superadded to the disgrace. Besides, such kinds of punishment contribute to brutalize those who attend them, instead of serving as warnings, as must always be the case where the people, instead of being the witnesses, are the inflicters of punishment. But there are also objections to the pillory in particular cases, since to some persons the disgrace, the only punishment contemplated by the law, is harmless; while to others it is a punishment greater than death itself; and this consideration ought to be sufficient to do away the pillory altogether, if the only defensible object of punishment be the deterring others from the commission of crime, and if all punishment which is more than sufficient for that, is indefensible.

It was soon perceived that it would by no means be prudent, or even safe, to put Lord Cochrane in the pillory: meetings were held by his constituents in Palace-yard, Westminster, at which his colleague Sir Francis Burdett declared that, if Lord Cochrane was put in the pillory, he would attend him, and consider it an honour instead of a disgrace; and in this resolution he was joined by nearly all who were present. His Lordship's case was also taken up in the House of Commons; and July 5, Mr. Broadhead moved the order of the day for the taking into consideration the copy of the record of the conviction of Lord Cochrane and Mr. Cochrane Johnstone.

The speaker stated that there was also an order for the attendance of Lord Cochrane and Mr. C. Johnstone; and having inquired of the serjeant at arms if Lord Cochrane was in attendance, and being answered in the affirmative, his Lordship was called in. The noble lord having entered, he was desired by the speaker to take his place. The messengers, Skelton and Jones, were called to prove the delivery of the order of the house, for the attendance of Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, at the place where he resided previous to the trial. Mr. Graham and Mr. Kerrison, two members of the house, stated that they had seen Mr. Cochrane Johnstone at Calais on the 31st day of May last.

Lord Cochrane now read to the house a very long defence, which none of the papers have ventured to report, after a warning given by the speaker and Lord Castlereagh. His Lordship asked for a patient hearing, and mentioned the case of a man, who was condemned in France to be racked and burnt for magic. The poor creature, whilst protesting his innocence, was struck on his mouth by a monk, to prevent his being heard.—Though what he had now seen of ******** ******** convinced him that cowardice and malignity was not the exclusive property of monks, he trusted that no means would be resorted to stifle his voice, or to prevent the public from hearing his whole defence. He did not ask for compassion or pardon. The country had indeed felt indignation at the sentence passed upon him,—a sentence more heavy than ever yet was laid upon persons clearly convicted of the most horrid of crimes, and for an act now for the first time deemed a legal offence. But the fine, the imprisonment, the pillory,—even that pillory to which he was condemned,—weighed as nothing, when put in the balance against his desire to show that he had been unjustly condemned. In the presence of the house, then, and with

the eyes of the nation fixed upon him, he most solemnly declared, that he was wholly innocent of the crime laid to his charge, and for which he had been condemned. His Lordship here observed on the improper conduct of the Stock Exchange, the prosecutor, in erecting a sort of court, calling evidence, &c. &c. and prejudicing the public mind before the trial by various publications. And what, he said, must the world think, when they see those to whom the welfare and the honour of the nation are committed covertly co-operating with a committee of the Stock Exchange? He was indeed prepared to expect much, knowing how his endeavours to expose corruption had roused the impure and the hypocritical, and had engendered a thirst for vengeance, particularly in the grasping and never-pardoning phalanx of the law, for exhibiting to the world their frauds upon his ill-treated brethren of the navy. A bill of indictment was preferred; but a common jury was not to be used, and a special one was therefore resorted to: for these were not the times,

"When sterling freedom circled Alfred's throne,
"And spies and special juries were unknown."

"No," said his Lordship; "a special jury is composed of 12 men, hired and paid to be a cloak to a judge. A special jury is composed of 12 persons taken out of 48 persons, the whole of which 48 persons are selected by the master of the crown-office. It is notorious, Sir, that these special jurors follow the business as a trade; that they are paid a guinea each for every trial; that it is deemed a favour to be put upon the special jury list; that persons pay money to get upon that list; that if they displease the ****, care is taken to prevent them from serving again; or, in other words, to cut them off, or turn them out of a profitable employment. And, is it this, Sir, which we call a jury of our country? Have I been tried by a jury of my country? No, Sir, **********. The institution of special juries, an institution unknown till times of modern date, and repugnant to the laws of England, had its rise in a pretence, that in matters of technical difficulty a common jury might not be competent to understand; as in cases of insurance, shipping of goods, and the like. But what was there in this case that a common jury, composed of tradesmen in the city of London, would not have understood? A common jury would surely have been as competent to decide upon my case as upon the cases of hundreds who are condemned to death upon the decision of such a jury in that same court, where, to do me justice, my case should have been tried." His Lordship then proceeded to state the manner in which he had been employed since he was actively engaged in his professional duties. At an expence of nearly two thousand pounds, he had examined the situations, and procured plans of various important ports and places in the Mediterranean, some of which plans were considered infallible by some of the most distinguished officers now living. He was occupied with the perfection of an invention of public convenience and utility the very day this offence was so unexpectedly laid to his charge. He had expended more than a thousand pounds in fitting himself for sea, after his appointment to the command of the Tonnant. He returned to his duty on board that ship on the first of March, and it was not till the 8th that he found his name was connected with the fraud. On reading a paragraph in the public prints in which he was named, he obtained permission to return to town. He returned merely with a view to clear his character, and not in consequence of any communication from the admiralty. His Lordship then entered on various details of his case—of the alleged difference in De Berenger's dress—of the bank-notes traced to De Berenger, which he could prove to the house were given by his Lordship to Mr. Butt for *bona fide* transactions—of Lord Ellenborough's charge to the jury, where he takes one part of his Lordship's affidavit as truth and the other as falsehood—of Lord Ellenborough's making his Lordship represent De Berenger as coming in disguise; about which, if there was one word in his Lordship's affidavit, then was he perjured, and Lord Ellenborough spoke truth, &c. His Lordship then complained that it was not stated to the jury, that he was from home two hours after De Berenger called; who had consequently time to change his dress, and had a portmanteau with him to carry off

his disguise; the same probably in which he carried it to Dover: that he (Lord C.) first disclosed the fact of De Berenger's coming to his house, &c. &c. His Lordship, after making a variety of other observations, proceeded nearly as follows:—"Of all tyrannies, Sir, the worst is that which exercises its vengeance under the guise of judicial proceedings, and especially if a jury make part of the means by which its base purposes are effected. The man, who is flung into a prison, or sent to the scaffold, at the nod of an avowed despotism, has, at least, the consolation to know that his sufferings bring down upon that despotism the execration of mankind; but he who is entrapped and entangled in the meshes of a crafty and corrupt system of jurisprudence: who is pursued imperceptibly by a law with leaden feet and iron jaws; who is not put upon his trial till the ear of the public has been poisoned, and its heart steeled against him, falls, at last, without being cheered with a hope of seeing his tyrants execrated, even by the warmest of his friends. In their principle, the ancient and settled laws of England are excellent; but, of late years, and especially since the commencement of the present reign, so many injurious and fatal alterations in the law have taken place, that any man who ventures to meddle with public affairs, and to oppose persons in power, is sure and certain, sooner or later, to suffer in some way or other. Sir, the punishment which the malice of my enemies has procured to be inflicted on me, is not, in my mind, worth a moment's reflection. The judge supposed, apparently, that his sentence of pillory would disgrace and mortify me. I can assure him, and I now solemnly assure this house, my constituents, and my country, that I would rather stand, in my own name, in the pillory every day of my life under such a sentence, than I would sit upon the bench in the name of **** for one single hour. Something has been said, Sir, in this house, as I have read, about an application for a mitigation of my sentence, in a certain quarter, where it is observed, that mercy never failed to flow. It was, I am informed, his Majesty's Attorney-General, who (I suppose, unintentionally) offered this last insult to my feelings. I excuse it, because I am aware that the learned gentleman is an utter stranger to the sentiments that inhabit my bosom; but I can assure him, that an application for pardon, extorted from me, is one of the things which nothing has the power to accomplish. No, Sir, I will seek for, and look for, pardon nowhere; for I have committed no crime. I have sought for, I still seek for, and I confidently expect, justice; not at the hands, however, of those by whose machinations I have been brought to what they regard as my ruin, but at the hands of my enlightened and virtuous constituents, to whose exertions alone the nation owes, that there is still a voice to cry out against that haughty and inexorable tyranny, which now commands silence to all but parasites and hypocrites." His Lordship concluded by protesting before Almighty God, that he never knew any thing about the offence of which he had been found guilty.

The Speaker stated, that a member, under his Lordship's circumstances, having made his defence, should withdraw.

Lord Cochrane said, he would withdraw; but again expressed his hope that the house would investigate the matter for itself, and that no punishment should be inflicted, unless the house was satisfied that he was guilty. He again declared, before Almighty God, that he was entirely innocent of the charge.

Lord Castlereagh said, the house must be aware how much of what they had now heard was not defence, but inculpation of others of high character. But he should think it a great abuse of the indulgence of the house, if what was said there were reported elsewhere, so as to make it the vehicle and means of circulating libel and calumny. If it should be necessary to interpose afterwards on account of any abuse of this kind, it must be recollected, that, after this, the want of warning could not be heard as an excuse.

Mr. Broadhead did not wish to wound the feelings of any individual, but in his humble opinion there was no duty more sacred than that of averting any stain from the popular branch of the legislature. A due attention to this was a political duty of great importance. Fully satisfied, then, that the house would do justice to its own character, he

concluded by moving, " that Lord Cochrane, a member of that house, having been found guilty of a conspiracy, ought to be expelled that house."

Mr. Brown felt it inconsistent with his notions of justice to adopt implicitly the judgment of a court against which the party had appealed, though without success. He could not help being struck with the manner in which the noble Lord had this day repeatedly protested his innocence, in the name of his constituents, his country, and his God. When he considered what must be the education and habits, the rank and feelings, of such a person as Lord Cochrane, he thought it impossible that he should not have been more depressed by the degrading sentence of the pillory, unless he was conscious of innocence. He could not believe that it was in the power of such a man, if guilty, to come forward and boldly assert and reassert his innocence before such an awful tribunal as the House of Commons. The noble Lord had entered into a long and distinct analysis of the alleged proofs of his guilt. The house could not be competent to embrace all the new matter advanced, without further inquiry. Could any man say, that he was prepared at once to decide on these circumstances? if not, no harm could arise from a little delay. He therefore moved, that the statement and papers of Lord Cochrane should be referred to a private Committee, which should have power to report thereon.

The Attorney-General said, that the noble Lord had stated, that the judge could not effect his wicked purpose of condemning him without the aid of a jury packed for the purpose; and that the master of the crown-office was compelled to appoint the jury. The master of the crown-office was not appointed by political influence, but by his court, and he held his office during good behaviour. The master merely turns over the leaves of the book which was given him by the sheriff, and in the presence of the agents of both parties selects 48 names. Each member strikes off one, till the number is reduced to 24: these 24 are to appear at the trial, and no man knows which 12 will be selected. It had happened that the jury who tried the defendants were all new men, probably selected on that very account; but if, which was impossible, the judge should know the disposition of any man, and wish to influence, yet he had not the smallest power. The learned gentleman then pronounced a panegyric on juries. He should give no opinion as to the guilt or innocence of the noble Lord, but he trusted he should be pardoned for rising when the chief tribunal of the country was arraigned.

Mr. Brand had always entertained doubts as to his Lordship's privity in the late transactions; that privity chiefly rested on two points,—the dress of De Berenger, and the circumstance of the bank-notes. The noble Lord had only been able within two or three days to give an account concerning these notes, and had now five persons prepared to prove that De Berenger arrived in a different dress. He was now, therefore, able to account for two circumstances, which before appeared inexplicable. The character of the house was engaged not to act precipitately; the country had been carried away too violently The prosecutors had acted with a most indecent activity to advertise and prejudge; while it appeared that the noble Lord, from a consciousness of innocence, had been too proud, or too careless, to use proper means for his defence. He should vote for the amendment.

Mr. Barham had all along doubted the noble Lord's guilt, and now his doubts were stronger than ever. He thought much blame was due to that self-erected tribunal which had been so active in all its proceedings: he doubted whether an innocent man might not have suffered under such circumstances; he should not like to be so tried. The house should, under such circumstances, be slow to add to his penalties, and be ready to inquire into his statements.

Mr. Ponsonby said, the noble Lord had been heard with much tenderness. He thought, however, that his wish to investigate the propriety of the charge of the Chief Justice was not unreasonable. Judges were not infallible; nor were they so deemed, either by themselves or the constitution.—He hoped the debate might be adjourned; for he could not that night sleep

soundly on his pillow after voting for expulsion.

Lord Castlereagh entreated the house to pause, and not let their feelings mislead them. It might be much better to run the hazard of letting individuals remain among them, with a stain upon them, than to risk a measure which lowered the exalted character of the public tribunals. Would they delegate a sort of star-chamber above stairs, to review the proceedings of the first criminal court in the land? Could the house call the prosecutors, and hear the cause from beginning to end? What person convicted might not hereafter suggest doubts to parliament? The same plea might be made for all.

Mr. Stuart Wortley confessed, that after all he could read on the matter he had some doubts: now he had great ones. The circumstances might have been brought about by others, without the noble Lord's guilt; and therefore he could not sleep on his pillow, if he voted for expulsion.

Mr. Bankes saw no third mode of proceeding that would not create a pernicious precedent. They ought not to step out of their natural wholesome functions to attack the Chief Justice and the jury.

Mr. Whitbread asked, were they prepared to vote expulsion, which was called no punishment, without a full conviction of guilt, for the exalting the character of the house, whose purity was such, that suspicion was never to alight upon it? Would it not be among the bitterest moments of any gentleman's life to know that he had been expelled from the house? He felt all the difficulties respecting the appointment of committees. The question was, whether he had doubts of the noble Lord's guilt? He must confess, that after his defence, the bent of his mind was, that he might appear wholly guiltless. There was an innate value in some points, notwithstanding the noble Lord's injudicious mode, by which he seemed to embody the whole feeling of the house against him. Now, however, he did doubt his guilt: and if compelled to a vote, he would say "No," to expulsion.

Sir F. Burdett was not an advocate for the interfering unnecessarily; but it was of the highest importance that the house should sometimes look a little into the conduct of the judges. The property, liberty, and character of the people were deeply interested in such a protection; and he had no notion of being led into so much awe and reverence for the courts, that the house should suffer themselves to hesitate in granting protection whenever a case justified to interference. If it had been represented by the judge, that Berenger did appear before Lord Cochrane in his red coat, stars, and various orders, more like a mountebank than an officer, and there was no evidence given to that effect, he thought that was a case sufficient for the house to inquire into. Lord C. had seized the first moment to entreat a hearing; and having obtained it, declared on his honour that he was innocent; and such a declaration from a man of a profession, the life and soul of which was honour and glory, ought to have weight. As to the rule, he did not think it was law. Lord C. appeared but slightly connected with the transaction, and appeared drawn into it by his relation; and he approved of the mode of defence of his noble friend,—for he would call him so, because he verily believed that he was truly innocent; and he should have thought that the noble and heroic exploits he had achieved ought to have protected him against one part of the sentence, at least, even if guilty, and which was to the majority of the country cruel, disgusting, and dreadful beyond example. When, some years back, a forged French newspaper made its appearance in this country, no prosecution whatever had been instituted against the fabrication, though the object undoubtedly had been to raise the funds. Such a practice was only accounted a misdemeanour, and liable to be punished by six months imprisonment. But Lord C., with those feelings natural to his rank and to his profession, was to be punished with the pillory. The Attorney-General had given his sentiments: formerly that officer had no seat in the house. The learned gentleman had not negatived a single point of the speech of Lord C.; but had praised the Chief Justice, and the trial by jury, drawing largely upon his own eloquence, and the ignorance of his audience. He knew something of the mode of striking

special juries; and he believed it would have been difficult to find a common jury who would have condemned Lord C. It was most unnatural to suppose, that a man so indifferent about money as Lord C. would become a swindler, and that he who was one day a hero, would the next be a cheat.

Mr. Wilberforce.—The house was not qualified to act as a court of justice. Of this they seemed sensible, when they renounced the power of deciding on contested elections. The sentence of a court of justice had been hitherto untainted by the breath of calumny; and our administration of justice had been extolled among foreign nations as the most excellent institutions; the greatest among the great, and the fairest among the fair.

The motion for expulsion was carried.

It is a circumstance no less singular than unfortunate that Ireland, with the great capacity which she unquestionably has for improvements of every kind, and the ample means which she possesses of adding to the power and prosperity of the empire, should hitherto, on almost every occasion where the energies of the country were called forth, have repressed rather than augmented our exertions. With a fertile soil, considerable wealth, and a numerous population, at once adventurous and brave, instead of promoting the general interests of the united kingdom, she has too often presented the most serious obstruction to the proceedings of government. The truth is, that Ireland has always been agitated by much deep and alarming discontent, and that many of the most daring and active of her people are employed in devising means by which a separation may be accomplished. It is the misfortune of the Irish nation that the lower orders become an unsuspicious and easy prey to all classes of adventurers, and their ardent spirits, and ill regulated habits, are seduced into enterprises of the most hazardous and attrocious nature. It may seem strange that, situated in the immediate neighbourhood of a great and enlightened country, enjoying all the advantages of an easy and unrestricted intercourse, and possessing the benefits of a political union with a people far advanced in wealth and knowledge, she should still exhibit, amidst all her virtues, a barbarism which, under the present system, seems to be incurable. Some pardonable faults have no doubt been committed by the people, and great crimes by the demagogues who are always at work to agitate the public mind, but the very success of such attempts, and the eagerness shewn by the people to second them, afford a strong presumption that there is something in the political state of Ireland which demands a remedy. The manifold errors of the government of Ireland, committed in past times, have left in the present age evils so difficult to be corrected, that those who are most ardent in the cause of improvement have often been deterred by the arduous nature of the task, and by the violence and dissatisfaction which centuries of misgovernment and oppression have produced among the Irish people. It is no easy task to remove the barriers which an ancient tyranny has established in its own support, and to produce, amidst the conflicting struggle of unpropitious circumstances, any immediate improvement on the state of this unhappy country. To add to the other misfortunes of Ireland, a great proportion of her people profess a religion which is not the religion of the state, and which is avowedly odious to all the professors of the reformed belief. It cannot be wonderful that in a country thus situated frequent symptoms of disaffection to government, and a general spirit of distrust and discord should prevail.

Whatever relates to Ireland must always be interesting to those who know what the inhabitants of that country might be made, and what they actually are. Some persons, indeed, affect to believe that the Irish are naturally so vicious, that no measures of government, no length of time, could reform them: but how these people would ridicule the notion that the Turks were naturally so bad that they could not be made better! If such an opinion were avowed, would they not immediately reply, that the fault was with the government, not with nature? At the same time it must be admitted that the Irish catholics (for in speaking of the Irish they are to be principally if not exclusively considered) in many respects conduct themselves as if they thought that it would be better to irritate than to soothe the English

government,—better to augment than to diminish the evils of which they complain. This character applies more particularly to the catholic committee of Ireland, whose proceedings have already alienated from their cause many of their most conscientious and respectable advocates. In our last volume we mentioned that the violent Irish catholics rejoiced at the failure of the bill brought into parliament for their relief, which they represented as an insult to the religion whose professors it was intended to relieve.

In this opinion of the bill they expected they would receive the sanction of the pope; but if his opinion were to be gathered from that of Monsignore Quarantotti, president of the sacred missions in his absence, it was strongly adverse to them. In an official and public letter he styled the bill which was rejected, a most desirable measure, which, if it were to be passed into a law, the catholics ought not only to receive with pleasure, but to yield to their sovereign and to both houses of parliament unfeigned gratitude, and to show themselves by their future conduct worthy of so great an indulgence. In his letter he lays down this maxim,—upon which, however, it is vain and absurd to expect that the Irish will act while they labour under civil as well as religious oppression,—that they should not mix themselves with civil affairs: he admits that the government ought to be freed from every reasonable doubt of the fidelity, submission and allegiance, of those who profess the catholic religion; and more especially of those who are admitted to holy orders, or raised to the episcopal rank; that, with respect to the latter, it would be reasonable and just that the king should name commissioners to examine whether the candidates were perfectly unexceptionable in point of loyalty and obedience to the laws; that foreigners, or those who had not resided within the realm for five years, should not be admitted to the exercise of ecclesiastical functions; that, on the death or promotion of a bishop, the clergy of the diocese should recommend to the king a person as successor, and, if disapproved, should recommend others until the king should be satisfied; and that the king's commissioners should inspect all letters which might pass between the Roman see and the catholic clergy in the British dominions, under such restrictions only as were suggested in the late bill.

It is easy to perceive that the writer of this letter is, in fact, disposed to concede the *veto*; and it was therefore not to be expected that he would have much influence with the Irish catholics. Such was the case; and those men who were represented as so devoted to the pope, and so entirely governed by the authority of the church, were found refusing to acknowledge the authority of the pope's representative. This difference of opinion necessarily weakened their cause; and as the catholic committee still went on in the same violent manner, refusing that liberty and toleration to others which they claimed for themselves, and at the same time accusing each other of insincerity, it is not to be wondered at if the catholic cause in Ireland rather retroceded than advanced during the year 1814.

The only circumstances in which the condition of Ireland appeared to be improved, was its agriculture: it was ascertained by the evidence and the documents laid before the committee of the House of Commons on the corn trade, that the importation of wheat from Ireland into Great Britain had very much increased within these few years; and that this increased importation was owing to a spirit of agricultural improvement which had pervaded many parts of that island. But much still remains to be done, even for the agriculture of Ireland; for how can improvements be permanent, or carried on with that spirit and to that extent which will render them advantageous both to the individualr concerned and to the nation at large, while it is actually dangerous in many parts to take a farm, since the dispossession of a native, or an advance of rent, will expose the new comer to assassination? In fact, till the minds and the morals of the Irish nation are improved, it is in vain to expect, either that the soil will be as productive as nature seems to have intended it should be, or that the inhabitants will be as happy in themselves, and as high among European nations, as their warm hearts and excellent talents entitle them to be.

But we cannot unfold the causes of the

low condition in which Ireland has so long been placed, or of the discontents that constantly agitate her peasantry, more fully or satisfactorily than by laying before our readers the substance of the charge of justice Fletcher at the Tipperary assizes:—in it there undoubtedly are some exaggerations, and some partial and unfounded statements; but on the whole it lays open many of the most fruitful sources of Ireland's grievances, which the British government ought to redress, not merely from a wish to benefit that country alone, but England also; for the strength and happiness of Ireland will most materially add to the strength and happiness of Britain.

His Lordship made some preliminary observations on the general duty of the grand juror's office; bound as he was from the station in which he was placed, between the government and the people, to a scrupulous inquiry into the ground of every matter of presentment. After his Lordship had expatiated on this topic, he proceeded to notice more particularly the state of the country. From the appearance of the calendar, although the quantity of criminal business was very great, he found it had been exceeded on recent occasions, and hoped he might congratulate the country, from this comparison, that some improvement had fortunately taken place in the public manners. If, however, unhappily, the country continued to be disturbed, notwithstanding the enactment of law after law, enforcing a coercion unknown to the constitution, it showed most clearly that the check against this contagion was to be found only in the exertions of the upper classes. He had often heard it sneeringly observed of the Irish character, that, contrary to all other countries, they had become more barbarous as they increased in that wealth and those comforts which tended to civilise all the rest of the world. How the system of outrage which took place among the lower orders here was to be accounted for, he did not know. It could not be extenuated or justified any where; but in other places with which he was familiar, there were many natural causes to which this unfortunate spirit of insubordination could naturally be referred. The severe and heavy burdens to which the peasantry were liable excited that irritation and ferocity, against which the state of ignorance they were suffered to grovel in, without care or education, offered little correction to prevent a deluded people from exposing themselves to the punishment of those laws which they set at defiance. Much also was to be attributed to the enormous rise of lands, occasioned by the deluge of paper money, and extraordinary calls occasioned by the war for all the produce of the earth, by which every necessary of life increased so much in its value. He repeated, that the prosperity of the country brought mischief to the peasant: after his landlord and his taxes he had the clergyman and the proctor; the latter, who was paid, with execrations, for an agency that was odious; and the former paid with reluctance by those to whom, as a pastor, they looked for no spiritual comfort. It was not, his Lordship emphatically said, to be understood, that in any case the established clergyman got the full value of his tithes; but it was not to be wondered at that much dissatisfaction should be excited by the tithes-farmer, who kept to himself so great a portion of what he exacted from the poor under the title of the clergyman. This latter class, his Lordship said, ought, for their own sakes, to establish a system as moderate as consisted with their situation; for, surely, in point of personal interest, it was wise in them to secure a certain income by encouraging tillage under moderate charges, rather than drive the farmer to a system of pasturage, by which, under the agistment law, the tithes would be lost altogether.—From this countenance and kindness, from a wise liberality in the landlords, the tenantry would naturally be led, during the present state of depression in the value of their produce, to look for assistance and encouragement; and the landlords could not well set up any argument to resist this appeal to their consideration, when they reflected on the failure of the corn bill, to the protection of which the farmer had looked with so much hope and anxiety. But no man on these accounts, or any of them, was to violate the laws: and it was only by the exertions of such men as he then addressed, that the advantages and blessings of that peace and

obedience were to be expected, in the improvement of which they had no excuse for apathy or relaxation. In other counties, his Lordship said, he found also that murmurs and discontent arose from the conduct of the clergy, not of the established church, looking for an increase of those voluntary contributions from which they derived their only support; and in some of those places the lower orders had not been refrained from acts of violence to prevent exactions. But if every man in the higher ranks of life would individually exert himself, it would be easy to come at the root of all those evils of which we complained. To effect this, the great and opulent landholder, instead of standing at his post ready at all times to support the laws of his country and to promote its peace and prosperity, should not desert that country to spend its produce in another, and leave his tenantry to the management of a griping agent, whose only object was by misrepresentation and deception to grasp all he could for the gratification of his own avarice. It was to men such as he was addressing that it particularly belonged to have a close and watchful eye on the conduct of the magistracy, in the exercise of those powers which, in fact, superseded the old constitution. They were on the spot, and could trace every mischief that arose from zeal or supineness.—The latter was, in all cases, reprehensible and disgraceful: the former became baneful only when it brought an over vigilance of power into action to administer to some private purpose; when men cram the gaols with their miserable fellow-creatures, merely to show the extravagance of their loyalty.—Nothing, said his Lordship, could beget amongst the multitude a proper respect for the laws, more than the observation that the scales of justice were too steadily and firmly placed to be warped by any little feelings of cabal or party. But of the two descriptions of men to whom he alluded, he did not know whether the apathy of the one or the vigilance of the other was more criminal or mischievous. His Lordship earnestly recommended a strict frugality in the admeasuring of those public burdens which it was compulsory for them to lay upon the country; and not a shilling which was not imperiously called for, would, he hoped, be imposed by them: he trusted that not a single pound would be raised upon the country to gratify that vile spirit of *jobbing*, which he had witnessed in other counties; but, on the contrary, that the gentlemen whom he addressed would be governed by the most conscientious scruple in levying the public money, and by the minutest scrutiny in inquiring into its fair and just expenditure. This part of their duty was one, his Lordship said, in which the capacity even of the peasant was capable of forming a proper estimate; and every man's reasoning would point out to him where grants were made for the purpose of public convenience and accommodation, or to put money into the private pockets of individuals; for it was impossible that the peasant should not feel, at the means which should administer to the hunger and nakedness of his children, being diverted to any of those improper purposes, or submit to the discontented sentiment, that all law was made against him, and no law for him. Let him, said his Lordship, have, from bodies such as you, the protection he claims at your hands, and no such unworthy idea will ever arise in his mind. Let him see that all public grants are for public purposes, and to promote general intercourse, and you encourage him to bear up against his burdens. His Lordship was glad to bear testimony, that he no where found, accompanying the most disgraceful outrages, any thing like a conspiracy against the government, or a correspondence with that great bad power, whose state was fallen, he hoped, never to rise again. His Lordship directed the most particular attention of the grand jury to the subject of private distillation—an evil which struck at the revenue, which it defrauded to the amount of *two millions* of money in the year; at the comforts of all classes of life, by rendering it necessary to resort to other sources of taxation in order to meet the losses occasioned by this fraud; and at the morals of the poor, who were become so perfectly familiarized with perjury in defending themselves and their neighbours against prosecutions for this offence, that all the sanction of an oath was obliterated in the districts where it was practised. His Lordship again adverted to the

situation of the lower orders, and the ample means possessed by the higher classes of ameliorating their condition; and of rendering them at home as valuable for the domestic virtues of peace and industry, as they were eminent and exemplary in every other country for their bravery, their generosity, and their talent. Unfortunately, said his Lordship, hitherto there had been a concurrence of too many causes to calumniate the Irish character, and we think ourselves justified in treating them as slaves. Instead of feeling surprise at finding them so wild, so thoughtless, and so ungovernable as they were, the wonder seemed to be that their character was not rendered worse by our oppression.

Few years had occurred so little productive of ministerial and party changes as that which had just elapsed. It was passed on the part of opposition without hope or effort. The events of stupendous magnitude which Europe continued to witness formed the complete triumph of that system which ministers had pursued, amidst the strongest disapprobation of their political opponents. Perhaps, indeed, no human wisdom could have foreseen those circumstances which presented to Europe the opportunity of regaining her lost independence: but it is certain that the active and imposing attitude which Britain had assumed, and the full assurance they afforded of her vigorous co-operation, had a powerful influence in forwarding this momentous and happy revolution. It was by her efforts that the spirit of resistance in the Peninsula was formed into such a regular and organized system as could alone enable it to create an effective diversion in favour of the rest of Europe. Confidence in her aid had sustained the fortitude of the Emperor of Russia, and guided the councils of the Crown Prince of Sweden. The public in general did not enter very minutely into these calculations, but they saw the most brilliant success attending the measures of the ministers in power; and a triumphant system is not easily shaken in the estimation of the people. The possession of Paris, and the certainty of peace, appeared to unite all classes of the community in one general feeling of pride and exultation, and the struggles of the opposition in the Houses of Lords and Commons were feeble and ineffectual.

The debates in parliament connected with the policy of our recent conduct with respect to foreign powers were introduced by an elaborate speech of the Earl of Liverpool. His Lordship (March 24) observed, that it had been thought proper by the Prince Regent, to order certain documents relative to the late negotiations to be laid on their Lordships' table, with a view to some parliamentary proceeding on the subject. The events which had since taken place, however, had, in the judgment of the Prince Regent's ministers, rendered it unnecessary to produce these papers at present, especially as a new negotiation had actually commenced, which was fully expected to lead to a favourable termination.

Earl Grey confessed he heard the noble Earl with considerable surprise, as he could not conceive why the papers in question should not be produced even now. The declaration of the allies had been already published. It stated the grounds on which the negotiation had broken off, though not altogether in such explicit terms as he could have wished. The documents which were to have been produced along with it were not papers containing information on any new points: they were merely intended to prove what the declaration stated, to confirm the allegations made in that document, and to show that the negotiations had in fact broken off, not through any want of justice or moderation on their part, but from the unprincipled ambition of the ruler of France. He felt the greatest satisfaction at the events which had taken place. The whole had had that termination which was best for the peace and liberty of the world, and for the future repose and security of this country; with this exception, that it would have been better if that had been done by the French themselves, without the presence of the allied forces, which had been done by them while these forces were at Paris. He rejoiced, however, at the event.

The Earl of Carlisle said, that it ought to be remembered, that we were only one of five powers that were contending for the great objects which the allies had in view in

the present contest. Possibly the production of these papers, the exposure of private communications, and other circumstances attending the exposition, might occasion distress among the parties who had brought about those glorious events, which were so far beyond the hope of the most sanguine but a short time ago. He thought, that at the period when the thanks of that house had been so properly moved to Lord Wellington, some one on that side of the house ought to have said, that, so far as these transactions were concerned, the ministers had deserved well of their country. It had been his lot, generally, to hold the language of opposition with respect to their measures. But he thought it the more incumbent upon him on that account, when he really approved of their measures, to declare that approbation.

Earl Grey observed, that his belief was, that the conduct of ministers had, throughout the whole of this transaction, been highly meritorious; but he could not say positively that it was so, until the documents were produced to prove it. He certainly, however, did believe that their conduct had been highly meritorious—meritorious, too, in those points on which, perhaps, it was least to be expected that it should have been so—meritorious in the offer of peace which had been made before the passage of the Rhine—meritorious in having again, on the 18th of March, offered peace to that deluded man, on terms which would have left with him the government of the French empire. He highly approved of all this, not because he was desirous that this man should have remained at the head of the French government, but because he considered these indications of just and moderate views, as having most materially contributed to the present bringing about the happy result of peace. He believed that, if the impression had not prevailed in France, that the obstacle to an honourable peace was to be found solely in the mad and unprincipled ambition and obstinacy of that man, we should not now have arrived at a state of repose, which, he hoped, would be lasting. Had the ministers given way to those rash counsels which had urged them to declare at once for the Bourbons, he believed that instead of peace we should now have had a most unfortunate continuance of the war. He joined with his noble friend in feeling the highest admiration at the conduct of the allies, particularly that of the Emperor of Russia. In return for the horrible devastation committed in his dominions, in return for the destruction of his ancient capital, he had taken indeed glorious vengeance, by a noble and generous forbearance in the moment of victory, and by stretching out his protecting hand to the people of that nation, the sovereign of which had so deeply injured him and his country. This had, indeed, placed him on an eminence of glory. It was his praise to have abstained, even at the head of a conquering army, from exercising any influence over the people of France in regard to the choice of their government or their governor; and such was the principle which he (Lord Grey) had been contending for these 20 years, the indefeasible right of every nation to regulate its own government without any interference from abroad. Seeing his principles, then, acted upon and completed, and only regretting that the French themselves had not done what had now been effected, without the presence of the allied troops, which might, perhaps, have a tendency to cause the character of these transactions to be regarded as something equivocal; it was impossible for him not to approve a line of conduct founded upon those views and principles which he had invariably entertained and inculcated. He was sensible of what this country and the world owed to the allies, and more especially to the Emperor of Russia. In leaving France, and looking back to his own states, it was gratifying to indulge the expectation that he might follow the same generous policy, and restore freedom to Poland.

House of Commons, April 21.—General Matthew presented petitions from the catholics of Tipperary and Clonmell, claiming complete emancipation. He had always professed his readiness, should the eloquent member for Dublin not bring this question forward on the general petitions, to bring it forward himself on these particular ones.—From the great change in the state of affairs, he now thought it improper to bring the catholic question forward this session: he

nevertheless remained a warm friend to full and free emancipation. His holiness the pope, surrounded by his reverend cardinals, was restored to the former splendour of his throne, and his Majesty's ministers ought to lose no time in opening a communication with the holy see. He understood that his holiness was willing to take any steps that might bring the differences between the government and the catholics to an amicable adjustment. He thought the communication might be made through Lord Wellington, whom he wished to see lord lieutenant of Ireland. It was strange that this country, once deemed the most liberal, was now the only one where civil disabilities on account of religion existed. The once bigoted protestant state of Holland, by an article in its recent constitution, had determined that all existing religions should be equally protected, and that the members of all had an equal right to hold offices. In another constitution—the most superb monument of human foresight which had ever been erected, drawn up by the greatest statesman perhaps that had ever existed, the Prince of Benevento, he met with an article declaring, that all religions, with the fullest freedom of worship, were guaranteed: that the ministers of all were to be treated alike, and were alike admissible into all offices. After such examples, were any in this country so bigoted as to refuse emancipation to five millions of good and loyal catholic subjects? He had changed his opinion of his Majesty's ministers, and he rejoiced that his efforts to assist their downfall, and accelerate their overthrow, had been unsuccessful. There was no man who would not acknowledge that they had saved civilized Europe from bondage; exalted the country; and brought the world from a state of universal war to a state of universal peace. If it came to his vote, he should be glad if they were to remain ministers for ever; yet until the long-wished emancipation was obtained he should continue to watch their conduct, though not with a prejudiced, yet with a jealous eye.

In the midst of the general satisfaction impressed by the late glorious intelligence, and by the conclusion of peace, the immortal hero to whom the armies of Britain and her allies had been confided, received those honours and rewards which he had so bravely purchased. Leaving the army which he had so often conducted to victory, he joined the allied sovereigns at the court of Louis the XVIIIth, and there, for the first time, met General Blucher, the most glorious of his fellow labourers in the deliverance of Europe. Little did they foresee in what manner the acquaintance which then began was to be cemented, and by what concurrence of events their names would descend in perpetual union to posterity. From Paris the Duke repaired to Madrid, where Ferdinand confirmed all the honours which the Cortes had conferred, and created him Captain-General of Spain. Returning to England, he was received with every mark of love, gratitude, and honour, which the Prince, the legislature, and the people, could bestow.

On the 4th of May Lord Liverpool, in moving an address of thanks for the recent services of Lord Wellington and his army, descanted with much animation on the brilliant entrance of the British forces and their allies into the frontiers of France. The passage (he observed) of the Adour presented the most arduous obstacles. Above Bayonne it would be necessary to pass several waters at that period of the year unfordable, and the difficulty below Bayonne was fully as great: it was therefore necessary to construct a bridge of boats for 400 yards, where the crossing would be opposed by the army of the garrison. Lord Wellington determined to cross below Bayonne. The heavy rains had impeded the movements of the army; but at the first interval of fair weather, the enemy was driven from his positions, and twenty-five vessels were fastened together by cables of extraordinary size, in order for the passage of the army. The French garrison however impeded these works by precipitating timbers into the river, and Lord Wellington was obliged to return to his former position, leaving the passage of the river under the charge of Sir John Hope. He determined to give the enemy battle. Sir William Beresford by a ford passed to the right of the enemy, whom he drove from the village of St. Bois. General Hill moved higher up the river. Sir Thomas Picton at-

tacked the left, while another division attacked the centre. The enemy began a retreat, but in excellent order, until Sir Rowland Hill came down upon their right. They were then put to a complete rout. The numbers on each side were about 40,000; and it was not to be supposed that a victory over such numbers could be gained without considerable loss. Three general officers had been wounded, and there was another general wounded, whose wound, had it been attended with serious consequences, would have rendered the victory, upon the whole, a doubtful good. Sir John Hope crossed the Adour in a flotilla, below Bayonne, on the 23d of February, and overthrew a garrison of 2,000 men that were drawn out to meet him. The flotilla met with the severest difficulties in crossing the Adour, where there is always a surf: at length, however, the bridge was established, that the whole body passed, to the amazement of the inhabitants, who flocked to see what they could not otherwise believe. This placed Soult in such a situation that he was obliged to recede from the road to Bourdeaux, and a detachment was sent to take possession of that city. By the possession of this city, not only were supplies obtained for the comforts of the army, but it would afford a much more convenient intercourse between the army and this country. His Lordship concluded with moving—"That the thanks of the house be given to Field-Marshal Arthur Marquis of Wellington, and the army under his command, for the consummate ability, experience, skill, and valour, displayed by them in the victory of Orthes, terminating in the signal defeat of the enemy, and leading to the occupation of Bourdeaux."

Earl Grey said it gave him the greatest pleasure to hear the noble Lord's speech, not only on account of those topics to which he had adverted, but on account of those also from which he had abstained. Every man was satisfied that the tribute of applause and gratitude was justly due to Lord Wellington, for this last of a great series of splendid successes. He termed this the last, and God grant it might be the last! that it might be the last blood shed for the accomplishment of the great, genuine, and only proper object of victory—peace.

Motions of thanks to Lord Wellington, to his officers, and the army, were put in the usual form, and carried without any opposition. The same kind of motions were carried unanimously in the House of Commons.

May 10.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer brought down the following message from the Prince Regent:

GEORGE P. R.—The Prince Regent, acting in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, having taken into consideration the many signal victories obtained by the valour and skill of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, has been pleased to create him a Duke and Marquis of the United Empire: and his Royal Highness is desirous of further manifesting the high sense he has of his eminent services, which have exalted the renown of the British arms, established the safety and independence of Portugal and Spain, and contributed largely to restore the tranquillity of Europe. The Prince Regent therefore recommends it to his faithful Commons, to enable him to grant such an annuity to Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, and the heirs of his body succeeding to the title, as shall tend to support the dignity conferred on him, and at the same time furnish a lasting memorial of the feelings of his Royal Highness, and of the gratitude and munificence of the British nation. Similar messages were brought down relative to Lords Lyndock, Hill, and Beresford.

May 11.—Lord Liverpool said, in rising to move an address in answer to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's most gracious message, he could not anticipate the possibility of the slightest opposition. Perhaps he should perform the duty he had to discharge, if he simply laid his proposition before the house, accompanied by necessary explanation: but though he might not have occasion to detain their Lordships longer than necessary, he could not do justice to the great individual if he did not, on an occasion like this, trouble the house with a few observations. Conquests had been made under the Duke of Wellington without parallel. If they were to look back to the history of

former times, when the glory of the British arms was raised to a high pitch of renown, they would be struck by the splendour of the military glory this country had acquired; but a comparison would be in favour of the great events which have recently occurred.—It was in the recollection of this house, and every man in the country, that, a few years since, it was supposed that our military character was confined to one element. It was said, that we only held a high place on the ocean, and when our armies fought on land we could not be great. Those who made such observations did not judge rightly.—Some supposed the character of the British people would suffer in a military point of view; others, that we were unacquainted with operations in the field; but he would now ask, whether there was the slightest ground for those observations? We have proved to the world, that England is not without military renown. The noble Duke of Wellington has elevated the British name; and his genius, joined to the skill and ability of the illustrious person at the head of the army, had made the British equal, if not superior, to any soldiers in the world. The house perhaps would reflect, that it was only four years since England was the only independent nation. All the other powers were under the influence of France. With the exception of the lines of Torres Vedras and Cadiz, defended by the noble Duke, all was at the disposal of the enemy. The house might follow Lord Wellington from the lines of Torres Vedras, moving forward in 1810, and see his operations, at the taking of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos; follow him to the field of Vittoria, and see him plant at last the British standard on the walls of Bourdeaux. The noble Duke having conquered Spain, had finished his career of glory by placing the standard of Bourbon on the walls of the first city in France, to hail the restoration of their legitimate sovereign. This noble example was the work of Lord Wellington, and it proved the harbinger of the peace and happiness likely to follow. These were services which ought to be marked by some singular act of British gratitude. If ever there was a man deserving a public mark of approbation it was Lord Wellington. Lord Liverpool had felt that he should have been wanting in respect to the house, had he not reminded them of the claims on which he had to establish his proposition, and he had only to state to their Lordships what the proposal was. The house knew that the measure to convey a grant to the noble Duke would originate in another house. It was there intended to grant to the Duke of Wellington, in addition to the former grant, an annuity of ten thousand pounds a year on the consolidated fund. It was desirable that it should be laid out in the purchase of land: therefore it was proposed to give authority to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to advance 300,000*l.* to be laid out in lands, and a portion of the annuity to be cancelled as soon as the purchase is made. In the next place, it was intended that the income of the lands should be equal to the sum of the annuity. His Lordship's experience in the purchase of lands had induced him to make this proposition. It was much better for the house to adopt this mode, leaving the individual, if he preferred it, to purchase estates out of a former grant made by Parliament, instead of cancelling the annuity. The noble Duke was entitled by the vote of Parliament on a former occasion to 10,000*l.* a year, 3000*l.* of which might be applied annually to the purchase of lands, leaving the noble Duke 7000*l.* a year. The noble Earl concluded by moving an address to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to inform him that the house would cheerfully concur in the recommendation contained in his royal message.

The Earl of Liverpool moved, in succession, the consideration of the Prince Regent's message, as applicable to provisions for Lord Lyndoch, Lord Rowland Hill, and Lord Carr Beresford. The noble Earl paid the tribute of praise due, first to General Graham, who had been considered second to Lord Wellington in the various operations in Spain and Portugal. The devotion of that officer to the interest of his country had been noticed also by his willingness to proceed in a bad state of health to Holland, where he had sustained a most honourable character. Lord Hill he extolled for prudence, and having the entire confidence of Lord Wellington Lord Beresford was the subject of admira-

tion, as the man who had disciplined the Portuguese levies, making them troops worthy to take the field with the British.

Addresses to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, concurring in all his recommendations, were moved and carried in succession, with entire unanimity, and the said addresses ordered to be presented by the Lords with white staves.

House of Commons, May 12.—A committee upon the messages of the Prince Regent being gone into by the whole house, the Chancellor of the Exchequer took a wide survey of the military character of the Duke of Wellington and the other general officers specified in those messages, and concluded by moving that the sum of 10,000*l.* be paid annually out of the consolidated fund for the use of the Duke of Wellington, to be at any time commuted for the sum of 300,000*l.* to be laid out on the purchase of an estate. On the question being put, Mr. Whitbread objected to the proposed grant, because it was not sufficiently large, and he did not approve of the proposition that if the sum was found inadequate a second application might be made. No time ought to be delayed in making such a provision as was commensurate to the service rendered, and the dignity conferred. The house should have in contemplation to settle the Duke of Wellington on a great landed estate, and in a noble house in some part of the country; and the sum proposed was not sufficient for such a purpose. Mr. Ponsonby moved to add 100,000*l.* to the proposed sum. The Chancellor of the Exchequer observed in reply, that no pecuniary reward could be equal to the services of the Duke of Wellington. He would therefore propose 400,000*l.* and augment the annuity to 13,000*l.* per annum; so that, with the sum of 100,000*l.* already granted, half a million would be placed at the disposal of the Duke of Wellington. Mr. Whitbread replied, that this addition made the act complete, and he was perfectly satisfied. After the resolution had been unanimously carried, grants of two thousand pounds per annum were conferred upon Lords Lyndoch, Hill, and Beresford. In the House of Commons (July 1) Lord Castlereagh stated, that in consequence of the intimation of the house, his Grace the Duke of Wellington was in attendance. This was a memorable scene. All the members uncovered, rose, and enthusiastically cheered him as he entered, dressed in his Marshal's uniform, profusely decorated with military orders, and bowing repeatedly to the house. The Duke seated himself in the chair of ceremony, which was placed a few feet from the bar, and put his hat on. The members of the house then resumed their seats, when his Grace instantly rose, took off his hat, and addressed the Speaker to the following effect: "Mr. Speaker, I was anxious to be permitted to attend this house, in order to return my thanks in person for the honour done me in deputing a committee of the house to congratulate me on my return to this country. After the house had animated my exertions by their applause on every occasion that appeared to them to meet their approbation; and after they had recently been so liberal in the bill by which they followed up the gracious favour of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in conferring upon me the noblest gift a subject has ever received, I hope I shall not be thought presumptuous if I take this opportunity of expressing my admiration at the great efforts made by this house, and by the country, at a moment of unexampled pressure and difficulty, in order to support, on a great scale, those operations by which the contest in which we were engaged has been brought to so fortunate a conclusion. By the wise policy of Parliament, government were enabled to give the necessary support to the operations carried on under my direction. The confidence reposed in me by his Majesty's ministers, and by the commander-in-chief, the gracious favours conferred on me by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and the reliance I had on the support of my gallant friends the general officers, and the bravery of the officers and troops of the army, encouraged me to carry on the operations in which I was engaged, in such a manner as to draw from this house those repeated marks of their approbation for which I now return them my sincere thanks. Sir, it is impossible for me to express the gratitude which I feel. I can only assure the house, that I shall always be

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ready to serve my king and country in any capacity in which my services may be considered as useful or necessary."

Loud cheers followed this speech, at the conclusion of which,

The speaker rose, took off his hat, and addressed the Duke of Wellington as follows: "My Lord, since last I had the honour of addressing you from this place, a series of eventful years have elapsed; but none without some mark and note of your rising glory. The military triumphs which your valour has achieved upon the banks of the Douro, and the Tagus, of the Ebro, and the Garonne, have called for the spontaneous shouts of admiring nations. Those triumphs it is needless on this day to recount. Their names have been written by your conquering sword in the annals of Europe, and we shall hand them down with exultation to our children's children. It is not, however, the grandeur of military success which has alone fixed our admiration, or commanded our applauses; it has been that generous and lofty spirit which inspired your troops with unbounded confidence, and taught them to know that the day of battle was always a day of victory; that moral courage and enduring fortitude, which, in perilous times, when gloom and doubt had beset ordinary minds, stood nevertheless unshaken; and that ascendency of character, which uniting the energies of jealous and rival nations, enabled you to wield at will the fate and fortunes of mighty empires. For the repeated thanks and grants bestowed upon you by this house, in gratitude for your many and eminent services, you have thought fit this day to offer us your acknowledgments; but this nation well knows that it is still largely your debtor. It owes to you the proud satisfaction, that amidst the constellations of illustrious warriors, who have recently visited our country, we could present to them a leader of our own, to whom all, by common acclamation, conceded the pre-eminence; and when the will of heaven, and the common destinies of our nature, shall have swept away the present generation, you will have left your great name an imperishable monument, exciting others to like deeds of glory, and serving at once to adorn, defend, and perpetuate the existence of this country amongst the ruling nations of the earth. It now remains only that we congratulate your Grace upon the high and important mission on which you are about to proceed, and we doubt not, that the same splendid talents, so conspicuous in war, will maintain with equal authority, firmness, and temper, our national honour and interests in peace."

During the Speaker's address, the acclamations were loud and frequent; and at the close of it there was a general and long continued cry of *hear, hear, hear!*—The Duke then took his leave, bowing repeatedly, and all the members, uncovered, rose and warmly cheered him, as he retired.

CHAP. III.

Sanguine expectations excited by the late generosity of the allies.—Disappointment of these hopes.—The continuance of the slave trade severely censured in the two houses.—Talleyrand is sent to the Congress at Vienna.—Views and principles of that august body.—Injustice of the allies towards Poland and Saxony.—Proclamation of Frederick Augustus.—Unprincipled determination of the confederates to promote the designs of Bernadotte on Norway.—Their conduct severely reprobated in the British Parliament.—Success of the Swedish arms and intrigues.—Wise and patriotic conduct of the King of Holland.—Elevation of Hanover to the rank of a kingdom.—Infamy and futuity of the King of Spain.—Exemplary conduct of the Prince of Portugal.

By the treaty of Paris it was declared in general terms, that all the powers engaged on both sides in the late war should send plenipotentiaries to Vienna, for the purpose of regulating in a general congress the arrangements necessary for completing the

enactments of that treaty. From this congress much was expected. The measures of the allies towards France had been highly generous and forbearing. They had declared in the face of the world that they were not prompted by self-interest or ambition, and their recent conduct had justified their professions. They had expressed a sincere and ardent wish to restore to all Europe the blessings of peace and independence, and to heal the wounds which for more than twenty years had been inflicted on the fairest portion of the globe. These assurances were amply redeemed in their conduct to the French nation, within the walls of Paris, and by the sacrifice of just retaliation to the dictates of humane and honourable feeling.—When all these acts of lenity and moderation were considered, in connection with the deep impression which must have been felt by the allies of the miseries of war, and the destructive tendency of ambition, even those who most suspected the sincerity and veracity of princes, anticipated some great and good effect from the congress of Vienna. At this congress were to be assembled the monarchs themselves, and it might therefore be expected that unusual regard would be paid to the dictates of justice and sound policy. The past sufferings of the allied sovereigns were considered as pledges of their sincerity, and their personal characters favoured these prepossessions. The Emperor Alexander had conciliated, during his visit to England, the admiration and confidence of all classes, by the suavity of his manners, and by the impressions connected with his late magnanimity to a fallen enemy. While in this country he principally employed his time in seeing and examining those institutions and improvements in machinery which might be of service to his own country, so that it was hoped by many that a monarch had at length arisen who would feel more delight in the protection of knowledge, and the advancement of civilization, than in war and conquest.

1814.—The king of Prussia had suffered deeply in his wars with Buonaparte, not merely as a sovereign but as a husband: he bitterly lamented the death of his queen, and his demeanour was sedate, reserved, and melancholy. From his retired and reflective habits, it was presumed that in the congress of Vienna he would raise his voice, and exert his influence, in favour of those schemes alone which had for their object the reciprocal benefit of monarchs and subjects. Less was expected from the Emperor of Austria than from his illustrious confederates. Parade and ostentation, a frigid indifference to the feelings and interests of his subjects, except as they were combined with the pomp or the pecuniary advantage of the court, and apparent indifference to all the sufferings of Europe, were the peculiar and unpleasing traits in the character of this monarch. From the other sovereigns assembled at Vienna: the kings of Bavaria, Wirtemburg, and Denmark, little was expected; for whatever their personal characters might be, they possessed, comparatively, so little influence, that they would be compelled to acquiesce in the views and plans of the three great potentates.

Besides the monarchs who were assembled at the congress of Vienna, there were the ministers of Britain and France; Lord Castlereagh from the former, and Talleyrand from the latter. The influence of England at the congress ought to have been very great. She alone, of all the powers engaged with Buonaparte, had never been conquered or invaded: by her perseverence he was finally overthrown: by her example the allies had been encouraged to continue the arduous contest: she had made most wonderful and unparalleled exertions to aid them, both with men and money. Her interests at Vienna were committed to a man, who, however deficient as a minister of war, possesses in the department of diplomacy intelligence, firmness, and address. At the time when the allies were on the point of gaining possession of Paris, and when Buonaparte was in their rear, they were saved from retreat and probable destruction by the intervention of Lord Castlereagh. As England had little or nothing to ask from the continental powers she was undoubtedly the better enabled to raise her voice in the cause of justice and liberty. It was therefore hoped that Lord Castlereagh would be able, on the part of his country, to benefit the cause of freedom at Vienna in a manner worthy of the

nation which he represented, and of his own reputation. One important object at least, connected with the cause of humanity, it became his peculiar duty to obtain. By the treaty of Paris the French were allowed to carry on the slave trade for five years, under the pretext that this treaty was absolutely necessary for the supply of her West India islands with slaves. At this article of the treaty the people of Great Britain were so indignant that the Prince Regent gave instructions to Lord Castlereagh that he should use his utmost endeavours to procure the total and immediate abolition of the slave trade, not only from France, but from all the other European powers by which it was tolerated or carried on. All the remaining objects which he was directed to accomplish were of the same description: all unconnected with the particular interests of Great Britain, and conducive to the liberty and happiness of Europe; and it was hoped that he would prove successful.

The subject of the slave trade was debated in the House of Commons with a zeal and perseverance honourable to humanity. On May 3d Mr. Wilberforce rose to make a motion for an address to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to take the present opportunity of proposing to foreign powers the abolition of the slave trade. In 1806 and 1810, the house had voted *nem. con.* addresses of a nature similar to the present. It was impossible, however, for any person not to see, that there never was a period more favourable, a better prospect of success, or more powerful motives for interference, than there was at the present time. It was a time in which the British cabinet and foreign governments were more closely drawn together, and more intimately connected, than at any former period. It was a time when all the nations of Europe were about to revive their commercial relations with each other, and to study the elements of a lasting peace. When we considered the extraordinary circumstances in which we now stood, and the extraordinary successes we had experienced in a long course of providential events, it appeared to him that there was no better or more acceptable mode of expressing our gratitude to that providence which had brought us in safety and triumph out of all our trials, than to do what in us lay to diminish the mass of human suffering. Never did any time appear fitter for the proposition he had now to make. The great continental powers had distinguished themselves by their moderation and generosity, and had shown a temper and character that left no doubt but that they would be well disposed to contribute to any great plan for the relief of suffering nations. When the present circumstances were taken into consideration, when it was considered what great provocations some of the allied powers had received from France, and what noble revenge they had taken by returning benefits for injuries, and good for evil, he felt a most sanguine hope, that when they were made thoroughly acquainted with the nature of this horrid traffic, they would, as a sequel to their noble conduct, join heartily in this great act of justice and humanity. At the time when this question was first agitated, there were great and powerful interests contending against it. It was then represented that the commerce and marine of this country would be ruined by the adoption of such a measure; that the estates in the West Indies could no longer be cultivated; and that the slaves which were now sold to our islands, would be, in future, murdered on the coasts of Africa. Those things were so confidently asserted, that it naturally produced some hesitation. We had, however, ventured to try the experiment, and the threatened evils had not taken place. We had, therefore, tried the experiment for all other nations; and in now proposing to them to abolish this trade, we could confidently tell them that those evils were not likely to ensue. The slave trade of France had been practically destroyed by the war, and therefore that country had nothing to give up in this respect. He did not wish to appear to exult over him who had lately fallen: but in justice to his subject he must say, that there appeared such a connection between the slave trade and Buonaparte, that while he was in power there was but little prospect of any general agreement of nations to abolish it. He considered Buonaparte a far greater enemy to mankind, from his principles, than even from his conquests;

from his openly laughing to scorn all the established principles of religion and morals, he was indeed a deadly enemy to the happiness of mankind. The abolition of the slave trade could never be agreed to by him, as he had not principle enough even to understand the motives of it. When that most able and eloquent champion of the abolition (Mr. Fox) spoke to him upon the subject, he found it impossible to convince him that England, or any other country, could seriously wish for the abolition of a measure from which revenues were derived, from motives of mere humanity. The present king, however, would be faithful to the great duties of the station he occupied, and there was something even in the misfortunes which he had experienced, that naturally opened the mind of men to relieve the miseries of others. As to Spain, she was no longer in those delicate and critical circumstances, when the government would be afraid of adopting a measure that might give offence to the merchants of Cadiz, or some other town that might be interested in the trade. As to Portugal, it was known that the Prince Regent of Portugal had signed an engagement with this country for the gradual abolition of this trade, but Portugal, he was sorry to see, still persisted in the shameful traffic. He then read some regulations which had been adopted by the Portuguese government, which, to his feelings, were more provoking than even doing nothing for their relief.—Sweden had already acquiesced in the proposition of our government. Denmark, much to its honour, had discontinued the trade for a long time; and America had declared against it. He did not think the present motion necessary for the purpose of reminding ministers of the subject; but his object was to strengthen their representations, by showing to all foreign powers, that the British parliament had not acted from a mere transient fit of humanity and justice, but that they considered this as a subject of the most serious nature, and never could lose sight of it. It would be a noble sequel to the glorious events which had taken place in Europe, if a foundation were now laid for the future security, peace, and happiness of the inhabitants of Africa. Our thanksgivings to heaven for our own deliverance would not then be met by the shrieks of the suffering natives of another country. It should never be forgotten, that what was complained of, was not merely the sufferings of those individuals, torn from their country and their friends, and sold to slavery; but the great sum of African misery was, that, in consequence of this trade, internal wars were for ever raging in Africa, and its inhabitants were unacquainted with peace or security. Although he was no advocate for the Roman catholic religion, yet he must still do that justice to many of the heads of it to say, that the decrees of the pope, and the recommendations of their clergy, had principally contributed, in former times, to the enfranchisement of the lower orders of the people in Europe. He therefore did believe, that the spirit of that religion would now, in catholic countries, incline the rulers "to do justice and to love mercy;" and he thought that the reverence now shown to the pope was a pledge that the catholic countries would not oppose a proposition made to them in the true principles of christianity. The slave trade had been described by Mr. Pitt as the greatest practical evil which had been suffered to afflict the human race. He concluded by moving an address to the following effect: "That the house, relying in confidence on the solemn assertions and declarations which it had promulgated in 1806 and 1810, for the absolute and unequivocal abolition of the slave trade, humbly besought the Prince Regent to interpose the good offices and interference of government with the allied powers on the continent, to induce them to aid and assist in this desirable and humane object, by discountenancing and forbidding the same in their respective dominions."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, he could not but hope that the unanimous declaration of the British parliament would have great weight with all the allied powers on the continent; and that his honourable friend who had originally brought forward this laudable and most important measure would live to see it carried into most complete effect, and would be rewarded with that universal approbation which his unabated exertions and continual perseverance for

so many years so eminently entitled him to.

Mr. Ponsonby gave his most cordial approbation to all that had fallen from the honourable mover. He alluded to the despotism which had just been overthrown in France, and observed, that the governments of Europe may rejoice in that just combination of power which has rescued them from the thraldom of a single individual. Strange, therefore, would it be, if Europe, owing her glory and safety to the interposition of Providence, should make so ungrateful a return as to join in the infliction of misery on her fellow-creatures. He would add, that that power which had endeavoured to found an excuse for the slave trade, on motives of humanity, had itself been guilty of a most disgraceful offence against humanity. Such language was a mean, malignant, and rancorous attempt to combine the attributes of virtue with an endeavour to increase the miseries of the human race.

Mr. Canning rose, not to express his sentiments on the abolition of the slave trade, that was unnecessary, as they were already known to the house; he rose to declare it to be his opinion, that the vote which they were about to come to this night would not be a barren vote, but one that would materially aid the great cause they were anxious to promote. Their unanimity on this occasion would not merely support what they had already done, but would do much towards persuading the great powers of Europe to unite with England to put down the slave trade. Let it not be said, when this language was held, that the English were always vaunting of their importance in, and influence over, Europe. On such an occasion they had a right to expect that their example and authority would produce the happiest results. With those powers who had not acknowledged the injustice of this traffic in human blood, the authority of Great Britain must have some weight, and with that larger portion who, approving the principle acted upon by England, feared the application of it in their own case, our example must prevail. The apprehensions they at present entertained, must be in a great measure removed, when they saw that we, after cutting off that trade, which was to us a source of wealth and power, (if it ever had been a source of wealth and power to any nation on earth,) had lost nothing by obedience to the dictates of humanity, but had still been able not only to defend ourselves, but to contribute largely to the restoration of the independence of Europe. With those powers who had not recognised the propriety of abolishing the slave trade, he would now take a higher tone than he thought it would have been wise in the day of their distress, when, struggling with difficulties, they looked to this country; for he would take a higher tone with them for this reason, were they in some sort dependent on us, a strong remonstrance on this subject would have gone with too much of authority; but now that the danger was past, and they had recovered their independence, we might assume a loftier tone without appearing to insult them, by holding out a threat if they refused to comply with our wishes. Spain and Portugal could now defend themselves without our assistance, and they could decline attending to our representations without fear of being abandoned to ruin. This then was the time when we could speak with most freedom; for, as we could urge it with more of delicacy than formerly, so we could press it with more of firmness. The happy adjustment of the affairs of the world, which seemed now about to take place, would be incomplete, if an attempt to put an end to the slave trade did not form one grand feature of it. The technical consent to its abolition of those powers who were not actively engaged in it, ought to be obtained, as, if this were not done, their flags would be abused by individuals belonging to other countries, who would be ready to avail themselves of this subterfuge to avoid punishment. The sanction of all the great nations of Europe to its being done away was necessary, and of vast importance, not so much for the mighty power they possessed, as for the use they had made of that power. If their consent were not given to the abolition of the slave trade, things would not merely remain as they are in this respect, but the traffic in slaves would be greater than it had been for many years. The question then was, whether the æra of a general peace in Europe

should secure the repose of Africa, or furnish a new starting-post for the plunder and devastation of that quarter of the globe. He hoped that the voice of the people, heard through that unanimous vote of the house, in favour of that which justice, which humanity, and which sound policy, all combined to recommend to every nation, would not appeal to the assembled majesty of Europe in vain.

Mr. Marryatt could take upon himself to state, that those connected with the West India colonies were as anxious as any other class of persons could be, for the universal abolition of the slave trade. Unless the house and the country went further than they had yet gone in this business, though they had washed their own hands of the guilt, they had done little towards lessening the evil which they proposed to remedy, as, while the subjects of other countries engaged in it at all, they did more in proportion as this country did less. From the report of the African society, it appeared that up to the year 1810, the average number of slaves obtained from Africa annually amounted to eighty thousand, one half of which were carried away by the Spaniards, and the other half by the Portuguese. That traffic which was formerly carried on in English ships, was thus kept up in Spanish and Portuguese vessels. The abolition of the slave trade had produced one good effect, that of greatly meliorating the condition of the slaves in the colonies. The negroes were much better treated, and the old system of having night and day gangs had been abandoned. The total abolition of the slave trade would be a glorious consummation of the happy events lately witnessed in Europe: and he thought the Prince Regent could not be called upon to perform a more grateful task than that which the resolution before the house went to assign to him.

Mr. Whitbread said, those were deceived, who imagined every man in England wished for the abolition of the slave trade. Before he knew any thing of the present motion, it had come to his ears, that there were persons in this country base enough to wish for the return of peace, on account of the facilities it would afford for carrying on this detestable traffic under another flag. He was glad this motion had been so ably supported by his right honourable friend near him (Mr. Ponsonby), and the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Canning), as the demonstration thus made, would convince those persons to whom he had alluded, that the legislature was intent upon procuring the perfect abolition of the slave trade throughout the world. At a former period, when we recommended the abolition of the slave trade to the other powers of Europe, it was thought we ought to set the example by abolishing it ourselves. It was under such circumstances that the last peace was concluded, and reflections were then cast on the advocates for the abolition of the slave trade in that house, because such a step had not been taken. That blot remained on our character no longer. We had now set the example. He was glad to concur in the address, and he hoped it would produce a general and beneficial effect—beneficial even according to the most sordid calculation—as the trading interest of every country would profit by it. He had been present at many of the debates which precluded the abolition of the slave trade in this country, which perhaps boasted the greatest display of eloquence (from the members then on both sides of the house) ever witnessed in the world. Mr. Pitt commenced the march of one of his speeches, by appealing to those who would only consider their interest, who had no feeling but in their purse, and demonstrated by arguments which could not be answered, that it was their interest to put an end to a traffic so disgraceful. He had then, with that eloquence which he so well knew how to use, applied himself to persuade them to do it. This argument ought now to be held out to the deluded governments of Spain and Portugal, and to that most deluded government which attempted to justify the slave trade. They ought to be made to understand that their interest required that this traffic should be no more. He could not anticipate opposition to the motion; and but for the desire he felt to express his own feeling on this subject, he should have thought it quite unnecessary to add one word to the able speeches of those who had preceded him.

Mr. J. Smith and Mr. W. Smith both spoke in approbation of the motion, which was then carried *nem. con.*

June 27.—Lord Grenville called the attention of the house to that article in the treaty with France which allowed that power to carry on the detestable traffic in human creatures—an article which, though it declared that the practice was contrary to natural justice, yet allowed that it should be continued for five years! Had an individual made such a declaration, what would have been thought of his conduct? Yet the honour of governments ought to stand upon higher grounds. Lord Grenville, in the course of a very eloquent speech, which our limits will not allow us to go into, contended, that it was absurd to suppose that France would give up the trade at the end of five years, when she had embarked much property in it, if she would not renounce it when she had not a single sixpence employed in it; that England had it perfectly in her power to have insisted on the abolition of the trade, for that France, with her capital lost and her armies defeated, could not but have consented—at any rate, as we had her colonies in our hands, it surely was not necessary that we should give them up without stipulating for the abolition; and that by not so doing, we had consented to place those colonies in a much worse situation than when we held them. Not to dilate, said his Lordship, on the mischief that would be done by checking the progress of amelioration in Guadaloupe and Martinique, the supply of the French part of St. Domingo alone would occasion a revival of the slave trade to as great an extent as the whole of the traffic at the period of our abolition. This must be the consequence before that place could be brought to a state of full cultivation by slaves. The noble Lord concluded by stating the effect which the revival of the slave trade would have upon the immense territory of Africa. "I would," said he, "that all the horrid scenes of this nefarious traffic were as present to your Lordships' minds as they are to mine. I cannot paint to you with all the vividness with which they dwell upon my imagination, all the miseries which that traffic inflicted upon that desolated land; not over miles, but whole regions; not only the public war, which it induced, of state against state, but of individual against individual, and of family against family. Throughout the whole range of territory, no individual was safe for an hour against kidnappers, lured by the acts of European slave traders, lured by pretensions to witchcraft, by delusions, and by every species of wickedness. I cannot paint to you the daily and hourly miseries which this traffic inflicted on Africa—villages desolate—towns sacked—sovereigns selling their subjects—masters betraying not only their servants but the very partners and children of their beds. This, and much more than this, was proved at the bar of both houses: and it was the glory of this country, that by a brilliant though tardy act of justice, by a repentance sincere though late, it showed itself desirous to make the only atonement in its power for all these calamities, by abolishing for ever the cause of so much misery. This was at length effected; and I am sure (speaking the sentiments of others as well as myself), there was no moment of my life so happy, nor can there be in this world, as that in which the abolition was effected. In proportion to this happiness was my grief to find that Britain had, by her concurrence with France, declared that all this misery should be once again restored to Africa, to darken again the face of that devoted country, and to cause those who had been taught to bless us, to curse us to our face." The noble Lord concluded by moving, that an humble address be presented to the Prince Regent, praying him to give directions, that there be laid before the house copies of all the representations on the part of this government, during the late negotiation between it and France, which related to the abolition of the slave trade, together with such part of the dispatches of ministers as related to the same.

Lord Liverpool resisted the motion. He denied that the article of the treaty allowed a continuation of the traffic; it stipulated for its abolition in five years. He contended that we had no right to dictate morality to France, or to go to war on that account. Ministers had done every thing in their power to persuade the French government to renounce the trade, but the public opinion

in France was not sufficiently enlightened on the subject. It would not have been justifiable to have made the abolition a *sine qua non* of either making peace or ceding colonies. This country had only resigned the traffic after years of deliberation. He had no doubt whatever on his mind, that France would strictly adhere to the treaty, and abolish the trade at the end of the period. This being a question of moral obligation, was much more delicate than any other question, for it was one upon which every state conceived it had a right to judge for itself. Against the production of the papers he must vote; the subject was still a a matter of negotiation, and their production must be attended with inconvenience.

Lord Holland had heard the noble Lord triumphantly ask, was the abolition to be a *sine qua non*, and was England prepared to go to war on this point? He would answer that by another question: was France prepared to go to war if we insisted on it? But while the noble Lord seemed to feel the most dreadful scruple at degrading France by the abolition, he had exhibited none at stigmatizing its conduct in the very phrase of the treaty. But was it a degradation to insist on the giving up a traffic of iniquity and blood? But if the treaty was not put in exact execution in five years, where was the means of enforcing it? or was the noble Lord prepared to say it should be a *sine qua non*, and go to war for it? If not, the words were of no meaning. But in England we were several years shaking off the slave trade, and why expect France to do it at once? Yes, but the trade was interwoven with our whole system, and capital had been embarked in it on the faith of parliament. But France was not to be degraded. No, but the noble Lord had degraded her by the words in which the traffic was described; and most justly, as contrary to the principles of natural justice and the knowledge of an enlightened age. And after this, talk of degradation! He hoped to see the interference of parliament, and the strong appeal of the British people; and he was inclined to think that even in France a spirit might be found superior to that of their government.

On the question being put, there were for the motion 27—Against it 62—Majority 35. —Adjourned.

It was for some time doubtful whether France was entitled to send an ambassador to the congress at Vienna, as the object of that congress was to complete those stipulations which had been left undetermined by the treaty of Paris, and as by that treaty every thing connected with the interests of France had been arranged. But the latter, even under her new sovereign, had not lost her national disposition to intrigue, and Talleyrand urged so strongly the right of his country to take a part in the deliberations of congress, that he was permitted to come to Vienna. It was impossible to anticipate any good from the presence of the French ambassador, as neither the national character, nor that of Talleyrand, were calculated to inspire the slightest confidence in their sincerity. The experience and remembrance of their conduct was too recent in the minds of all the allies to encourage the hope of evading the treaty of Paris, but the court of France expected, through its ambassador, to sow the seeds of jealousy among the confederate powers, and obtain from their dissensions some portion at least of the territories which had been wrested from her. The subject of maritime rights alone, if adroitly introduced, might occasion distrust and animosity between Britain and some of her allies, and thus benefit France. Russia, notwithstanding her willingness to ascribe to Britain her just share in the downfall of Buonaparte, still retained the principles on which the Princess Catharine had acted, in the establishment of the maritime confederacy at the close of the American war.

It was impossible that France could have selected an individual more calculated to prosecute its views with success than Talleyrand, a statesman of the highest class, and decidedly inimical to the maritime rights of Britain. He was placed in a situation unusually arduous and delicate. He appeared as ambassador from a nation which had just been conquered, to whom terms much more favourable than they could expect had been granted; that could not, with any grace or reasonable pretence, interfere with the deliberations at Vienna; and that

was still regarded by the confederates with an eye of suspicion. The triumphant armies of the allies, which had entered Paris, were yet hovering on the confines of France, and if his demands, or even the expression of his hopes or wishes, were urged with improper eagerness or presumption, his country might be again overrun. With respect to any plan of curbing the power of Britain on the sea, it was necessary to proceed with the utmost caution; for however desirous the emperor of Russia might be to establish a new maritime code, he could not be expected to urge it against Britain at the present moment, and as coming from France he would view the proposal with great distrust. The talents, however, and experience of Talleyrand were equal to his situation, and were the more completely displayed in proportion as their exercise was required by the urgency of the occasion.

The grand object which the congress at Vienna professed to have in view, was the restoration of Europe, as nearly as possible, to the state in which it was before the revolution, only changing that condition as far as might be deemed necessary, to strengthen the inferior states. The experience of the last few years had proved that the latter, unable to defend or protect themselves, must fall under the power of their stronger neighbours in the case of another war. This truth had been fatally exemplified with respect to the small states of Germany, which had easily submitted to France after the commencement of the revolution, and thus enabled her to contend with the great powers of Europe even when combined against her. As France, from the general diffusion of a military spirit throughout the country, and from the immense resources that she would still possess when her prisoners were restored, was still the great object of suspicion and alarm to the rest of the continent of Europe, it became necessary to strengthen the states which bordered on her territories. On this principle Belgium, even in the treaty of Paris, had been annexed to Holland. The settlement and concerns of Poland, Saxony, and the smaller states of Germany and Italy, necessarily came within the avowed purpose of the allied monarchs, and with respect to each great difficulties arose; difficulties which too clearly and fatally proved that the councils and measures of the allies by no means corresponded with their late professions. As they had long inveighed against the ambition of Buonaparte: as they, in common with their subjects, had traced all the calamities of Europe to his aggressions, it might have been imagined that they would have effaced that first example of spoliation which had served as his excuse, and have restored Poland to national independence. I need not remind my readers of the partitions of that unhappy country, and that Russia, Prussia, and Austria, had insulted and divided Poland with as little pretence of justice as they themselves had been invaded and oppressed. The time was now arrived when they were fully enabled to redeem their characters by one decisive act of generous policy. The emperor Alexander in particular had voluntarily declared himself the liberator of Europe, had disclaimed every view of ambitious conquest, and promised the subversion of all the unjust and pernicious principles on which France had so long acted. The empire of Russia was already enormous. The plan and policy of the Russian sovereigns, from the time of Peter the Great, had uniformly been to mix more and more with the politics of western Europe, and the last campaign had given Alexander an influence and importance unknown to his predecessors on the throne. If Poland were incorporated with his kingdom, it would add to the extent of his territory; enable him to collect and organize the scattered nations of which his empire is composed, and provide him a resting-place, where he might recruit and discipline those forces which he had brought together from the remotest boundaries of Asia. It was therefore the interest as well as the expectation of Europe, that Poland should be restored to a state of actual independence. How deplorably these hopes were disappointed will be seen in the annals of the year 1815.

The case of Saxony was much more difficult and important in a moral though not in a political point of view, than the case of Poland. The latter country had been for some time divided, and in the possession of Russia, Austria, and Prussia; and therefore it might not

be expected, that the professions of the sovereigns of these countries in behalf of moderation and justice would extend so far in their execution as the giving up of Poland, and its restoration to the condition and privileges of an actually independent government. But Saxony was differently situated; and it may naturally be asked, On what possible ground could the case of Saxony come before sovereigns who had claimed honour to themselves for their moderation, and for their abhorrence of all the principles and conduct of Buonaparte? But Saxony was a conquered country. Did they then mean still to retain the barbarous and unjust idea, that the conquest of a country gave a right to the conquerors to dispose of it as they thought proper, or to reserve it for themselves? If they did, they had emancipated themselves but very partially and imperfectly from the principles of Buonaparte. France was a conquered country; but France they did not treat as such: all the territories which they had wrested from France were conquered countries; but these were either actually restored, or it was naturally expected from the professions of the allied sovereigns, that they would be restored to their national independence, and their old station and rank in Europe. What, then, had Saxony done to be made an exception? The ultimate success of Europe against Buonaparte, it was virtually acknowledged by the conquerors themselves, had been in a great measure owing to the feelings and resistance of the people; and the allied sovereigns had given the world reason to believe, that the happiness of the people in all they had done, and in all they meant to do, at Vienna, was their principal and cherished object. But the people of Saxony were perhaps the most enlightened, industrious, and happy of all Germany; and this condition, if not obtained for them, had been secured and extended to them by their sovereign and his government. Why, then, even propose to alter her government? why propose that that feeling of national independence should be destroyed by incorporating them with another state, which must at the same time weaken the sources of their happiness? The reason given was, that the king of Saxony had been the friend and ally of Buonaparte; this was the reason for dethroning him; and as the allied sovereigns were desirous of placing the whole of Europe in such a state of equipoise with regard to power, as should diminish the probability of future wars, it was moreover supposed to be their object to annex Saxony to Prussia. Here then are two questions to be considered: Whether the king of Saxony ought to be dethroned? and, if he ought, what should become of Saxony?

The king of Saxony, it was contended, deserved no mercy: he had adhered to Buonaparte to the last, and therefore ought to suffer the fate of Buonaparte: and this was the language of sovereigns, who all in their turns had adhered to Buonaparte; who had joined with him in many of his schemes of ambition and conquest. Did the emperor of Russia forget that, by the treaty of Tilsit, he agreed to participate in the spoliation of Prussia? Did the king of Prussia forget his conduct towards Hanover? Did the emperor of Austria not recollect that, by giving his daughter in marriage to Buonaparte, he had done more than any of the other sovereigns to strengthen his power? But it was said they had all left him: yes, when they deemed it safe; when they found his fortunes decline. The king of Saxony thought better of the stability of his fortune than he ought, and therefore adhered to him longer than he ought. But let us grant, what indeed after all must be conceded, that the king of Saxony was a more steady and warm friend of Buonaparte than any of the other sovereigns had ever been, even at the period of their most solemn professions; ought he, therefore, on that account to be dethroned? This consequence undoubtedly would have followed, if the conquerors had been resolved to act on the usual principles which guided conquerors: but the question now was, What should be the fate of the king of Saxony if the emperor Alexander (for to him the world looked up in a most particular manner, not only on account of his more open and frequent professions, but also on account of his greater influence,) acted consistently with what he had led Europe to expect from him? The path of moderation and justice—the path which directly led to the accomplishment of the hopes of Europe,

was clear and distinct. The king of Saxony had been highly culpable in adhering so long as he did to the cause of Buonaparte: for this he ought perhaps to be punished. But, on the other hand, Saxony had flourished under his dominion: this should have been taken into consideration; and it ought, first of all, to have been investigated by the allied sovereigns, whether, if they punished the king, they would not thus also diminish the happiness of the inhabitants of Saxony.

To the people of France, who, though not so criminal as Buonaparte himself, could not be looked upon as guiltless, in so far as they enabled him to carry on his crimes, the allied sovereigns had granted the choice of a sovereign. Were the people of Saxony not to receive an equal degree of favour, because their sovereign had been an instrument in the hand of Buonaparte? No person who knew his character, who was acquainted with his mode of rule over Saxony, could for a moment suppose that he approved of Buonaparte's crimes: he was weak, but not wicked. On these considerations, therefore, it might have been hoped that the king of Saxony would not be punished by the deprivation of his dominions, by sovereigns who had each of them known and felt the influence of that man, for his connexion with whom it was thus proposed to punish him.

If, however, the fate of the king of Saxony was decided, and he should be deprived of his territories; what ought to be the fate of Saxony itself? Ought not the allied sovereigns to have addressed the inhabitants to the following purport:—"Your king no longer deserves to rule over you, or to be recognised by us, because of his adherence to Buonaparte: in order to deter other sovereigns, it is absolutely necessary to make an example of him; we must therefore deprive him of his throne; we know that to you (except in the case of his attachment to Buonaparte) he has been a good prince; that Saxony under him has flourished exceedingly, so as now to be superior to most other parts of Germany, in agriculture, manufactures, literature and happiness: these blessings we wish to preserve to you: but as we are sensible that they cannot be preserved entire unless national independence be preserved, and the minds and hearts of the people go with the government, we cheerfully give you the choice of your new sovereign; we do not wish to strip Saxony of any part of her old and legitimate territory, nor to deprive her of her independence; and though we feel ourselves under the necessity of not placing the continuance of your prince on the throne within your choice, we completely give up to you the selection of his successor." Such language would have been greeted by Europe as the harbinger of her peace and happiness: and to such language the people of Saxony, who had never approved of or sanctioned the attachment of their king to Buonaparte,—the army of Saxony, who by their defection from the tyrant, at the battle of Leipsic, had contributed so essentially to the fate of that decisive and glorious day,—were justly entitled.

But it was said that Saxony must be annexed to Prussia; that the inferior consideration of the independence and wishes of its inhabitants must give way to the paramount consideration of the future peace of Europe. The object of the congress of Vienna, it was given out, was the placing of the various states on the continent of Europe on such a relative footing, that future wars might be avoided; or, if they took place, that no one power, as France had recently done, might preponderate so greatly as to overwhelm the rest of the continent. This was certainly a desirable object; and could it have been effected by means not at variance with justice, it would have been hailed with joyful acclamations by every friend of the tranquillity and happiness of mankind. But had the allied sovereigns forgotten already one of the most fatal and dreadful infringements which Buonaparte made on the venerable code of morality, which had always before his time been professed, though, alas! too often forgotten in conduct by the sovereigns of Europe,—that evil might not be done that good might come? In no respect had the revolution of France, and especially the military despotism to which that event had given rise, done more mischief to mankind, than in the unsettling, and holding up to contempt, those principles of morality which had always before been at least professed: and yet the

allied sovereigns thought of sanctioning the new principles of France.

The important objection that occurs to this proposal (setting aside for the present all considerations of a moral nature) is, that Prussia might be strengthened in a much more proper and natural manner. By the treaty of Tilsit, between the emperor Alexander and Buonaparte, a large part of the dominions of Prussia were taken from her, and given to Alexander:—why not restore them? Has Alexander any better claim to them than Buonaparte had to most of his conquests? These territories were not conquered by Alexander, but by Buonaparte, and given by the latter to the former; to that sovereign, who had entered into the war with Buonaparte for the protection of Prussia. Unless Alexander wished the world to believe that the articles of the treaty of Tilsit, so far as they regarded the spoliation of Prussia, were not compulsory on him, he ought to have taken the first opportunity, after he was free from the shackles of the enemy, to have restored to Prussia the territories of which she was stripped. Soon after Prussia freed herself from Buonaparte, a treaty was entered into between Alexander and Frederick, by which the former bound himself to obtain for the latter an extent of territory nearly if not quite equal to what it had been prior to the treaty of Tilsit. It might have been supposed that it was the intention of Alexander, as soon as peace was restored to Europe, to fulfil this treaty by restoring those parts which he had recovered from Buonaparte. This, however, was not his intention: what he got, justly belonging to a sovereign in whose defence he had gone to war, from a man who had no right to give it away, he was unwilling to restore to that sovereign even when they were on the most intimate footing of public alliance and private friendship; but he would indemnify him by annexing dominions over which neither of them had any right but the right of conquest.

But, in the second place, it was the proposed object of this annexation of Saxony to Prussia to strengthen the latter: were the allied sovereigns so ignorant of human nature, so totally unacquainted with history; had they so soon forgotten what had just passed before their eyes, as to suppose that a kingdom could be strengthened by mere extension of territory? Did they think that, if the Saxons were averse from a union with Prussia, Prussia would actually be benefited by such a union? Their professed object was to render Prussia more capable of coping with France, or with any other power that might attack her; and was this object likely to be accomplished by placing in the heart of extended Prussia two millions of subjects, anxious to regain their national character and independence, and ready to join the first enemy who should declare against Prussia? The protection of the latter country against France must be very imperfectly obtained by the annexation of Saxony, even supposing the Saxons to be anxious for the union.—The population of the whole united kingdom would not amount to one-third of the population of France; and while the population of the latter country was compact and easily and quickly embodied in case of war, the population of Prussia would be extended over a great and divided surface, and would be consequently inefficient. Before France could invade Prussia she must conquer much intervening territory, and it was therefore adviseable that the latter power should remain one integral kingdom, as a barrier against the encroachments of France.

Notwithstanding these obvious considerations, the fate of Saxony was fully decided by two of the powers even before the congress commenced its sittings. Prince Repnin, the Russian governor of Dresden, sent on November 3d a notification to the Saxon authorities, acquainting them that by a letter from the minister of state, Baron de Stein, he had been informed of a convention concluded at Vienna, in virtue of which the emperor of Russia, in concert with Austria and England, was to invest the government of Saxony in the hands of the king of Prussia, "in order thus to operate the union of Saxony with Prussia, which will soon take place in a manner more solemn and formal." The prince proceeded to say that king Frederick William, in quality of future sovereign of the country, had declared his intention to unite it to Prussia, with the cordial concurrence of the emperor Alexander.—

Prince Repnin announced the same determination in the farewell speech which he delivered at Dresden on Nov. 8, when he formally resigned his employments to the Prussian government, and the Russian were succeeded by the Prussian troops. Although the courts of Austria and Great Britain agreed to the provisional occupation of that country by Prussia, they considered its final possession as still a subject of discussion in the congress, and as a question in some measure undecided. The unfortunate king of Saxony, immediately after he had learned this transfer of the occupation of his country, published a declaration expressing "his lively feelings of grief at the event," asserting his inviolable right to be reinstated in his royal authority, and positively affirming that he would never consent to the cession of the states inherited from his ancestors, or receive any indemnity or equivalent that might be offered to his acceptance. He afterwards confirmed his assurance by the subjoined

DECLARATION.

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS, by the grace of God, king of Saxony, duke of Warsaw, &c.

We have just learned with lively feelings of grief that our kingdom of Saxony has been provisionally occupied by the troops of his Prussian majesty. Firmly resolved never to separate our fate from that of our people; filled with confidence in the justice and magnanimity of the allied sovereigns, and intending to join their alliance as soon as we had the means of doing so, we determined, after the battle of Leipsic, there to await the conquerors. But the sovereigns refused to hear us. We were compelled to depart from our states, and proceed to Berlin. His majesty the emperor of Russia nevertheless made known to us, that our removal from Saxony was dictated only by military interests, and his majesty at the same time invited us to repose in him entire confidence. We also received from their majesties the emperor of Austria, and the king of Prussia, affecting proofs of interest and sensibility. We were in consequence enabled to cherish the hope, that as soon as these military considerations ceased to operate, we should be reinstated in our rights, and restored to our dear subjects. Far, however, from crediting the reports circulated with regard to the fate of our states since the epoch of the peace of Paris, we place entire confidence in the justice of the allied monarchs, though it be impossible to penetrate the motives of the proceedings which they have pursued towards us. The conservation and consolidation of legitimate dynasties was the grand object of the war which has been so happily terminated; the coalesced powers accordingly repeatedly proclaimed in the most solemn manner, that, far removed from every plan of conquest and aggrandisement, they had only in view the restoration of the rights and liberties of Europe. Saxony, in particular, received the most positive assurances, that her integrity would be maintained. That integrity essentially includes the conservation of the dynasty for which the nation has publicly manifested its constant attachment, and the unanimous wish to be re-united to its sovereign. The inviolability of our righs, and of those of our house, to the well and justly acquired inheritance of our ancestors, is acknowledged. Our speedy reinstatement ought to be the consequence thereof. We should be wanting to the most sacred duties towards our royal house, and towards our people, were we to remain silent under the new measures projected against our states at a moment when we are entitled to expect their restitution. The intention manifested by the court of Prussia, of provisionally occupying our Saxon states, compels us to forearm our well-founded rights against such a step, and solemnly to protest against the consequences which may be drawn from such a measure. It is before the congress of Vienna, and in the face of all Europe, that we discharge this duty, by signing these presents with our hand, and at the same time publicly reiterating the declaration, communicated some time ago to the allied courts, that we will never consent to the cession of the states inherited from our ancestors, and that we will never accept any indemnity or equivalent that may be offered to us.

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS.

Given at Frederickfeld,
Nov. 4, 1814.

It was not merely from the circumstances which transpired respecting the proceedings of the congress of Vienna, that apprehensions were entertained, by the friends of liberty and independence, that the allied sovereigns would violate the professions they had made previous to the departure of Buonaparte to the Isle of Elba. A glaring example of rapacity and injustice was presented to the world in the invasion of Norway, and the annexation of that kingdom to the dominions of Sweden. After the battle of Leipsic, it was determined by the allies that the crown prince of Sweden, with the force under his command, should not advance against France, but should be employed in making an attempt on Hamburgh, and afterwards in compelling Denmark to abandon the cause of Buonaparte for that of the confederates.—Bernadotte finding that he could make no impression upon Hamburgh, and being convinced that this city must follow the fate of Buonaparte and of France, directed, as we have seen, all his efforts against the Danes. The latter, in several engagements, fought well, but they were always compelled to yield to superior numbers, and at length a suspension of hostilities was arranged, for the purpose of framing the terms of peace. These, however, not being adjusted, operations again commenced, but the Danes being drawn across the river Eyder, were soon compelled to submit to the terms which they before had rejected. On the 14th of January a treaty of peace was signed between Sweden and Denmark, of which the following are the principal articles: By article 2d, the king of Sweden engaged to use his mediation with his allies, to bring about a peace between them and the king of Denmark. By article 3d, the king of Denmark engaged to take an active part against the emperor of the French, to declare war against that power, and in consequence to join an auxiliary Danish corps to the army of the north of Germany, under the orders of his royal highness the crown prince of Sweden. This was to be done in pursuance of a convention between Denmark and Great Britain, by which the number of men to be supplied by the former was fixed at 10,000, and the sum to be paid by the latter at 400,000*l.*

The 4th article is the most important: by it his majesty the king of Denmark, for himself and his successors, renounces for ever and irrevocably all his rights and claims on the kingdom of Norway; which with its dependencies (Greenland, and the Ferroe Islands and Iceland excepted,) is to belong in full and sovereign property to the king of Sweden, and make one with his united kingdom. On the other hand, by the 5th article, the king of Sweden binds himself in the most solemn manner to cause the inhabitants of the kingdom of Norway and its dependencies to enjoy in future all the laws, privileges, rights and franchises, such as they have hitherto subsisted.

By the 7th article, the king of Sweden, for himself and his successors, renounced irrevocably and for ever, in behalf of the king of Denmark, all rights and claims to the dukedom of Swedish Pomerania, and the principality of the island of Rugen; to the inhabitants of which the king of Denmark solemnly engaged himself to secure all their laws, rights, franchises, and privileges.

By the 13th article it is stated, that "as the king of Sweden, so far as is practicable, and as depends upon him, wishes that the king of Denmark may receive compensation for the renunciation of the kingdom of Norway, of which his majesty has given satisfactory proof in the cession of Swedish Pomerania and the island of Rugen; so his majesty will use all his endeavours with the allied powers, to secure in addition, at a general peace, a full equivalent to Denmark for the cession of Norway."

There was good reason to apprehend that this cession of Norway by the king of Denmark would not be palatable to the Norwegians: they had always resisted with great spirit and success every attempt of Sweden to conquer them; and regarding their country (as indeed it was styled in the treaty of peace) as a separate kingdom from Denmark, they did not conceive that the king of Denmark had any right to transfer them to Sweden. Accordingly, soon after the treaty, it was rumoured that the Norwegians meant to resist the transference, and to declare themselves an independent state. Prince Christian of Denmark was fixed upon to

rule over them, under the title of regent. This circumstance certainly did no good to the cause of Norway, because a strong suspicion went abroad, that the king of Denmark was at the bottom of the resistance of this country to be transferred to Sweden. On this account, it would have been better if they had chosen as a regent a person entirely unconnected with Denmark, a native Norwegian.

About a month after the treaty between Sweden and Denmark, prince Christian put forth a proclamation to the Norwegians, in which he called upon them in strong and animated language to stand forth in defence of their national independence, and to repel every attempt to transfer them to Sweden. At the same time he issued a proclamation respecting the relation which was to exist between Norway and other powers; and the abolition of privateering. The hope that Great Britain would at least not oppose the endeavours of the Norwegians to secure their independence, is strongly expressed in the preamble to this proclamation; in which prince Christian, in his own name, and in the name of the nation of Norway at large, states, that he considers it a great blessing, and favour on the part of the king of Denmark, that, before he absolved them of their oaths, he *established peace between them and Great Britain.* The first declaration in the proclamation is, that Norway is at peace with all the world; the others relate principally to the preservation of neutrality and the encouragement of commerce.

As soon as the Norwegians had gone so far in their opposition to Sweden as to declare themselves independent, and to elect a sovereign, it became necessary for them to seek the means of defending their country from the invasion of the Swedish forces. They trusted much to the almost impenetrable nature of their frontier, to which they had been more than once indebted for their protection, and the destruction of the invading Swedish army: but as there was a part of their frontier which was accessible, it was necessary to raise as large an army as possible to defend it. Of troops, Norway had abundance; for all ranks and ages, as well as both sexes, seemed animated with a fixed determination to repulse the Swedes, or perish in the attempt. Their regular army probably amounted to 30,000 men; but they were half starved, badly armed, and inexperienced. Famine indeed was what they most dreaded: and against this they knew they could not protect themselves, if the maritime powers, and especially Great Britain, took an active part against them. But they did hope that Britain would assist them; at least, they did not doubt but Britain would allow the importation of grain.

In order to enable prince Christian more effectually to wield the powers of Norway in the arduous contest, he was raised to the dignity of king. In the beginning of July, envoys were sent to him from Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, who called upon him to agree to an armistice, till the assembling of a diet, into whose hands he might return that crown which he had received from the nation. The terms of the proposed armistice were three. From Christian was demanded an immediate agreement to resign the crown to the diet, and the evacuation of a frontier, together with the surrender of certain forts on it. On the part of the Swedes it was conceded by the envoys, that the blockade of certain ports should be raised during the truce. With respect to the resignation of the crown, Christian replied, that he should make known to the nation the danger to which it was exposed, and represent to it the advantages which would be secured to it on its acceding to a constitutional union with Sweden: "But (he added) you know me sufficiently to be convinced that, faithful to my engagements, I will never separate my fate from that of Norway, in the event of a brave though useless resistance against the united forces of Europe being employed to an honourable reconciliation, for which I shall employ all my credit!"—He next deprecates the introduction of Swedish troops into the forts during the truce, as calculated to excite commotion; and speaks of himself as determined, even upon this point, to head that commotion when it has once sprung up: to avoid it, he proposes that the forts shall be put in the custody of armed citizens.—Lastly, he demands that the blockade shall be raised universally; but upon that subject,

and the truce generally, he writes a letter to the king of Sweden. In this letter he candidly acknowledges, that if he should relinquish the defence of Norway, it will be only through necessity!—He will assemble the diet; he will make known to that body the conditions proposed; he will point out all the perils of a perseverance in the contest.—"If (says he) the nation accept the conditions, I shall instantly abdicate the throne; if they reject them, my fate shall not be separated from their's."

Soon afterwards he gave in a second note to the envoys; in which he calls on them, in the name of their respective powers, to guarantee the basis of the union of Norway with Sweden, as well as the conditions of the intermediate armistice: he likewise requires "that the sittings of the diet shall be prolonged, so as to enable it to close its deliberations without interruption;" and that the blockade shall be raised, so as to admit a free importation of corn into Norway.

In reply, the envoys grant the contingent guarantee required of their several sovereigns; but complain that all the conditions which they had proposed as the basis of the armistice had been altered. Yet still are they willing to convey his royal highness's propositions to the king of Sweden, with this intimation also, that they will second them by their recommendation, inasmuch as they will afford his majesty an occasion of commencing by a signal benefit the exercise of his influence in Norway.

On the 17th of July, the envoys returned from their mission: and on the 26th of that month military operations commenced between the Norwegian and Swedish flotillas. The former were stationed near the Hualorn islands, protected by about 23 batteries raised there. The Norwegian commander on the advance of the Swedish fleet evacuated the islands, and retreated towards Frederickstadt. This circumstance put the Swedes in possession of positions of the highest importance for the opening of the campaign. Soon after this, the plenipotentiaries of the four powers set out again for Underwallda, to repair to Christiana to make a last effort for arrangement; and at the same time the prince royal of Sweden put himself at the head of his army against Norway. The people of Britain, who from their constitution, their habits and feelings, are much disposed to sympathize with all attempts made by the people of any country to gain or retain their independence, and generally to express their sentiments fearlessly and openly, not only on their own affairs but also on the affairs of all other nations, could not be silent on the subject of Norway, and the case which they made out was a strong one.

It was contended that it was tyrannical, and in the very teeth of the professions of the allied sovereigns, to compel the Norwegians to submit to a power which they detested: that Buonaparte could have done nothing worse; and that it was particularly unworthy of Great Britain, and disgraceful to her, to co-operate in this attempt to force a sovereign on the Norwegians, especially by blockading the ports, and thus starving them into submission. They asked what was the leading principle of the British constitution; on what account did we hold ourselves out as the envy and admiration of the world? Was it not because, according to our constitution, the consent of the people is necessary to the legitimacy of any government? Had not our ancestors bled to defend this principle? Had not we taken up arms against Buonaparte because he had enslaved Europe, by forcing it under his dominion? and would we now give the lie, not only to our ancestors, but also to our own recent conduct, by joining in the league against the people of Norway?

In this case, there could be no doubt what was the wish of the Norwegians: they had expressed that wish unanimously from themselves: and what was the character of the people whom we joined in oppressing? Perhaps more like our own than any other nation in Europe: or rather like what our ancestors were, when they fought and bled in defence of those blessings which we now enjoyed. The Norwegians were simple, without guile, manly, determined and brave: and would we put a yoke on such a people? Had Britain and the allied sovereigns so soon forgot that they had been fighting for the liberties of Europe? Had they so soon forgotten the charges which they brought

against Buonaparte? Had Britain in particular forgotten the reasons which induced her to aid the Spaniards? Had not they, like the Norwegians, been transferred by their sovereign to a foreigner, whose yoke they detested? Had not we applauded them for their resistance? Had we not assisted them in throwing it off? Did we not take credit to ourselves for our conduct on this occasion? Had then our conduct been wrong? Ought we rather to have joined in subduing the people of Spain to the yoke of Buonaparte? Or did we make a distinction between the same actions, when committed by Buonaparte and when committed by any other person? Or was the charge against us true, that we assisted the Spaniards because it was our interest to assist them? The case of the Norwegians appeared so strong, and so worthy of sympathy, that even ministers in parliament seemed to lament the treaty by which the allies had bound themselves to secure Norway to Sweden. As this treaty, to which Britain was a party, existed, it was necessary to see it carried into execution. On the ground of this treaty, therefore, and on the further ground of the peace between Denmark and Sweden, by which the former agreed to give up Norway to the latter, the attempt to subdue the Norwegians was boldly justified.

So flagrant an infringement of the rights of nations inspired the opposition in both houses of parliament with unwonted vigor. In the house of Lords (May 10) the order upon which their Lordships were summoned being read, earl Grey stated, that a subject of greater importance, as to principle, had never been discussed. It included the maxims of good faith, of moral and political justice, the doctrines of public law, and the interpretation of treaties. These were all to be considered before we decided on the conduct of a people who had done us no injury, and who were known to us only by their patriotism, their industry, and their virtues. The treaty with Sweden had last year been sanctioned by parliament, notwithstanding the opposition of himself and friends: he was still of opinion, that British policy never sustained a greater shock, nor the British character a deeper stain, than had been inflicted by that treaty. No authority could, however, induce him to persuade this country to depart from her engagements; and if it could be shown that this treaty compelled us to assist Sweden in the subjugation of Norway, their lordships would do well to reject his motion. But the first question was, whether that treaty required from us such measures as were now pursued towards Norway: secondly, whether those measures could be justified by the doctrines of public law: thirdly, whether Sweden had so acted as to be entitled to call upon us for the execution of these measures: and, fourthly, whether sound policy would justify us in complying with such demands. In considering the construction of the treaty itself, it would be found to contain no such obligation as the blockade of the ports of Norway. At the suggestion of Russia we had agreed to employ force to compel Denmark to relinquish Norway. The obligation contracted on our part had been fulfilled. We had not guaranteed to Sweden the peaceable possession of Norway. That such was the fair construction of the treaty, he appealed to his majesty's ministers—a construction which was admitted in their subsequent treaty with Denmark. What then did this treaty bind us to perform? Certainly, to use every possible exertion, that Denmark should agree to the transfer of Norway to Sweden—and now, when Denmark had ceded all her claims to that country, we were resorting to further and more obnoxious measures of compelling the submission of Norway. Would the noble and learned lord at the head of the law permit the recovery upon a contract "*ab initio*" illegal? Would they not say, You have entered into an illegal contract, which is *ab initio* void, and you must bear the loss? In the case of nations the principle was the same—the difference of power made no difference of justice. What were the disposable rights of the king of Denmark? Were they founded on the consent of the people, on which all thrones rested? or, did they allow him to transfer the people of Norway like cattle? He was speaking in the nineteenth century, and in the British parliament—and surely there wanted no arguments to prove, that a sovereignty could not be transferred.

without the consent of the people, nor that a sovereign had no title to obedience when he ceased to give protection. This was the principle of the revolution in this country—upon this principle his majesty reigned. The rights of the king of Denmark were those of a sovereign only, and not of a proprietor. From what Grotius had written on this subject, it might be deduced, that sovereignty could not be transferred without the express or implied consent of the people. Puffendorff was of the same opinion. "If a prince," according to that writer, "was compelled to yield his sovereignty, he could not place a portion of his subjects under any obligation not to resist the surrender—he could not hinder their erecting themselves into a commonwealth, or any other disposal of themselves." The whole of Vattel's writings went to prove, that sovereignties could never with justice be transferred, unless the people consented to the transfer. These authorities were conclusive. He wished their lordships to imagine what would be the consequences of an attempt of the king of England to transfer the sovereignty of Ireland or Scotland. When Richard the second had transferred even the sovereignty of Gascony, the Gascons resisted, and their resistance was successful. When John gave up the sovereignty of England to the pope, the barons asserted the principle, that the king had no such right. What was the consequence of the transfer of the crown of Scotland by Baliol to our Edward I.? Had history sanctioned the pretence that the resistance of the Scotch was rebellion? Had history, as well as Edward, condemned the great and patriotic Wallace as a traitor? No—the transaction had fixed a deep and indelible stain upon the character of the British monarch!

"Scots who have with Wallace bled—
Scots whom Bruce has often led—
Welcome to your gorey bed!
Or to victory!"

In these and similar lines had the glorious struggle against the transfer of sovereignty been consecrated. That part of our history was never read by any who were sensible of the value of liberty and independence, without regret. Who did not desire to be a sharer in the noble efforts of a Wallace and a Bruce? Who did not follow the actions of those heroes with breathless anxiety, and the most ardent wishes for their success?

"Thy spirit, Independence, let me share?
Lord of the lion-heart, and eagle-eye;
Thy steps I'll follow with my bosom bare,
Nor heed the storm that howls along the sky."

The Scottish barons had replied to the pope, that no king should be imposed upon Scotland without their consent. Such was then the language of the Scottish barons, and such was now the language of the Norwegian freeholders! Thus he had proved, that we were not bound by the construction of the treaty to assist in the subjugation of Norway; and since it was clear that the king of Denmark could not transfer the sovereignty, it was equally clear that, let whatever treaty exist, no one could justly compel the Norwegians to submission. His lordship then adverted to the documents, and complained of their defective character. Sweden did not appear to have furnished her contingent of troops, nor could the noble lords pretend absolutely to say, that the crown prince had done his duty. What was the testimony of Mr. Thornton and sir Charles Stewart on this subject? What would be that of the gallant marshal Blucher, could he be brought to give his opinion of the services of the crown prince of Sweden? During the eventful period that followed the battle of Leipsic, who ever heard of the crown prince? Was not the strongest discontent excited by his inactivity? And when he did move, *where* did he move? Not upon the enemy, but upon Norway. Even when he had compelled Denmark to consent to the cession of Norway, where was the crown prince during the anxious months of January, February, and March? Why, on the 28th of March he was at Liege! There a demi-official article had appeared in the Liege Gazette, declaring his disappointment at not being called upon to send a plenipotentiary to Chatillon, complaining that the Hanseatic legion had been withdrawn from his command, and that his remonstrances had not met with due attention, and, in conclusion, expressing his determination not to take an active part till this was explained. On the 16th of April, six-

teen days after the battle on the heights of Montmartre, the Swedes are put in motion, and the prince repairs to Paris. And yet he stipulates for the assistance of Britain for the unwarrantable reduction of Norway! He requires the criminality of this country to obtain a reward for his inactivity! His lordship then declared that policy was also against the cession of Norway to Sweden. Sweden would naturally look to France to balance her against Russia, while Russia was of all others the most natural, noble, and useful alliance for England. There was, undoubtedly, the happiest hope of a long and lasting peace with France, but he must be a sanguine politician who did not look to a possible future difference of prospect. But was there no alternative for Norway but a dependence on either Sweden or Denmark? Was there not independence? Might she not be more beneficial to this country under the impulse of liberty. His lordship then combated the idea of the resistance of Norway being instigated by a Danish faction. Even if there were a Danish faction, why not attack Denmark rather than blockade Norway? After a series of lucid and powerful arguments, his lordship concluded by moving an address to the prince regent, entreating that the blockade of Norway by a British force should be raised.

The earl of Harrowby, in reply, contended that Russia had a right to engage for the union of Norway with Sweden, and that his Britannic majesty had a similar right to accede to such an engagement. He thought that kingdoms, as well as provinces, might be transferred by treaty with all the rights of their former sovereigns. According to certain doctrines, a sovereign might cede a province which he could not keep, and then that province might start into a state. A country might be cut up into twenty pieces, and each start up with a head and tail as an independent body. The presumptive heir to the crown had gone to Norway, and endeavoured to set up a state, after the king had ceded it. The Danish civil officers had been ordered to return. There was reason to think that the liberal terms of Sweden had been studiously concealed from the Norwegians. As to the condition of the Norwegians by the transfer, was there no difference in a transfer from a free to a despotic, and from a despotic to a free constitution.? It was a satisfaction, that instead of imposing hardships on Norway the contrary was the fact. The king of Sweden offered Norway freedom. He lamented that, amidst the glorious circumstances of the time, there should be even the single voice of earl Grey to disturb the general joy by the expression of complaints. After much desultory conversation between lords Liverpool, Grenville, and Holland, the motion was lost by a large majority.

In the House of Commons the arguments of Mr. Whitbread were urged with the same want of success as those of lord Grey. He asserted that the crown prince of Sweden had not fulfilled the stipulations of the treaty, by which we had agreed to assist him in the subjugation and annexation of Norway. This was his firm opinion; and it was, he believed, the opinion of the highest military authorities, that Sweden had not given that assistance to the common cause which she was bound by the express conditions of this unprincipled contract to give. He should like to have had the opinions of sir Charles Stewart, and of marshal Blucher, as to the effective co-operation of Sweden at the battle of Leipsic, and after that battle, after the allies had entered France, or when they were under the walls of Paris. With respect to the charge of treachery against Denmark, in defeating the cession of Norway, which she herself had formerly made, it was sufficiently answered by the ratification of the original treaty with that country, so late as the 19th of April, when it was plain that the allies were perfectly satisfied with the conduct and good faith of the king of Denmark. Every one knew what blockade meant in the present instance. It was not intended to prevent the sending of arms or ammunition to Norway, but to cut off her supplies of food, to inflict upon her that which had been described by Mr. Burke as the greatest of all possible calamities, as a calamity so dreadful that every humane mind shuddered and turned away from its contemplation. Would not the house pause, then, before they proceeded to this last act of aggravated injustice

and cruelty? Yet ministers would not allow them to inquire, or were themselves most scandalously ignorant, whether the condition of a treaty, which could alone bind them down to such disgraceful conduct, had been fulfilled or not. He was sorry not to see an honourable and learned member (Mr. Stephen) in his place, or he should have animadverted on some expressions that had fallen from him. He might have alluded to the half pious, half profane, expression which he suffered to escape him, that we had thrown down the gauntlet to the Almighty, who, he had no doubt, would take it up. He would also (if he were present) say, that that honourable gentleman's tender mercies were cruel, though he himself was not among the wicked; for, if he had not known his voice, and person, and his manner, so well as he did, he should have supposed, during his speech to-night, that he was hearing one of those persons who used formerly to descant on the miseries of the Africans in their own country, in order to show the justice and humanity of the slave trade. [Here Mr. Whitbread, seeing Mr. Stephen enter the house, hailed his approach, and, recapitulating what he had just said, proceeded.] If that honourable and learned gentleman were not also one of the most moral and philosophical characters of the age, who held all jacobins and jacobinism in the utmost abhorrence, he should almost have mistaken him for one of the members of the constituent assembly of France, setting out on a crusade to Norway, with the rights of man in one hand, and a sword and famine in the other, to compel them to accept of freedom and happiness, on the peril of their lives. Mr. Whitbread here pointedly alluded to the sentiment of the right honourable member for Liverpool, delivered out of the house at a convivial meeting, in which the eloquent speaker had declared his satisfaction, that it was in the wilds of Russia, of a barbarous and despotic country, that Buonaparte had been first defeated. This, according to the right honourable gentleman, proved that patriotism had nothing to do with the freedom, or the forms of government.

He wished the right honourable member, and the learned and honourable gentleman behind him, to apply this theory to the brave and unfortunate people of Norway, and not to suffer them to be juggled out of their natural rights and political independence, by fine theories of liberty and happiness, by technical acuteness, and the strict letter of unfulfilled treaties.

The war between Sweden and Norway began with a naval action. The Norwegians had stationed a flotilla near the Hualorn islands, protected by a number of batteries raised upon them. On July the 26th the Swedish admiral, baron Pike, made a signal for his fleet and flotilla to weigh and move to the attack of the Norwegians, but a calm prevented them from reaching a proper station, so that the attack was postponed till the following morning. The Norwegian admiral, however, did not wait for the arrival of the enemy, but threw the cannon of his batteries into the sea, and retired to Frederickstadt. Major-general Gahn, on the 31st of July, had entered Norway, and on the 2d of August attempted to force a strong position, from which he was driven back with some loss: and on the following day found the enemy, who had taken a circuitous route, in his rear with a superior force. An obstinate and sanguinary action ensued, in which the Swedes made good their retreat, with the loss of a gun, 20 baggage waggons, and a considerable number of men killed, wounded, and prisoners. Admiral Pike having, on the second of August, received orders from the crown prince to attack Kragero, three bodies of troops were landed upon the island, supported by gun-boats and armed vessels. The Norwegians retreated, and a battery surrendered after a cannonade. Frederickstadt was summoned, was attacked on refusal by the boats and vessels, and at last consented to capitulate. The garrison, of 2000 men, having signified their allegiance to the king of Sweden were permitted to return home.

This unequal contest was of short duration. The Norwegians though numerous were ill equipped, and their country was grievously suffering for want of corn. The crown prince of Sweden took advantage of this circumstance, and liberally supplied with provisions all the prisoners whom he took, and the inhabitants of those parts of the country which

he conquered: and the former, after being well fed, were sent back to spread their kind treatment. The stratagem succeeded; the resistance of the Norwegians became gradually weaker, and after a short contest Christian, as he saw no prospect of the enemy's expulsion, abdicated the throne. It was agreed by the crown prince that hostilities should cease, that the diet of Norway should be assembled, and that they should determine with respect to the union of their country with Sweden. The result of their meeting was such as might be anticipated; they were convinced that resistance to Sweden was useless, and they saw that the allies were determined to put the crown prince in possession of Norway if he could not accomplish it himself. On the other hand, the allies, as well as the crown prince, solemnly promised to the Norwegians the continuance of all their rights and privileges. Thus circumstanced, the diet almost unanimously chose the king of Sweden as the king of Norway, and in the month of October the crown was formally accepted by Charles XIII. The ceremonial part of the transaction was performed by the crown prince, who, accompanied by his son, prince Oscar, proceeded to the diet to receive from the members the oath of fidelity to king Charles, and to transmit to them his majesty's oath, to govern according to the constitution and the laws. On this occasion the crown prince declared that the Swedes and the Norwegians should always remain two nations, equal and independent, though united: the great basis of their union being their geographical position, their similarity of origin and character, and their mutual zeal for liberty and representative government. Speaking of himself, he added: "Amidst the din of arms, and while on the German soil, I marched, together with the allies of Sweden, to combat the most horrible tyranny that ever oppressed Europe, I looked for no other reward to my labours than the present moment, and the peaceful palm which I this day receive from a free people is far dearer to my heart than all the laurels of victory." The proclamation of his Swedish and Norwegian majesty repeated the assurances of the crown prince, and emphatically declared *that the formation of rights ever reposed on the sacred discharge of duties*, a memorable confession, an awful lesson to those sovereigns whose violation of their people's rights, and whose systematic contempt of every moral and political obligation have, from one generation to another, extended the miseries of war, and the evils of popular commotion. Even in the most despotic states, where slavery alone apparently prevails, "the poor worm will turn when trod on;" and it yet remains for futurity to shew whether the selfish impolicy, or indifference to the feelings of their subjects, displayed in the conduct of the continental sovereigns, does not contain within itself the seeds of discord, revolution, and personal punishment to them and their posterity.

It has already been remarked, that before the congress at Vienna, it was determined by the allies that the territories of the stadtholder should be extended by the annexation of those parts of the Netherlands which, previous to the revolution, had belonged to Austria. This increase of territory was undoubtedly effected by the interference of the prince regent of England, who had intended that the prince of Orange should become the husband of the princess Charlotte of Wales, and was anxious to render the dominions of his son-in-law secure from the possibility of French incursion. It may be doubted, however, whether the addition of the Netherlands to Holland did not rather impede than promote this important object. France and Holland are now in immediate contact; the population of the Netherlands is by no means proportionate to the extent of territory; the jealousies of the French and Dutch, so frequently prevented by the intervention of the Austrian provinces, will be renewed; and as no neutral towns will remain to prevent the immediate conflict of the adjacent nations, France, with her mighty and disproportionate means will be able to invade and over-run the Netherlands whenever she is tempted so to do, or will subject the king of Holland to the necessity of maintaining a large and expensive standing army. At the present moment he may possibly rely on the protection of the allies, and the peculiar friendship of Great Britain; but the views of the continental states are at least uncertain: the at-

tachment of England may cease with the temporary causes by which it was occasioned; the relation of Holland to foreign courts may be much affected by the alliance of William to a Princess of Russia, and the ancient dependencies of France now possessed by his family—a family of very moderate talents, will always be the object of envy and revengeful feeling to that vain and ambitious people. It is obvious also, that the ports and garrison towns on the coast of Flanders might at once become the ground of jealousy between Britain and Holland, and enable the latter power to become a formidable or principal auxiliary in any plan for the subversion of our maritime rights, or the limitation of our commerce. That the present sovereign of the Netherlands entertains any wishes or designs of this suspicious description cannot be supposed; but the history of the last 12 years fully informs the intelligent enquirer how little dependance can be placed on the friendship of rival nations, however connected by the ties of obligation on one side, or gratitude on the other. Appearances are certainly in favour of the sovereign of Holland, whose sentiments on the duties of the station to which he had been called were highly honourable to his moderation and his good sense. In his address to the people of the united Netherlands, the prince begins by stating that he had considered it as one of the first and most sacred of his duties, to summon together men of consideration, and to charge them with the weighty task of establishing a fundamental code, built upon the manners and habits of the people for whom it was intended, and corresponding to the wants of the time. This had been done, but though the prince approved of the result of their labours, his heart was not yet satisfied. As it respected the concerns of the whole Netherlands it was proper that the whole Dutch people should be recognised in this important work. He therefore assured them, that in it their dearest interests were sufficiently attended to; that religion, as the fountain of all good, was honoured and maintained· but at the same time religious freedom was disturbed by nothing of temporal concerns, but secured in the most ample manner; the education of youth was to be attended to by the government, free from every regulation which could oppress the genius and subdue the spirit: personal freedom was to be no longer a name; justice was to be administered impartially, guided by fixed principles, and securing to every man his rights and his property: commerce, agriculture and manufactures were to be no longer obstructed: no restraint was to be imposed on the domestic œconomy of any class;—the finances and the arming of the people,—the main pillars of the body politic,—were to be placed in that central point, upon which the greatest and most invaluable privilege of every free people, their independence, may be firmly fixed.

In order to ascertain whether a constitution founded on these principles met the wishes and expectations of the inhabitants of the Netherlands, the prince appointed a special commission, who were to choose out of a numerous list given in, six hundred persons, in due proportion to the population of each of the departments: these were to assemble, and come to a determination on the proposed constitution. But as it was desirable that these members should be possessed of the general confidence, a list of the persons chosen for each department was to be made public, in order to afford an opportunity to all the inhabitants, being house-keepers, to disapprove of any they might deem unqualified. No inhabitant was to be deprived of this right, except domestic servants, valets, bankrupts, and persons in a state of nonage, or under accusation. The persons who were approved were to be regarded as the representatives of the Dutch nation, and to them were to be submitted the details of a constitution founded on the principles already stated. This was accordingly done; and as far as theory goes, the people of the Netherlands certainly possess a much freer constitution now than they did before: but, as we have frequently remarked, the possession of a written constitution, however conformable to the soundest principles of liberty, and however strongly guaranteed and guarded, is by no means incompatible with practical slavery.

In the beginning of December, the secretary of state for the home department pre-

sented to the states-general a long report on the situation of the united Netherlands.—After some general remarks he adverted to the subject of commerce, which, he observed, might well be deemed the principal source of prosperity to Holland. "Among the countries subjected to the yoke of France, there was certainly none (he said) which more severely felt the pernicious effects of the prohibitive system than the Netherlands." He then enumerated the causes which still operated to retard the progress of commerce to its former eminence: the principal of these were, the want of capitalists; the great want of suitable shipping; the uncertainty with respect to the state of commerce in other countries; the heavy duties on merchandize; the delayed restoration of the greater part of their Indian possessions; and finally, a sort of fear that Europe was not yet restored to a state of permanent tranquillity.

He next alluded to the establishment of a national bank at Amsterdam, which had been found extremely useful in vivifying mercantile credit. With regard to the West India colonies of Holland, some of them would be restored; and it might reasonably be hoped, that such as might not be restored would not be entirely lost to the mother country, as it might be hoped that a direct commerce would be permitted with them.

On the subject of manufactures he observed, that "it had been an idea entertained by some people, that commerce and manufactures in Holland were hostile to each other; and that the protection of the latter was injurious to the welfare of the former: but this idea had been proved to be erroneous; for, at the very time when Holland was the great staple of the commodities both of the north and the south, and when its commerce produced great capitals, then also its manufactures had reached their highest pitch of prosperity.

He next adverted to the fisheries. In the year 1814, 110 herring busses had cleared out for the herring fishery, a number almost equal to that of the most flourishing times of the republic.

In that part of his speech which related to agriculture, there is a remarkable passage, which well deserves the attention of those who think it no evil for a nation to be dependent on foreigners for their supply of corn. After stating the curious fact, that agriculture had rapidly improved, notwithstanding the oppression of the French government, and the frequent and violent changes to which Holland had been exposed, a fact which may be predicated at least in an equal degree with regard to France, he adds, "What our ancestors could never have looked for in this respect, the Netherlander may now boast, that he is able to supply all his necessary wants from his own soil, and is liberated from that disgraceful dependance on other nations under which he formerly laboured."

1814.—After a variety of observations on the provincial government, the state of religion, of the poor, and of the administration of justice, he next proceeded to the system of national defence. The army, he observed, might almost be regarded as a veteran army. The navy, though having had less practical experience, would soon lay a foundation for regaining its ancient renown. He concluded his speech by some general remarks on the subject of the relations in which Holland stood with foreign powers, which he said were highly satisfactory.

It has been already stated, that in the course of 1814 the congress of Vienna, though it was supposed that its labours would terminate in a short period,—the leading members of it having, uncalled for, expressed themselves in the plainest and strongest language as actuated solely by a sincere and ardent desire to establish the independence and tranquillity of Europe, without the most indirect or distant view to their own aggrandizement or interests,—yet, in fact, was not known, officially, to have come to a determination on any important point at the close of the year. At present, we shall just hint, that Britain did not act very wisely in agreeing to continue their respective subsidies till the congress had broken up, since it may be supposed that, so long as they were so liberally paid, they would not hasten to bring the affairs of the congress to a conclusion.

It ought not, however, to be inferred that Britain, the great paymaster of Europe, was not, according to some, rewarded, not only

for her exertions and sacrifices in the cause of Europe, but also for the subsidies which she still continued to grant; for one of the known acts of the congress, and the only one (with a single exception) which transpired in the course of the year 1814, was the raising of Hanover to the rank of a kingdom. Some may, indeed, doubt whether this is likely to prove a blessing to Great Britain, and may argue that, as our ministers were always sufficiently ready to give into the predilections of the king of Great Britain for his German dominions, while they constituted only an electorate, they will be called upon for more hearty and extended co-operation now that Hanover has become a kingdom; and it might have been expected, and hoped, that the king of such a nation as Great Britain would have not thought that any dignity or rank could be added to his titles, by being able to assume the name of king of Hanover.

Such, however, were the facts. On the 12th of October Count Munster, the Hanoverian minister at the congress of Vienna, delivered a note to the ministers of Austria, and of the other powers assembled there, in which he explained the reasons why the prince regent had deemed it proper to assume the title of king of Hanover, in the name and on behalf of his father. By the 6th article of the treaty of peace, at Paris, it was agreed that the states of Germany should remain independent, and join in a federal union. In consequence of this arrangement, the title of electoral prince of the holy Roman empire ceased to be expedient under existing circumstances. Several of the principal powers, in this point of view, had invited the prince to renounce the title of elector, and assume that of king. He had accordingly done so: and count Munster, in the name of his master, expressed himself in the strongest terms of confidence that the imperial court of Austria would receive his declaration with sentiments of friendship, and would recognize the new title, which circumstances had induced his royal highness to adopt for his house in Germany. Soon after the publication of this note, and Hanover was raised to the rank of a kingdom, an assemblage of all the states, composed of deputies from the different classes, took place, when his royal highness the duke of Cambridge addressed the assembly.

After complimenting the Hanoverians on their firm and loyal attachment to their sovereign, and upon the share which they had under the greatest of commanders, Wellington, in destroying the tyranny of Buonaparte, and restoring independence and tranquillity to Europe, he informed them that the prince regent, one of the race of the Guelphs, who had always been distinguished for justice and mildness, had given to the German sovereigns the first example of calling an assembly, in which the voice of the people might declare itself with freedom, to point out the best means of promoting the welfare of the country. The first step towards this important object was made by the union of the states, of all the different parts of the country, to which were now given the rights of granting money and other points of legislation. One of the principal objects of their deliberation would regard the means of repaying those who, in confidence of good faith, lent their property to supply their public wants. The prince regent, for his part, considered the good faith which the sovereigns of Hanover had never violated, so sacred, that he would contribute from the revenues of his own domains, rather than these claims should remain unfulfilled. The next object was to place Hanover in a state of security from any other attack. Britain, to which Hanover, along with the rest of Europe, had been so much indebted, had generously replaced the necessary warlike stores carried off by the enemy. He concluded by informing them that it would be their duty to consider of the arrangements in the administration of justice, and to deliberate on useful institutions for the good of the country.—What the regent intended would be communicated to them by his counsellors, while he would lend an attentive ear on other subjects. The list of full powers which had been presented and approved, and the necessary regulation for the order of the states of the kingdom, would be communicated to them: according to these, they were to begin by choosing a president "But, first, let us, with united devotion, implore the blessings of the Most High on the sacred work of the

first assembly of the states of the kingdom of Hanover."

At the end of this speech his royal highness repaired in procession with the whole assembly to the church of the palace, where the hymn, *Nun danket alle Gott*, "Now thank all God," was sung, being particularly chosen, "because the venerable father of the royal house, and of the country, his majesty George the Third, with his strong sense of piety, set a particular value upon it."

Afterwards the deputies chose their president, who addressed his royal highness to the following impor . He began by stating the obligations which the inhabitants of Hanover were under to the prince regent, for calling the deputies together, and to the British nation for the decided, persevering, and glorious part which she had taken in the contest, which had terminated in the triumph of peace and order. He next assured his royal highness, that in all their deliberations and proceedings they would use their utmost endeavours to second his good intentions for the prosperity of Hanover; and he concluded by stating, that they considered the presence of his royal highness as a pledge of the gracious regard of their beloved sovereign and the prince regent.

The German nations had well deserved the blessings of freedom and independence thus conferred by a laudable example on the people of Hanover. No part of the population of Europe contributed so much to the destruction of Buonaparte as the inhabitants of Germany: men of all ranks and classes came forward in defence of their country, animated by the most pure, enlightened and honourable feelings, and the name of Schill alone would exalt their national character in the estimation of posterity. The memory of this devoted patriot and invincible soldier is still honoured as that of the most distinguished and gallant partizan that all the invasions of Germany had produced. As he died under the reign of Buonaparte, all public honours would have only drawn down the most exemplary vengeance, but the spirit of the people was not to be easily subdued, and the actions of this officer were recorded in all the more secret and safer forms of rings, pictures, busts, and enamels. A pillar in an open field near Stralsund bore, in German, the following inscription. It having attracted strongly the popular attention it was shortly removed

INSCRIPTION.

Who rests this nameless mound beneath
Thus rudely piled upon the heath,
Naked to winds and water's sweep?
Does here some gloomy outcast sleep?
Yet many a footstep freshly round
Marks it as loved---as holiest ground.

Stranger! this mound is all the grave
Of one who lived as live the brave,
Nor ever heart's devoted tide
More nobly pour'd than when he died.
Stranger! no stone might dare to tell
His name who on this red spot fell!

These steps are steps of German men,
That when the Tyrant's in his den
Come crowding round with midnight tread
To vow their vengeance o'er the dead.
Dead! No: that Spirit's lightning still.
Soldier! thou seest the grave of Schill.

Previous to the opening of the congress, the Swiss had formed amongst themselves a federal compact. On the 8th of September this important document was signed by the deputies of all the 10 cantons, at Zurich.—The whole armed force was to be 30,000 men, and the contribution for its support 21,000*l*. In case of danger, external or internal, each canton was entitled to claim the aid of its confederates, and no alliance between separate cantons, unfavourable to the interests of the confederation, was to be formed. The principle was acknowledged, according to which there remained no subject in Switzerland, that the enjoyment of rights might no longer be prevented by the exclusive privilege of any particular class of citizens. The diet declares war, concludes peace, and forms alliances; but on these important questions two-thirds of the voices are required to determine; in all others an absolute majority.

Spain, on the contrary, whose struggles and misfortunes during the war had been, beyond comparison, more arduous than those of Switzerland, presented at the present moment a striking and melancholy scene. As soon as Napoleon found that his affairs were desperate he liberated Ferdinand, and sent him back to Spain: on his signing articles of subservience to France, and of hostility to the British nation, which had expended its

blood and treasure in his cause. Scarcely had he entered Spain before he plainly disclosed the line of conduct which he meant to pursue. The re-establishment of civil and religious tyranny, even more completely and firmly than it had existed before the invasion of the French, was his favourite object; all the labours of the cortes for the liberty of their country were overthrown; and those patriots and heroes who had been most instrumental in achieving the liberation of Spain, and to whom Ferdinand was the most indebted, were treated with the utmost inhumanity. He seemed decidedly of opinion that Spain had been polluted by those statesmen and warriors who had stood forth in his cause, while he took into his confidence many of those who had betrayed him into the power of Buonaparte; and, to crown his absurdities, he issued the following decree, by which the inquisition was re-established.

"DECREE.

"*Madrid, July 25.*

"The glorious title of catholic, which distinguishes us from all other christian princes, is owing to the perseverance of the kings of Spain, who would never tolerate in their states any other religion than the catholic, apostolic, and Roman. This title imposes upon me the duty to render myself worthy of it by all the means which heaven has placed within my power. The late troubles, and the war, which has desolated during six years every province in the kingdom; the long abode which has been made in Spain by troops of different sects, almost all of whom were infused with sentiments of hatred towards our religion; the disorder which has been the infallible result of this; and the inattention with which the affairs of our holy religion have been treated during this unfortunate period; all these circumstances united have laid the field open to wicked persons, who have never experienced any check: dangerous opinions have been introduced, and have taken root in our states, by the [illegible] means as they are spread in other coun[illegible]. Wishing then to remedy so grievous [illegible] to preserve among my subjects [illegible]gion of Jesus Christ, which they [illegible] revered, and in which they have [illegible] always wished to live, &c. I have deemed it necessary, under these circumstances, that the holy office should resume its jurisdiction. On this subject reverend and virtuous prelates, respectable corporations and grave personages, ecclesiastics and seculars, have represented to me that Spain is indebted to this tribunal, for the good fortune of not having fallen, in the sixteenth century, into the errors which have caused so many misfortunes among other nations: and that, on the contrary, at that period the sciences were cultivated with distinction, and Spain produced a multitude of great men, distinguished by their knowledge and their piety. It has further been represented to me, that the oppressor of Europe has not neglected to employ, as an efficacious method of introducing the corruption and discord which supported so well his projects, the suppression of this tribunal, under the vain pretext that it could exist no longer in the enlightened state of the present age, and that the pretended cortes, general and extraordinary, under the same pretext, and under the favour of the constitution which they tumultuously decreed, abolished also the holy office, to the regret of the whole nation. For these causes, I have been earnestly supplicated to re-establish it in the exercise of its functions; and yielding to considerations so just, and to the wish manifested by my people, whose zeal for the religion of our ancestors has anticipated my orders, by hastening to recal spontaneously the subaltern inquisitors of some provinces, I have, therefore, resolved, that from this moment the supreme council of the inquisition, and the other tribunals of the holy office, shall resume their authorities conformable to the concessions which have been made to them by the sovereign pontiffs, at the instance of my august predecessors, and by the prelates of the dioceses, and by the kings who have assured to them the full exercise thereof, observing in this double jurisdiction, ecclesiastical and civil, the ordonnances which were in force in the year 1808, and the laws which have, on different occasions, been made for obviating certain abuses. But as, independent of these ancient laws, it may be proper to add new ones on this subject; and my intention being to perfect that establishment in such manner as to render it

eminently useful to my subjects, it is my desire that, as soon as the said supreme council of the inquisition shall be assembled, two of the members who compose it, joined to two of the members of the council of Castile, both appointed by me, shall examine the forms and mode of proceeding of the holy office, in its processes, and with respect to the censure and prohibition of books; and if they find that the interests of my subjects, or the claims of sound justice, require any reform or change, they will make their reports to me, supporting their observations, in order that I may take the necessary resolution."

This decree is countersigned by his excellency Don Pedro Macanaz, whose grandfather passed the greatest part of his life in prison, at the commencement of the last century, and died in exile for having written against the inquisition. But no act of folly or persecution can surprise us in a monarch who is equally the enemy of the catholics, by his indiscretion, and of the protestants, by his cruelty: whose habits are at once vicious and effeminate, whose chief amusement is the chess board, and the spinning wheel, and who passes the mornings in knitting embroidery. Such are the individuals who too frequently rule the fate and guide the policy of nations!

After stating the general line of conduct which Ferdinand pursued, it will not surprise the reader that he did all in his power to obstruct the commerce of England, and awakened, by the outrageous violence of his conduct, the still more strenuous exertions of the malcontents in his South American colonies. His measures and demeanour were strikingly contrasted by the policy and conduct of his relative the prince of the Brazils, who, instructed by his misfortunes, and profiting by his distance from the scenes of European warfare, devoted his talents and his leisure to the improvement of his subjects, the extension of commerce, and the encouragement, among the Brazilians, of every useful and civilized pursuit.

CHAP. IV.——1814.

Duties of an historian.—Impartiality his first requisite.—American Constitution.—Laws of retaliation adopted by the British ministry.—Military and naval operations on the lakes.—Battles near Fort Erie and the forts of Niagara.—Sir George Prevost makes an attempt against Plattsburg; and is obliged to retreat.—Destruction of Washington.—Plunder of Alexandria.—Attempt on Baltimore.—Death of General Ross.

RIGID and conscientious impartiality is the first duty of an historian, and for the absence of that quality no other excellence can be received as an atonement. To weigh, with the hands of calm and inflexible justice, the merits of measures and of individuals; to state with candour the feelings and opinions of contending statesmen; and to describe, with the liberal feeling of a citizen of the world, the policy and conflicts of rival nations, are duties more frequently expected than performed. Yet discussion is the life of freedom and the parent of truth, and it is a task incumbent on the writer of history, to arrange the opposing representations of prejudice and enmity in one connected and impartial statement; regardless of the violence of parties, and guided in his decision by *the progress of events.*

On the subject of the American war we have expressed the opinions and conclusions which the documents before us, and the information communicated by the most popular writers on America, seemed best to justify. But a singular work has lately appeared, supposed to proceed from the pen of Mr. Madison himself, which it is but just to our readers, and to ourselves, that we should occasionally

compare with the statements of the enemies of America. The events, indeed, which have unfortunately occurred since the publication of our former narrative, are too well calculated to humble the pride of Britain, and repress the triumph of unbecoming exultation.

The constitution of the United States has been so frequently misrepresented, and so little understood, that we shall commence this chapter by recording the solemn act on which its foundation is established. It presents a copious theme of reflection to an intelligent mind, and may be regarded as the noblest record of a people who present peculiar claims on the interest of the English reader, by affinity, by identity of language, and by their pretensions to a momentous influence on the destinies of the world.

AMERICAN CONSTITUTION.

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America.

"ARTICLE I.

"Sect. 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a congress of the United States, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

"Sect. 2. The house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year, by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

"No person shall be a representative, who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not when elected be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

"Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every 30,000, but each state shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

"When vacancies happen to the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

"The house of representatives shall chuse their speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

"Sect. 3. The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

"Immediately after they shall be assembled, in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided, as nearly as may be, into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

"No person shall be a senator, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

"The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

"The senate shall chuse their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

"The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

"Judgment, in cases of impeachment, shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust, or profit, under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

"Sect. 4. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of chusing senators.

"The congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

"Sect. 5. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorised to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

"Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

"Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

"Neither house, during the session of congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

"Sect. 6. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

"No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emolument whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

"Sect. 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

"Every bill which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the president of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the president within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he

had signed it, unless the congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

" Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the president of the United States; and, before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two-thirds of the senate and house of representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

" Sect. 8. The congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States.

" To borrow money on the credit of the United States.

" To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes.

" To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States.

" To coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.

" To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States.

" To establish post-offices and post-roads.

" To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.

" To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court.

" To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations.

" To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning cap tures on land and water.

" To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years.

" To provide and maintain a navy.

" To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

" To provide for calling forth the militia, to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

" To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by congress.

" To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state, in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings. And

" To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution, in the government of the United States, or in any department or office thereof.

" Sect. 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress, prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

" The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

" No bill of attainder, or *ex post facto* law, shall be passed.

" No capitation, or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census, or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

" No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one state over those

of another: nor shall vessels bound to or from one state be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

"No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

"No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

"Sect. 10. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; omit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin, a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

"No state shall, without the consent of the congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such law shall be subject to the revision and controul of the congress. No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

"ARTICLE II.

"Sect. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years; and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows

"Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

"The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the house of representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for president; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the president. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the president, the person having the greatest number of voters of the electors shall be the vice-president. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the senate shall choose from them by ballot the vice-president.

"The congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

"No person, except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president; neither shall any person be eligible to that office, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

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"In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president, and the congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

"The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be encreased or diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

"Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend, the constitution of the United States.'

"Sect. 2. The president shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

"He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur: and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they may think proper, in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

"The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

"Sect. 3. He shall from time to time give to the congress information of the state of the union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient: he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers: he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

"Sect. 4. The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanours.

"ARTICLE III.

"Sect. 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

"Sect. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, or other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

"In all cases affecting ambassadors, other

public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before-mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the congress shall make.

"The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the congress may by law have directed.

"Sect. 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

"The congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

"ARTICLE IV.

"Sect. 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings, shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

"Sect. 2. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

"A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

"No person held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into any other, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

"Sect. 3. New states may be admitted by the congress into this union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of the congress.

"The congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

"Sect. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every state in this union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

"ARTICLE V.

"The congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislature of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the congress: provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

"ARTICLE VI.

"All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution, as under the confederation.

"This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority he of

United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

"The senators and representatives beforementioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

"ARTICLE VII.

"The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

"Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON, president,
And deputy from Virginia.

New Hampshire,	John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman,
Massachusetts,	Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King,
Connecticut,	Wm. Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman,
New York,	Alexander Hamilton,
New Jersey,	William Livingston, David Brearley, William Patterson, Jonathan Dayton,
Pennsylvania,	Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimmons, Jared Ingersol, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris,
Delaware,	George Read, Gunning Bedford, jun. John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom,
Maryland,	James M'Henry Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll,
Virginia,	John Blair, James Madison, jun.
North Carolina,	William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson
South Carolina,	John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler,
Georgia,	William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

"Attest. WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary."

The contest between Great Britain and the United States had excited, so long as the conflict with Buonaparte continued, only a confined and partial interest, and when the downfall of Napoleon had inflamed our pride and surpassed our expectations, we looked forward to the same good fortune and success in the prosecution of our trans-atlantic hostilities. It was believed, with more national vanity than prudence, that Britain, so long the undisputed mistress of the ocean, would soon sweep the seas of all the American ships: and that the troops who had so gloriously proved their warlike prowess in the Peninsula, had only to appear on the frontiers of the United States, to obtain a certain and easy victory over the undisciplined forces of America. It was confidently predicted that our troops would advance without loss or interruption to the capital, and that our successes would induce the inhabitants of the northern states to separate from those of the southern provinces. Deluded by the false representations of the American newspapers, our ill informed and sanguine politicians anticipated the defeat and downfall of the republican party, and on the eve of every new election for officers of state loudly predicted the discomfiture of Mr. Madison and his friends. The stability, however, of that gentleman's power was at this period confirmed and secured by the pacific tenor of his language and his conduct. He reflected, that if the war were prolonged for many years it would entail on the United

States the severest burthens, and such as, in the present stage of society, the people would neither be able nor disposed to bear. Though the people in general possessed real wealth, or the comforts and necessaries of life, they had but little of the signs of that wealth, or money; and, unless on very extraordinary occasions, a people with little bullion cannot endure a long and expensive war. The campaign in Canada had been replete with disappointment. Its arrangement had been unskilful. The troops had not yet acquired the habits of military discipline, nor the generals attained the requisite experience. For these and other reasons, therefore, Mr. Madison had proposed that the emperor of Russia should mediate between Great Britain and America. But this proposal was decidedly objected to by the British government, though at the same time they professed, as they had always done, an anxious desire to put an end to the war.

To this refusal of the mediation of the Emperor of Russia Mr. Madison alluded in the opening of the message which he sent to both houses of congress on the 12th of December 1813. In this message, which is marked with a spirit of considerable hostility towards Britain, he recapitulates all the advantages which the United States had really gained, or claimed, in order to show that,—under the circumstances in which they were placed by the refusal of Great Britain, having no choice but an exertion of its strength in support of its rights,—they had the best encouragement to perseverance, from "the success with which it had pleased the Almighty to bless their arms, both on the land and on the water." He first alludes to the battle on lake Erie, which had terminated in the capture of the whole British squadron. On lake Ontario, the caution of the British had frustrated the attempts of the American commander to bring on a decisive action; but even on that lake they were superior. By the success on lake Erie, a passage into the territory of Canada had been opened, and the war carried thither with considerable success. After mentioning some other successes, and the prospect of future advantages, Mr. Madison adverts to our employment of the Indians, which he censures in very strong terms: in other respects also he alleges that we were pursuing a course most destructive to humanity;—alluding particularly to the British commander in Canada having selected from American prisoners of war, and sent to Great Britain for trial as criminals, a number of individuals who had emigrated from Britain long prior to the war. In consequence of this, he had put into confinement a like number of British prisoners of war, sending an official notification, that they would experience whatever violence might be committed on the American prisoners of war sent to Great Britain. This, however, had produced no effect: so far from it, that double the number of American officers had been put in confinement. "It is as fortunate (adds Mr. Madison) for the United States, that they have it in their power to meet their enemy in this deplorable contest, as it is honourable to them that they do not join in it but under the most imperious obligations, and with the humane purpose of effectuating a return to the established usages of war."

The president next adverts to the conduct of France towards the United States; but here his language becomes much more cool and guarded; and the subject indeed is passed over with a very short and slight notice.

The next topic adverted to relates to a revision of the militia laws, "for the purpose of securing more effectually the services of all detachments called into the employment and placed under the government of the United States.

After some observations on the adoption of measures, by which the American privateers might have the use of the ports of friendly powers, Mr. Madison passes on to the consideration of the finances of the United States. The receipts for the last year had exceeded 37 millions and a half of dollars, of which nearly 24 were the produce of loans; on the 30th of September 1813 nearly seven millions of dollars remained in the treasury, after meeting all the demands for the public service: seven millions and a half had been obtained as a loan on very favourable conditions: further sums were necessary, but there were good grounds to suppose that they would be easily obtained.

After mentioning generally the expenses

which had been incurred during the last campaign, he again adverts to their successes: York, Forts George, Eric, and Malden, had been reduced; and the attacks of the British in almost every part had been repulsed. He concludes by contrasting the advantages which the war had brought, with the evils which it had necessarily inflicted: if it had interrupted their commerce, it had also encouraged and extended their manufactures: if much treasure had been expended, no inconsiderable portion of it had been applied to objects durable in their value:—if the war had exposed them to spoliations on the ocean, and to incursions on the land, it had also demonstrated, "that every blow aimed at their maritime independence was an impulse accelerating the growth of their maritime power;" and by the effects of the war on the military resources and discipline of the nation, "a greater respect for their rights, and a longer duration of their future peace, are promised, than could be expected without these proofs of the national character and resources."

In the statements and anticipations of some parts of his message Mr. Madison was justified by what had actually happened, or by what was likely to happen. But certainly so far as he dwelt upon the military character of the United States, neither what had occurred, nor what in all probability would speedily occur, bore him out: almost every American general and army had fled with precipitation before an inferior force, composed almost entirely of Canadian troops. Wilkinson and Hampton, the last who had fought, had derived no more honour than their predecessors: sir George Prevost, on the contrary, exhibited his usual activity and courage; and after the defeat of the American generals, he pursued them so closely that they were forced to take up their winter quarters in their own territory. The appearance of a small regular force menacing the front of general Wilkinson, was sufficient to drive him in great alarm up the Salmon river: on arriving at French Mills, about six miles up the stream, he dismantled his boats, and arranged his artillery near a block-house. In the mean while, some British gun-boats advanced into lake Champlain, and burnt the depôt at Plattsburg; while on the other hand a conjoint attack on Burlington heights, planned by the American general Harrison and commodore Chauncey, was frustrated by the severity of the weather. On the 30th of December, a corps of British amounting to 1000 men attacked an American force of double that number, advantageously posted near the Black Rock: the Americans were entirely beaten; and the consequence of this victory was, that possession was gained of all the enemy's posts on the Niagara frontier

From several causes, it was not to be expected that the war between Britain and America would be carried on in the most humane and honourable mode, especially by the Americans: they had not yet forgotten the war of the revolution; and our employment of the Indians, though they set us the example, exasperated them still more: the consequences were such as might naturally be dreaded. In their different invasions of Canada the greatest inhumanities were exercised: especially at Sandwich, at the settlements on the Thames, at York, and at Fort-George. Finding that remonstrances against this mode of conducting the war produced no effect, sir George Prevost at length issued a proclamation announcing a severe retaliation on the Americans; while at the same time he earnestly deprecated this mode of warfare. We shall afterwards have occasion to canvass the humanity as well as the policy in retaliating on, and thus imitating, an enemy when they depart from the paths of justice.

As soon as Europe was restored to peace by the dethronement of Buonaparte, the British government resolved to prosecute the war against the United States with a great accession of means and vigour; and thus it was confidently expected that Mr. Madison would be compelled to accept of such terms as we should be disposed to dictate. Two distinct modes of prosecuting the war seem to have been determined on by the British government; an invasion of the coasts of the United States; and, after the protection of Canada had been secured, the conquest of so much of the adjoining territory of the United States as might, in the event of a future war,

effectually guard that province from all danger. It was reasonably expected also, that when the intelligence of the downfall of Buonaparte reached America, either Mr. Madison would feel the necessity of making peace, or, if he did not, his unpopularity would become so great, that he would be obliged to quit the government of the states in favour of a president more favourable to Britain and to pacific measures.

The intelligence of the downfall of Buonaparte certainly did create a wonderful sensation in America; but a sensation of a singular kind, and not easily explained. It might have been anticipated that the republican party, the friends to liberty, the enemies of despotism, would have rejoiced at the destruction of the military despotism and oppression of Buonaparte; but, on the contrary, they mourned over his downfall, as if, with him, all hope and prospect of the liberty and independence of Europe had also fallen. At first, the successes of the allies in France were not credited; but when they were established beyond all doubt, those newspapers which spoke the sentiments and wishes of the republican party, in the most explicit manner, lamented the intelligence. This, however, may perhaps be accounted for: their hatred of Britain, and the violence of their party spirit against such of their own countrymen as were federalists and adverse to war, led them to embrace the cause of one from whom they expected the ruin of Britain.

Mr. Madison, however, was convinced that, now that Britain was at full liberty to employ all her force against the United States, the war would assume a different character from what it previously had done; and consequently, that it would be absolutely necessary, either to meet the more extended and vigorous warfare by measures of corresponding vigour and extension, or to bring about a peace with Great Britain. The latter was resolved upon; at the same time that, in case of the failure of the negociations, measures were taken which he hoped would secure the United States from the attacks which would be now made against them. Mr. Madison also found himself under the necessity of repealing the embargo which had been laid on the 13th of December 1813; for by the reverses and downfall of Buonaparte the federalist party, which, as has been already observed, consisted principally of merchants, now raised their voices most powerfully and effectually against a measure which involved them in great pecuniary embarrassments and difficulties. Thus another instance was exhibited which proved that Britain, though more essentially commercial than any other nation, can bear up under the interruption of commerce for a much longer time, and with less suffering, than any of her rivals. Such are the effects of great capital and enterprise united.

In the midst, however, of all their defeats by land, and of the dismay into which the war party in America were thrown by the downfall of Buonaparte, they were still successful by sea; and their success in this element not only inspired them with the hope that they should one day become the mistress of the ocean, but also threw a gloom over Britain, even while she was hailed by the rest of Europe as having been mainly instrumental in restoring to the continent the blessings of independence and peace.

On the morning of the 28th of June, in latitude 48. longitude 11., the Reindeer sloop of war, commanded by captain Manners, perceived an enemy to the leeward, and instantly gave chase: about three o'clock the ships were close together, when the action commenced, and was kept up with the most determined spirit for twenty-five minutes: at the end of this time the captain of the Reindeer, the purser, and 27 men were killed; and 40 wounded, amongst whom were all her officers then on board: before this, she had made several unsuccessful attempts to board. In this state she was under the necessity of striking to the enemy, which proved to be the Wasp American sloop of war, commanded by captain Blakely. The disproportion between the two ships in size, weight of metal, and complement of men, was very considerable. The Wasp was of the burden of nearly 800 tons, mounting 20 32-pounder carronades, besides two long 12-pounders, and having on board 175 men; while the Reindeer was little more than 380 tons, mounting only 16 twenty-four pounder carronades, besides two long twelve-poun-

ders, with two long sixes, and had only 98 men and twenty boys. Captain Manners fought his vessel against this very superior enemy in the most gallant manner: he lost his life in attempting to board, after receiving fourteen wounds. The Wasp was very much cut up in her hull and rigging; and her loss in killed and wounded is supposed to have been fully equal to that of the Reindeer. On the day after the action it became necessary to destroy the prize. Thus, in a sea war of two years, the Americans could boast that, though they were opposed to the once dreaded navy of Great Britain, the proportion of victories had been beyond all comparison in their favour, having captured three frigates, two twenty-gun ships, four eighteens, one twelve and one ten-gun vessel.

It would seem, too, that where we were victorious over the Americans by sea, we were generally indebted for our success to a greater superiority than even they had when they were successful. This was certainly the case with respect to the capture of the Essex; she had been long cruizing in company with a corvette off the eastern coast of South America; and captain Hillyear of his majesty's ship Phœbe was directed to sail in quest of them; for nearly five months he was unsuccessful; but at last, on the 28th of March, he saw the Essex quit the port of Valparaiso, and immediately (accompanied by the Cherub) he made sail after her. The Essex at first attempted to gain the weather gage; but in this attempt she did not succeed, carrying away her maintopmast: on this she endeavoured to regain the port she had just quitted; but in this also she was unsuccessful, being obliged to anchor near the shore. In this situation it was not safe for captain Hillyear to pass a-head of her: he therefore resolved to anchor as near her as possible: but before he gained a position proper for that purpose, the cable of the Essex was cut, and a serious conflict ensued; the guns of the Phœbe became gradually more destructive, and her crew, if possible, more animated: the contest began at 35 minutes past five, and lasted till 20 minutes after six, when the Essex struck her colours. In the official account of the action captain Hillyear, with the spirit of a brave man, bestowed a liberal degree of praise on the bravery of the enemy: the conduct of the captain of the Essex, however (captain Porter), in one respect deserved no praise; for it appears by captain Hillyear's account, that he connived at the escape of some of his men after the ship had surrendered.

The only other naval action at sea, this year, took place off the coast of Ireland, between the Wasp (already mentioned) and the Avon. The British here were inferior, and would certainly have been taken possession of, having been forced, after a short but desperate conflict, to strike her colours, had not some of his majesty's ships fortunately come up at the instant, and obliged the Wasp to seek her safety in flight.

Besides these successes of the Americans, so far as their national vessels were concerned, they had many rich captures by their privateers; and these captures were made not merely on their own coasts, or on the Atlantic ocean, but on the very shores of England and Ireland; so that at length it was not safe for a vessel to sail without convoy from one part of the English or Irish channel to another. Strong representations were made to the admiralty on this subject; but as they were not attended to as they ought to have been, addresses to the prince regent were presented from London, Liverpool, and other sea ports. It was indeed a most mortifying reflection, that while our navy amounted to nearly 1000 ships of different sizes, and while we were at peace with all Europe, we could not protect our commerce on our own coasts. The only defence (if defence it could be called) that the admiralty could make was, that we had captured a greater number of ships from the Americans than the Americans had from us. But the proportion of the captures we had made was very far below the proportional superiority which our navy bore to theirs: and indeed, all things considered, not too much would have been expected from the admiralty, if, with the means in their power, the nation had anticipated the capture of every American armed vessel that put to sea.

The lakes, it is well known, constitute the most important boundary between Canada and the United States; and the possession of

these lakes is absolutely necessary to the secure and permanent possession of the province. It was therefore the duty and the interest of the British government, as soon as the war broke out, to have secured the superiority of these lakes in so decided a manner as to have effectually protected Canada: this, however, during the two years which the war had already lasted, they had neglected to do. In fact, though on some of the lakes the British were occasionally successful, yet this success was never of long continuance, and it was so chequered with defeat as to give confidence to the Americans and to dispirit the Canadians. For the former, when they commenced the war, could hardly have looked forward to such victories as they had obtained over the British; and being naturally a sanguine and ardent people, the achievement of victory over such a nation as Britain could not fail to gratify and invigorate their feelings, and to reconcile to the war those who at its commencement were averse to it.

In some respects, indeed, the Americans possessed advantages which we did not enjoy for carrying on operations on the lakes; they were nearer to the supplies necessary for the equipment and repair of their squadrons.—But, on the other hand, it seems to have been abundantly shown in the house of commons, that their superiority arising from these advantages was greatly increased by the ignorance or inattention of our ministry. Indeed it was disputed in parliament, to what department of government the equipment of the flotilla on the lakes properly belonged. Common sense would have said that it belonged to the admiralty; but the admiralty denied this, because forsooth the lakes were inland seas of fresh water; and they threw the duty of equipping the flotilla on the secretary of state for the colonial department. It may be remarked by the by, that there seems some deficiency in the executive part of our government in this respect: the prime minister, though not recognised by the constitution, ought certainly to have such a directing and controlling power as, in cases of doubt, to assign to each department its proper duties, and to see that those duties are performed as they ought to be.

With respect to the other branches of the war on the frontiers of Canada, the inhabitants of that province complained that they were left almost entirely to defend themselves; for during the two years of hostilities, the operations of which have been already detailed, they had procured little assistance from Great Britain. A sufficient reason, however, was assigned for this, viz., that the troops of Britain were so fully employed against Buonaparte that she could not send strong reinforcements to Canada. This should, however, have induced the ministry to exert themselves more in the equipment of a proper flotilla on the lakes, in order that Canada might have been adequately protected by our superiority on them, till such time as we could send out more troops. As it was, had it not been for the incapacity of the American generals, and the badness of their troops, on the one hand; and on the other hand, the activity of sir George Prevost, and the valour of the troops under his command, Canada must have fallen into the possession of the enemy. The Americans, indeed, as we have seen, fought so ill on land, that no alarm seems to have been excited that they would ever be a match for even the Canadian provincial troops. It seems to have been most strangely and culpably overlooked, that their bad fighting on land arose from causes and circumstances which must in the nature of things gradually die away, and be replaced by such as would render them as good soldiers as they had proved themselves to be sailors. This we might have anticipated from what had occurred to ourselves. Till the war against Buonaparte, even Britons were disposed to acknowledge that their countrymen, though the best sailors in the world, were very indifferent soldiers; as if either in their case, or in that of the Americans, the men who had courage sufficient to fight well by sea would not soon be taught to fight well on land.

The British ministry were therefore blamed for protracting the war with America; they were blamed for not annihilating their navy at once. This seemed a well-grounded charge, considering the immense superiority of our navy, and that we had no other employment for it. They were also blamed for not having sent out more troops to Canada:—this

charge, during the continuance of the war with Buonaparte, was not so well founded as that relative to the navy; but as soon as the European war was terminated, it was expected that the American would be speedily brought to a close.

This expectation had very much the appearance of being gratified; for, as soon as possible after the peace of Paris, the British ministry sent to America about 14,000 of those troops who had gained such fame under the duke of Wellington. The annihilation of the American army was now thought to be at hand: even the most sceptical could not hesitate to expect that troops which had ignominiously fled before a Canadian militia, would be dissipated like chaff before the victors of the peninsula; and the more sanguine already anticipated the conquest of at least a part of the United States, and that we should dictate peace at Philadelphia or Washington.

Besides the troops which were sent to Canada, a strong naval force, with an adequate number of troops on board, was collected for the purpose of invading different parts of the United States. The object of this kind of expedition seems to have been two-fold: in the first place, by actually landing in different places, and keeping the coast in constant alarm, to prevent the American government from sending as many troops as they would otherwise have done to the invasion of Canada; and in the second place, to retaliate on the Americans the destruction which they had committed at York Town and other places. It was also expected that, if either or both these objects were effected, the war would become more unpopular in America than it actually was; and that the clamours of the inhabitants of those towns and districts which were invaded and laid waste by our troops would either compel the president to make peace, or to withdraw the troops from Canada for their protection and defence. These invading expeditions were also defended on the ground that they were intended to retaliate the devastation and cruelty which the Americans had committed in their invasion of Canada. But it was asked in the house of commons, why did not we, on the same principle, imitate the cruelty of the Indians when we were at war with them, and scalp our prisoners? In case of war with the pirates of the Barbary coast why should we not, on the same principle, make slaves of our prisoners? In short, if we were right in imitating the devastation of the Americans, we should be justified in imitating and retaliating all the inhuman practices of the most savage nations, with whom we might chance to be at war. The inexorable consequences resulting from such a system of retaliation would be a general feeling of alarm and revenge: the federalists, who hated Mr. Madison, and were averse to all his measures, would be drawn into the arms of the republican party, in order to avoid the greater evil of being passive while their country was laid waste, and our character for rectitude, humanity, and moderation, would be lost. But the determination of the British ministry remained immoveable; the commercial and mercantile classes in England regarded the American war with comparative indifference, now that the trade of Europe was open to their goods; a great proportion of the community who had opposed the war while the orders in council remained in force, considered themselves bound to support the system of hostility as soon as they were repealed. The ministers, therefore, exulting in this change of public temper, confiding in the supposed unpopularity of Mr. Madison, and trusting to the prowess and experience of the veterans whom we had sent from Spain, publicly announced their sanguine anticipations of success.

The operations began in the early part of July. The American army effected a landing at the ferry of Lake Erie, having driven in the picquets of the garrison of Fort Erie. As soon as major-general Riall, who commanded the troops in the neighbourhood, heard of this event, he ordered the immediate advance of five companies of the royal Scots, towards Chippawa, to reinforce the garrison of that place. About the same time a detachment of the 100th regiment, with some militia, and a few Indians, moved forward for the purpose of reconnoitring the position and the numbers of the enemy. They amounted to about 6000 men, with a numerous train of artillery, and were strongly posted at and above Fort Erie. The force

of the British, in regular troops, amounted to about 1500, exclusive of 300 militia and Indians. In the afternoon of the 5th, major-general Riall having made the necessary dispositions, ordered the attack to commence. The enemy had taken up a position with his right resting on some villages and orchards close on the river Niagara, and strongly supported by artillery; his left was towards a wood, having a considerable body of riflemen and Indians in front of it. These were first attacked, and after a sharp but short contest were dislodged. After this success major-general Riall ordered the king's regiment to move to the right, while the royal Scots and 100th regiments were directed to charge the enemy in front. On this arduous enterprize they advanced with the greatest coolness and gallantry, notwithstanding they were exposed to a very heavy and galling fire. The enemy, aware of the advantages of their position, and finding that their fire was very destructive, stood firm, till at length major-general Riall finding that farther efforts would be unavailing, and that his troops had suffered severely, ordered them to relinquish the attack. In this affair lieutenant-colonel Gordon, and lieutenant-colonel the marquis of Tweedale, who charged in the most gallant manner at the head of their respective regiments, were wounded. A retreat now became necessary on Chippawa, which was conducted with good order and regularity, not a single prisoner falling into the hands of the enemy, except those who were disabled by wounds. The object of the enemy's advance was evidently to gain possession of Fort Erie, and major-general Riall was in hopes of being able to save it. After the battle, he understood that it had surrendered on the 3d. Major Back, who commanded that fort, appears to have been very ill informed of the movements of the enemy, since he was wholly unapprized of their having landed on both sides of him, and only at the distance of a mile. After this, instead of endeavouring to atone for his want of circumspection by determined courage, he surrendered the fort without firing a gun; himself and 150 men being made prisoners of war.

The enemy, emboldened by the success which attended their first operations, looked forward to still greater advantages; but in this they were disappointed, for general Drummond advanced in considerable force to the support of general Riall, who was now posted near the falls of Niagara. Scarcely had the junction taken place when intelligence arrived that the American army was advancing in great force. General Drummond immediately proceeded to meet them: he found them already in possession of a rising ground, while their light troops were in the surrounding woods. The 84th regiment, the royal Scots detachment, and the 41st light companies, were immediately formed in the rear of the hill, their left resting on the road; while two twenty-four pounders were advanced in front of the centre, and the remainder of the British troops were posted on the left of the road. Scarcely were the troops thus arranged, when the whole front was warmly and closely engaged. The principal efforts of the enemy were directed against the left and centre of the British. They made repeated attacks, in the course of which the troops on the left were partially forced back, and the enemy obtained a momentary possession of the road. He derived, however, no material advantage from this circumstance, as the troops which were forced back formed again in the rear of the 89th regiment, fronting the road and securing the flank. About this time major-general Riall, having been wounded, fell into the power of the enemy. In the centre, also, their attacks were repeated with considerable determination, but they were met and repulsed by our troops in that quarter with the most perfect steadiness and gallantry, and with very considerable loss to their opponents. The intrepidity of the Americans was equally remarkable; our artillerymen were bayonetted in the act of loading, and the muzzles of the enemy's guns were advanced within a few yards of ours. The darkness of the night during this extraordinary conflict occasioned several unusual incidents. Our troops having for a moment been pushed back, some of our guns remained for a few minutes in the enemy's hands. They were, however, not only quickly recovered, but the two pieces which the Americans had brought up were captured.

One of the enemy's six-pounders was put by mistake on a limber or cradle of ours, and one of our six-pounders on a limber of theirs, by which means the pieces were exchanged.

About nine o'clock, three hours after the commencement of the action, and during a short interruption of the firing, the Americans brought up the whole of their remaining force, and shortly afterwards renewed their attacks with fresh troops, but were every where repulsed with equal gallantry and success. They continued their efforts, however, against the hill till midnight, when they had suffered so severely that they gave up the contest, and retreated with great precipitation to their camp beyond the Chippawa. On the next day they abandoned their camp, throwing the greatest part of the baggage and ammunition into the rapids, and continued their retreat in great disorder towards Fort Erie. The loss of the Americans, in this severe contest, was estimated at 1500 men; and their two commanding generals were wounded. Our loss was also very severe.

Soon after the decision of this battle general Drummond resolved to attempt the recapture of Fort Erie. For this purpose, on the 13th of August, he opened the fire of a battery against it, and having soon afterwards reason to believe that a sufficient impression had been made, he determined on assaulting the place. Two attacks were ordered to be made; one against the entrenchments on the side of Snake-hill, and the other against the fort and entrenchments on the opposite side. The troops appointed for the latter enterprise advanced to the attack as soon as the firing occasioned by the other attack was heard, and succeeded in getting possession of the demi-bastion, the guns of which they had actually turned against the enemy; when most unfortunately some ammunition caught fire, and a most tremendous explosion took place, by which almost all the troops which had succeeded in making a lodgment were dreadfully mangled. Panic was instantly spread among them; and the enemy taking advantage of it pressed forward, and commenced a heavy fire of musketry: under these circumstances it became absolutely necessary to abandon the fort, and the British troops retreated towards the battery. Our loss was very severe in killed and wounded, and a very great number were made prisoners.

It was abundantly evident from these accounts, that we had beaten the Americans till we had taught them to fight. But it was fondly hoped that, as soon as sir George Prevost received the reinforcements which were dispatched to him immediately after the peace of Paris, he would obtain a splendid and decisive victory over the enemy. As soon as these reinforcements did arrive, he lost no time in advancing to the frontier; on which the American army abandoned its entrenched camp. Sir George immediately proceeded against Plattsburg, which place it was determined to attack both by land and water.—The enemy were resolved to defend this place; and for that purpose their land forces occupied an elevated ridge, while their flotilla were at anchor out of gun-shot from the shore. As soon as this disposition of the enemy's forces was observed, sir George Prevost communicated the circumstance to captain Downie, who had been recently appointed to command the vessels on Lake Champlain. When sir George observed the flotilla steering for Plattsburg Bay, he ordered his troops to advance, and to escalade the enemy's works upon the heights.

In consequence of the light airs and the smoothness of the water, the fire between the flotillas was very destructive on both sides. From the commencement of the engagement, it was evidently the intention of the enemy to direct nearly all his efforts against captain Downie's vessel the Confiance. This vessel was fought with great gallantry, till on the death of her brave commander she was compelled to strike her colours. The whole of the enemy's force was then directed against the Linnet of 18 guns, which was also most bravely defended by her commander, till at length he was under the painful necessity of giving orders that her colours should be struck. Another of the British flotilla unfortunately stranded on a reef of rocks, and of course was prevented from rendering any assistance.

In the mean time the land forces had succeeded in effecting a passage across the Sara-

nac. But at this time sir George Prevost was informed of the defeat of the flotilla; upon which he ordered the troops to give over the attack, and soon afterwards he commenced his retreat within the frontier. In the course of this retreat, a very considerable quantity of his baggage was obliged to be left behind; and the enemy stated, that upwards of 3000 men deserted from the British.

It is scarcely possible to conceive the degree of mortification and disappointment which the intelligence of this defeat created in Great Britain. Troops which had been victorious in Spain and France; which had not only fought and conquered under Wellington, but which had received his particular commendation for their steadiness and bravery, had been defeated by the Americans,—by men who could scarcely be called soldiers;—who but a few months before had run from the Canadian militia:—and not only had the heroes of the peninsula fled before such raw troops, but also before a very inferior force; since sir George Prevost had at least 14,000 men, while the American army was not half that number.

In Canada the complaints were loud and general against sir George Prevost; and sir James Yeo, who commanded his majesty's ships and vessels on the lakes, distinctly gave it as his opinion, in his official dispatch, that captain Downie was urged, and his ship hurried into action before she was in a fit state to meet the enemy: he also gave it as his opinion, that there was not the least necessity for the British squadron giving the enemy such decided advantages, by going into their bay to engage them; since, even if they had been successful, it would not in the least have assisted the troops in storming the batteries; whereas, he adds, had the troops taken the batteries first, it would have obliged the squadron of the enemy to quit the bay, and thus given the British a fair chance. In this opinion of sir James Yeo most military men agreed; and it is even said that, after the defeat of the flotilla, the officers were of opinion they could have taken Plattsburg; and that they obeyed sir G. Prevost's orders for a retreat with great reluctance and murmuring.

Nor was this the only misfortune which attended our troops towards the close of the campaign on the frontiers of Canada; for the garrison of Fort Erie on the 17th of September made a sortie, in which we lost 800 men; and in consequence of this sortie general Drummond was under the necessity of commencing a retreat, in which he was followed and harassed by the American army. As soon as the winter set in, the enemy evacuated Fort Erie; and the campaign terminated, certainly without any ground being gained, or any decisive advantages being reaped, on either side, but with the character and confidence of the enemy greatly raised, and ours proportionally depressed.

Great expectations were at one time formed, of a very large ship which had been constructed upon the lakes, mounting 100 guns; but the season of the year was so far advanced before she was completed, that no other advantage was derived, but that of blockading the enemy's squadron in Sackett's harbour, and gaining the mastery of the lake on which it stands, at a period when that mastery could be of no service. We shall now turn our attention to the circumstances and results of our operations on different parts of the coasts of the United States; and we shall first notice the landing which was effected on the most northern part of them.

The Penobscot river is about 80 miles S. W. of the Passamaquoddy, which forms the barrier between the United States and the British province of New Brunswick. At the mouth of the latter river we took possession of some small islands; and after this, lieutenant-general sir J. Sherbrooke and rear-admiral Griffith, who commanded the land and sea forces on this station, determined to push their attack as far as the Penobscot.—To this they were most especially determined, from the intelligence which they received, that the John Adams frigate had taken refuge by running 27 miles up that river; to Hamden, where she had landed her guns, and lay under their protection. On the 26th of August, therefore, a combined sea and land force, under the command of these officers, set sail from Halifax on this determination. On the 1st of September they reached the town and fort of Castine, built on a peninsula on the eastern side of the Pe-

nobscot. The officer commanding this fort having blown up the magazine, and fled with the troops composing its garrison, it was immediately occupied by the British general, who sent forward a regiment to secure the town of Belfast, on the western bank, while a body of picked men, amounting to 700, supported by the boats of the expedition, ascended the river towards Hamden. Here they bivouacked during the night under an incessant rain; notwithstanding which, on the following day they pushed on to attack an enemy double their numbers, and strongly posted in front of the town, with rising grounds on both his flanks, strengthened with cannon. The British troops charged up the hill, and took possession of the guns, while some rockets from the boats completed the confusion of the enemy.

Before the boats got within good gun-shot of the battery thrown up to defend the frigate, the Americans abandoned its defence and set fire to her, and she was totally destroyed; while the troops that were stationed at the other battery ran away with great precipitation the moment our troops ascended the hill. The pursuit continued as far as the town of Bangor; where some of the inhabitants who had not fought, but pretended to fight, at Hamden, threw off the military character, and as magistrates, &c. made an unconditional surrender of the town. Shortly after this the American general Blake, with 191 troops, also surrendered, and were admitted to their parole. During these operations, another body of British troops, to the number of 700, were marched up the eastern bank of the river, about 18 miles, to Buxton; but the destruction of the frigate, and the dispersion of the enemy's troops in that quarter being fully effected, the British force was withdrawn from Bangor, Belfast, and Buxton, to Castine, where the head-quarters of sir J. Sherbrooke were fixed. The only fort between the Penobscot and the Passamaquoddy is that of Machias, which it was originally intended to have attacked first; but the attempt against Hamden was considered as preferable, from the necessity of taking or destroying the frigate. This object, however, having been accomplished, no time was lost in dispatching another body of troops against Machias, where they landed without opposition on the 10th of September, and after a most fatiguing night march took possession of the fort without loss. This capture was followed by the capitulation of the American general Brewer, commanding the troops in that neighbourhood; who, considering the situation of the country between the Penobscot and the Passamaquoddy to be such as to preclude the hope of adequate protection by the United States, engaged, in the name of himself and his troops, not to serve against the British during the war.

The British general afterwards declared the country on the Penobscot, as far as he had conquered it, a part of the territory of his majesty in America. This step, in many points of view, was very impolitic; since to declare any territory as essentially and permanently attached to the conqueror, of which he has only gained a temporary possession, can only serve to expose his weakness when he is compelled to give it up, and to irritate the enemy. It was said that the territory of which we had gained possession was necessary for the purpose of an open and direct communication between Canada and New Brunswick:—but as it was to the Americans of little value, it might have been obtained, in the event of a peace, for an equivalent; whereas they were not likely to permit the disgrace of having it forced from them, of however little real value it might be to them.

The expedition against the southern, or rather the middle, states of America, it was determined, should be on a larger scale, and should, if successful, not only amply retaliate the devastations of the enemy in Canada, but strike such terror into them as would induce them totally to desert Mr. Madison, and compel him to make peace. The land forces employed on this expedition were under the command of major-general Ross, and the sea forces under the command of admiral Cochrane: these officers determined to disembark the army at the village of Benedict, on the right bank of the Patuxent, for the purpose of co-operating with real-admiral Cockburn in an attack on the enemy's flotilla under the command of commodore Barney. Admiral Cochrane landed the marines on the left bank of the river, at the place where he

understood the flotilla to be, and directed the troops to attack on the land side, to draw off the attention of such of the enemy's forces as might be stationed there for its defence: he himself proceeded with his boats, and soon descried the broad pendant of commodore Barney in the head-most vessel, and the remainder of the flotilla extending in a long line astern of her. The British boats advanced to them as rapidly as possible; but on approaching them commodore Barney's vessel was discovered to be on fire, and she very soon afterwards blew up. In fact, they were all abandoned, and on fire, with trains to their magazines; so that, out of the 17 vessels which composed the flotilla, 16 were blown to atoms, and the 17th was captured. The British also burnt 13 merchant vessels that had been lying under the protection of the flotilla, and brought off a considerable quantity of tobacco.

As soon as this success was accomplished, major-general Ross and admiral Cochrane resolved to proceed against Washington, the capital of the United States, from which they were distant only 16 miles. They accordingly reached a village about five miles from this city without meeting with the enemy. At this place, however, they discovered the enemy strongly posted on the opposite side of the river, on very commanding heights, and formed in two lines, his advance occupying a fortified house, which, with artillery, covered the bridge over the eastern branch of the river, across which it was necessary for our troops to pass. The position of the enemy was defended by artillery and riflemen, and a wide road leading to Washington ran through it. The attack was made with so much impetuosity that the fortified house was shortly carried, the enemy retiring to the higher grounds. The American left was next attacked, and the fourth regiment pressing on their right at the same time, they abandoned their guns. Their first line afterwards giving way was driven on the second, which, yielding to the irresistible attack of the bayonet, and the well directed discharge of the musketry, fled in disorder, leaving the British masters of the field. Few prisoners were made, as the retreat was precipitate, and the fatigue of the British troops excessive; but the whole of the artillery was captured, together with its commander, commodore Barron, who had formerly conducted the flotilla.

After this complete success General Ross halted his army for a short time, and then marched upon Washington. This city had been selected for the seat of the American government; but the number of its houses does not exceed nine hundred, spread over an extensive scite. The whole number of its inhabitants does not exceed 8000, and the adjacent country is thinly peopled. Although the necessary precautions were ordered, to assemble the militia for the protection of the city, a variety of causes combined to render the defence unsuccessful, and the English took possession of Washington on the evening of the 24th of August. "The commanders of the British force held at that time," says Mr. Madison, "a letter of admiral Cochrane, dated the 18th, but not received till the 31st of August, in which it was announced that the towns and districts upon the coast were to be destroyed and laid waste, in revenge for unspecified and unknown acts of destruction, which were charged against the American troops in Upper Canada.—Conscious, however, of the danger of a distant separation from the British fleet, and desirous, by every plausible artifice, to deter the citizens from flying to arms against their invaders, they disavowed all design of injuring private persons and property, and gave assurances of protection wherever there was submission." General Ross and admiral Cockburn then proceeded in person to direct and superintend the business of conflagration, in a place which had yielded to their arms, which was unfortified, and by which no hostility was threatened. They set fire to the capital, in whose walls were contained the halls of the congress of the United States, the hall of their highest tribunal for the administration of justice, the archives of the legislature, and the national library. They set fire to the edifice which the United States had erected for the residence of their chief magistrate, and to the costly and extensive buildings erected for the accommodation of the principal officers of the government, in the transactions of the public business. These magnificent monuments of the progress of

the arts, which America had borrowed from her parent Europe, with all the testimonials of taste and literature which they contained, were, on the memorable night of the 24th of August, consigned to the flames, while British officers of high rank and command united with their troops in riotous carousal by the light of the burning pile.

The arsenal, the dock-yard, the rope-walk, and the bridge across the Potowmack, a frigate on the stocks, and a sloop of war, were consumed; and the two bridges leading to the city, over the eastern branch of the river, had been destroyed by the Americans, under the apprehension of an attack in that direction. Yet in the eagerness of the commanders to insult and injure their enemy, they left many military objects entirely unaccomplished. A great portion of the munitions of war, which had not been consumed when the navy yard was ordered, by the American government, to be destroyed, were left untouched; and an extensive foundery of cannon, adjoining the city of Washington, was left uninjured: when, in the night of the 25th of August, the army suddenly decamped, and returning with evident marks of precipitation and alarm to their ships, left the interment of their dead, and the care of their wounded, to the enemy whom they had thus injured and insulted, in violation of the laws of civilized war.

The destruction of Washington exasperated the enmity of the American people, and excited a sensation of malignant surprise in the states of Europe. In England, however, the intelligence was at first received with great exultation: the capital of America had been destroyed: Mr. Madison had witnessed, it was said, the prowess of British troops: we had taught the Americans, by just retaliation, that they would not be suffered to ravage and destroy with impunity: and the unpopularity of the president would be extended by so signal a disgrace. These hopes were disappointed, and the feelings of the nation subsided into despondency when it was found that the president disavowed, or defended, on plausible grounds, the burning of York and other places in Canada, and that the cause of Mr. Madison was now supported by a union of all parties in his favour, against what they were pleased to term the atrocities of Britain.

The counterpart of the scene exhibited by the British army was next exhibited by the British navy. Soon after the midnight flight of General Ross from Washington, a squadron of British ships of war ascended the Potowmack, and reached the town of Alexandria on the 27th of August, 1814. The magistrates presuming that the general destruction of the town was intended, asked on what terms it might be saved. The naval commander, captain Gordon, declared "that the only conditions in his power to offer, were such as not only required a surrender of all naval stores, public and *private*, but of all the shipping and all the merchandize in the city, as well as such as had been removed since the 19th of August." The conditions, therefore, amounted to the entire plunder of Alexandria, an unfortified and unresisting town, in order to save the buildings from destruction. The capitulation was made, and we bore away the fruits of our severity in triumph!

After the destruction of Washington, the troops and vessels employed on that service moved into the Potapsco; and the former were landed about 13 miles from Baltimore. On the 12th of September they advanced along a peninsula which was strongly protected, but the entrenchments were immediately forced. At this moment General Ross, in the dangers of the field ever active and foremost, and in his devotion to the honour of his country, and to the reputation of his troops, unfortunately too heedless of his personal security, exposed himself to the fire of the enemy's riflemen, and fell glorious and lamented. As soon as he perceived that he was wounded he fell into the arms of a brother officer, crying, "send immediately for Colonel Brooke". The Colonel attended and received his instructions: and the general having discharged this last duty to his country exclaimed "my dear wife," and dropped lifeless. Colonel Brooke having arrived, pushed on the advance to within five miles of Baltimore, where he encountered 6000 infantry and several hundred cavalry. To attack them at all points, to break and disperse them in every direction, to take two pieces

of cannon and a considerable number of prisoners—all this was but the work of fifteen minutes. A complete and glorious victory was thus obtained, and our little army slept on the field of battle. The next morning, September 13, it advanced within a mile and a half of Baltimore. The town was strongly defended by art and nature: between 15,000 and 18,000 men, with a large train of artillery, were ranged in the redoubts which covered it: and the enemy had so blocked the entrance to the harbour, by sinking ships in the channel, that our squadron was unable to advance to support the military. Under these circumstances it was thought prudent to desist from any attack on the town. By retiring leisurely, it was hoped that the enemy would be drawn from his entrenchments, and on the 14th and 15th, therefore, the troops marched gently to their place of embarkation. But the Americans remained under the protection of their redoubts, and the British army taking with it 200 prisoners, chiefly persons of the best families in the city, re-embarked without the smallest molestation. This expedition was the theme of much exultation to the English. With the exception of general Ross, the victory of the 13th was obtained with trifling loss, while that of the Americans, though entrenched, amounted to 1000 men. They were compelled to sink upwards of 20 vessels in various parts of the harbour, to remove the greater part of the private property from the town, to burn a valuable rope-walk and several public buildings, and alarm the whole surrounding country.

The successes before Baltimore were counterbalanced in a tenfold degree by the deplorable occurrences before New Orleans.—Upon the subject, however, of this unfortunate expedition, we have yet received no intelligence but such as is derived from the statements of the British officers themselves, which, though clear, and apparently impartial, are brief and unsatisfactory. The following are the most important and most interesting of these documents, from which it will appear that, in addition to the death of our gallant commander, our military enterprizes in America terminated with a loss of nearly 2000 men!

"Camp, in front of the enemy's lines, below New Orleans, Jan. 10, 1815.

"My Lord,—It becomes my duty to lay before your lordship the proceedings of the force lately employed on the coast of Louisiana, under the command of major-general the hon. sir E. M. Pakenham, K.B. and acting in concert with vice-admiral the hon. sir A. Cochrane, K.B.

"The report which I inclose from major-general Keane, will put your lordship in possession of the occurrences which took place until the arrival of major-general the hon. sir E. Pakenham, to assume the command; from that period I send an extract of the journal of major Forrest, assistant-quarter-master-general, up to the time of the joining the troops (which sailed on the 26th of October last under my command), and which was on the 6th January; and from that period I shall detail, as well as I am able, the subsequent events.

"I found the army in position, in a flat country, with the Mississippi on its left, and a thick extensive wood on its right, and open to its front, from which the enemy's line was quite distinguishable.

"It seems sir E. Pakenham had waited for the arrival of the fusileers and 43d regiment, in order to make a general attack upon the enemy's line; and on the 8th the army was formed for that object.

"In order to give your lordship as clear a view as I can, I shall state the position of the enemy. On the left bank of the river it was simply a straight line of about a front of one thousand yards with a parapet, the right resting on the river, and the left on a wood which had been made impracticable for any body of troops to pass. This line was strengthened by flank works, and had a canal of about four feet deep generally, but not altogether of an equal width; it was supposed to narrow towards their left: about eight heavy guns were in position on this line. The Mississippi is here about eight hundred yards across, and they had on the right bank a heavy battery of twelve guns, which enfiladed the whole front of the position on the left bank.

"Preparations were made on our side, by very considerable labour, to clear out and widen a canal that communicated with a

stream by which the boats had passed up to the place of disembarkation, to open into the Mississippi, by which means troops could be got over to the right bank, and the co-operation of armed boats could be secured.

" The disposition for the attack was as follows:—A corps, consisting of the 85th light infantry, 200 seamen, and 400 marines, the 5th West India regiment, and four pieces of artillery, under the command of colonel Thornton, of the 85th, was to pass over during the night, and move along the right bank towards New Orleans, clearing its front until it reached the flanking battery of the enemy on that side, which it had orders to carry.

" The assailing of the enemy's line in front of us was to be made by the brigade composed of the 4th, 21st, and 44th regiments, with three companies of the 95th, under major-general Gibbs, and by the 3d brigade, consisting of the 93d, two companies of the 95th, and two companies of the fusileers, and 43d, under major-general Keane; some black troops were destined to skirmish in the wood on the right; the principal attack was to be made by major-general Gibbs; the 1st brigade, consisting of the fusileers and 43d, formed the reserve; the attacking columns were to be provided with fascines, scaling ladders, and rafts, the whole to be at their stations before day-light. An advanced battery in our front, of six 18-pounders, was thrown up during the night, about 800 yards from the enemy's line. The attack was to be made at the earliest hour. Unlooked for difficulties, increased by the falling of the river, occasioned considerable delay in the entrance of the armed boats, and those destined to land colonel Thornton's corps, by which four or five hours were lost, and it was not until past five in the morning, that the 1st division, consisting of 500 men, were over. The *ensemble* of the general movement was lost, and in a point which was of the last importance to the attack on the left bank of the river, although colonel Thornton, as your lordship will see in his report, which I inclose, ably executed in every particular his instructions, and fully justified the confidence the commander of the forces placed in his abilities. The delay attending that corps occasioned some on the left bank, and the attack did not take place until the columns were discernible from the enemy's line at more than 200 yards distance; as they advanced, a continued and most galling fire was opened from every part of their line, and from the battery on the right bank.

" The brave commander of the forces, who never in his life could refrain from being at the post of honour, and sharing the danger to which the troops were exposed, as soon as from his station he had made the signal for the troops to advance, galloped on to the front to animate them by his presence, and he was seen, with his hat off, encouraging them on the crest of the glacis; it was there (almost at the same time) he received two wounds, one in his knee, and another, which was almost instantly fatal, in his body; he fell in the arms of major M'Dougall, aide-de-camp. The effect of this, in the sight of the troops, together with major-general Gibbs and major-general Keane being both borne off wounded at the same time, with many other commanding officers, and further, the preparations to aid in crossing the ditch not being so forward as they ought to have been, from, perhaps, the men being wounded who were carrying them, caused a wavering in the column, which, in such a situation, became irreparable; and as I advanced with the reserve, at about 250 yards from the line, I had the mortification to observe the whole falling back upon me in the greatest confusion.

" In this situation, finding that no impression had been made, that though many men had reached the ditch, and were either drowned or obliged to surrender, and that it was impossible to restore order in the regiments where they were, I placed the reserve in position, until I could obtain such information as to determine me how to act to the best of my judgment, and whether or not I should resume the attack; and if so, I felt it could be done only by the reserve. The confidence I have in the corps composing it would have encouraged me greatly, though not without loss, which might have made the attempt of serious consequence, as I know it was the opinion of the late distinguished commander of the forces, that the carrying of the first line would not be the least arduous service. After making the best reflections I was

capable of, I kept the ground the troops then held, and went to meet vice-admiral sir Alexander Cochrane, and to tell him that, under all the circumstances, I did not think it prudent to renew the attack that day. At about ten o'clock I learnt of the success of colonel Thornton's corps on the right bank. I sent the commanding officer of the artillery, colonel Dickson, to examine the situation of the battery, and to report if it was tenable; but informing me that he did not think it could be held with security by a smaller corps than two thousand men, I consequently ordered lieutenant-colonel Gubbins, on whom the command had devolved (colonel Thornton being wounded) to retire.

"The army remained in position until night, in order to gain time to destroy the eighteen-pounder battery we had constructed the preceding night in advance. I then gave orders for the troops resuming the ground they occupied previous to the attack.

"Our loss has been very severe, but I trust it will not be considered, notwithstanding the failure, that this army has suffered the military character to be tarnished. I am satisfied, had I thought it right to renew the attack, that the troops would have advanced with cheerfulness. The services of both army and navy, since their landing on this coast, have been arduous beyond any thing I ever witnessed, and difficulties have been got over with an assiduity and perseverance beyond all example by all ranks, and the most hearty co-operation has existed between the two services.

"It is not necessary for me to expatiate to you upon the loss the army has sustained in major-general the honourable sir E. Pakenham, commander in chief of this force, nor could I in adequate terms. His services and merits are so well known, that I have only, in common with the whole army, to express my sincere regret, and which may be supposed at this moment to come peculiarly home to me.

"Major-general Gibbs, who died of his wounds the following day, and major-general Keane, who were both carried off the field within twenty yards of the glacis, at the head of their brigades, sufficiently speak at such a moment how they were conducting themselves. I am happy to say major-general Keane is doing well.

"Captain Wylly, of the fusileers, military secretary to the late commander of the forces, will have the honour of delivering to your lordship these dispatches. Knowing how much he enjoyed his esteem, and was in his confidence from a long experience of his talents, I feel I cannot do less than pay this tribute to what I conceive would be the wishes of his late general, and to recommend him strongly to your lordship's protection. —I have, &c.

(Signed) "JOHN LAMBERT,
"Major-general, commanding."

"Camp on the left bank of the Mississippi, nine miles from New Orleans, Dec. 26, 1814.

"SIR,—I have the honour to inform you, that between the 17th and 22d instant, the troops destined for the attack of New Orleans, were collected at Isle aux Poix, which is at the entrance of the Pearl River.

"Having learnt that it was possible to effect a landing at the head of the Bayone Catalan, which runs into Lake Borgue, I directed major Forrest, assistant quarter-master-general, to have it reconnoitred. Lieutenant Peddie, of that department, accompanied by the hon. captain Spencer, of the navy, ascertained on the night of the 18th, that boats could reach the head of the Bayone, from which a communication might be made to the high road on the left bank of the Mississippi, leading to New Orleans.

"On the morning of the 22d, every arrangement being made by vice-admiral the hon. sir Alexander Cochrane, I determined to attempt it. The light brigade, composed of the 85th and 95th regiments, captain Lane's rockateers, 100 sappers and miners, and the 4th regiment as a support, the whole under the command of colonel Thornton, were placed in the boats, and the 21st, 44th, and 93d regiments, under colonel Brooke, and a large proportion of artillery, under major Munro, were embarked in small vessels.

"At ten *a. m.* on the 22d, we sailed from Pearl River, and reached the head of the Bayone at day-light next morning. A landing was immediately effected, without any other

opposition than the country presented; captain Blanchard, of the royal engineers, in the course of two hours, opened a communication through several fields of reeds, intersected by deep muddy ditches, bordered by a low swampy wood; colonel Thornton then advanced, and gained the high road, taking up a position with the right resting on the road, and the left on the Mississippi. In this situation I intended to remain until the boats returned for the rest of the troops to the vessels, some of which grounded at a great distance.

"At about 8 o'clock in the evening, when the men, much fatigued by the length of time they had been in the boats, were asleep in their bivouac, a heavy flanking fire of round and grape shot was opened upon them, by a large schooner and two gun-vessels, which had dropped down the river from the town, and anchored abreast of our fires; immediate steps were necessary to cover the men, and colonel Thornton, in the most prompt and judicious manner, placed his brigade under the inward slope of the bank of the river, as did also lieutenant-col. Brooke, of the 4th regiment, behind some buildings, which were near that corps. This movement was so rapid that the troops suffered no more than a single casualty.

"The three-pounders being the only guns up, the success of a few twelve-pound rockets, directed by captain Lane, was tried against these vessels; but the ground on which it was necessary to lay them not being even, they were found not to answer, and their firing was ceased.

"A most vigorous attack was then made on the advanced front and right flank piquets, the former of the 95th, under captain Hallan, the latter the 85th, under captain Schaw; these officers, and their respective piquets, conducted themselves with firmness, and checked the enemy for a considerable time; but renewing their attack with a large force, and pressing at these points, colonel Thornton judged it necessary to move up the remainder of both corps. The 85th regiment was commanded by brevet-major Gubbins, whose conduct cannot be too much commended; on the approach of his regiment to the point of attack, the enemy, favoured by the darkness of the night, concealed themselves under a high fence which separated the fields, and calling to the men as friends, under pretence of being part of our own force, offered to assist them in getting over, which was no sooner accomplished than the 85th found itself in the midst of very superior numbers, who, discovering themselves, called on the regiment immediately to surrender—the answer was an instantaneous attack; a more extraordinary conflict has perhaps never occurred, absolutely hand to hand both officers and men. It terminated in the repulse of the enemy, with the capture of 30 prisoners. A similar finesse was attempted with the 95th regiment, which met the same treatment.

"The enemy finding his reiterated attacks were repulsed by colonel Thornton, at half past ten o'clock advanced a large column against our centre; perceiving his intention, I directed colonel Stovin to order lieutenant-colonel Dale, with one hundred and thirty men of the 93d regiment, who had just reached the camp, to move forward and use the bayonet, holding the 4th regiment in hand, formed in line, as my last reserve.—Colonel Dale endeavoured to execute his orders, but the crafty enemy would not meet him, seeing the steadiness of his small body, gave it a heavy fire, and quickly retired. Colonel Brooke, with four companies of the 21st regiment, fortunately appeared at that moment on our right flank, and sufficiently secured it from farther attack.

"The enemy now determined on making a last effort, and, collecting the whole of his force, formed an extensive line, and moved directly against the light brigade. At first this line drove in all the advanced posts, but colonel Thornton, whose noble exertions had guaranteed all former success, was at hand; he rallied his brave comrades round him, and moving forwards with a firm determination of charging, appalled the enemy, who, from the lesson he had received on the same ground in the early part of the evening, thought it prudent to retire, and did not again dare to advance.

"It was now twelve o'clock, and the firing ceased on both sides.

"From the best information I can obtain,

the enemy's force amounted to five thousand men, and was commanded by major-general Jackson: judging from the number left on the field, his loss must have been severe. I now beg leave to inclose a list of our casualties on that night, and have only to hope it will appear to you, that every officer and soldier on shore did his duty.

"To sir Alexander Cochrane I feel particularly obliged, for his very friendly counsel, and ready compliance with every wish I expressed, respecting the service or welfare of the troops.

"To rear-admiral Malcolm, and the several captains employed in the landing, &c. I confess the greatest obligation. I must leave it to the vice-admiral to do them the justice they so much deserve, for I cannot find words to express the exertions made by every branch of the navy, since the period of our arrival on this coast.

"In the attack made on the centre, lieutenant-colonel Stovin, assistant-adjutant-general, received a severe wound, which deprived me of his able services; to him and major Forrest, assistant-quarter-master-general, I feel greatly indebted; they are both officers of great merit; colonel Brooke is entitled to every praise for securing our right flank.

"To colonel Thornton I feel particularly grateful; his conduct on the night of the 23d I shall ever admire and honour. He headed his brigade in the most spirited manner, and afforded a brilliant example of active courage and cool determination.

"I have every reason to be satisfied with lieutenant-colonel Brooke, commanding the 4th regiment; as also with major Mitchell, of the 95th, who was unfortunately taken prisoner at the close of the affair.

"The exertions of major Monro, of the royal artillery, were unremitting; to him, and the officers under his command, I feel every obligation. The assistance given by captain Blanchard, and the officers of the royal engineers, was most conspicuous, and entitle them to my best thanks.

"Brevet-major Hooper, acting deputy-assistant-adjutant-general, was attached to the light brigade. Colonel Thornton states, that he derived the greatest benefit from his activity, zeal, and judgment. I regret to have to add, that he was very severely wounded, and had his leg amputated in the course of the night.

"The indefatigable zeal and intelligecen displayed by lieutenants Peddie and Evans, of the quarter-master-general's department, entitle them to the most favourable consideration.

"Assistant-commissary-general Wemyss's arrangements were satisfactory, and deputy inspector Thompson claims my best acknowledgments, for the care and attention shewn the wounded, the whole of whom were collected, dressed, and comfortably lodged, before two in the morning.

"Major Milk, of the 14th light dragoons, accompanied me on shore; from him, captain Persse, my aide-de-camp, and the hon. lieutenant Curzon, naval aide-de-camp, I received every assistance.

"Trusting that the steps I pursued, while in command, will meet your approbation, I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "JOHN KEANE, maj.-gen.

"Major-general the hon. sir E. Pakenham, K. B. &c &c &c."

Official return of total loss.

1 Major-general, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, 5 captains, 2 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 11 serjeants, 1 drummer, 266 rank and file killed. 2 Major-generals, 3 lieutenant-colonels, 2 majors, 18 captains, 38 lieutenants, 9 ensigns, 1 staff, 5 serjeants, 9 drummers, 1126 rank and file wounded. 3 Captains, 12 lieutenants, 13 serjeants, 4 drummers, 452 rank and file missing.

The unavoidable delay between the actual conclusion of the treaty with America, and the circulation of that important intelligence, enabled the British navy to retrieve, for the second time, the honours they had lost. The President was one of the largest frigates yet sent to sea by the United States, and was commanded by captain Decatur, the ablest officer in that service. The President, accompanied by the Macedonian, armed brig of 420 tons, laden with provisions, sailed from New York, during one of those gales in which the blockading squadron, under captain Hayes, was driven out to sea. From

the orders which had been issued the track of the two vessels was instantly known, and the next day the English squadron, consisting of the Majestic, captain Hayes; Tenedos, captain Hyde Parker; Endymion, captain Hope; and Pomona, captain Lumley, made all sail in chase. The President made every effort to escape, by cutting away the anchors, and throwing overboard every moveable article. The British squadron made equally strenuous exertions to come up with her, but only the Endymion, of 40 guns, captain Henry Hope, could overtake her about five in the evening. The Endymion, about half past five, commenced close action, yard arm and yard arm. The conflict was continued with great gallantry and spirit on both sides for two hours and a half, when the Endymion's sails being cut from the yards the enemy was enabled to move a-head; and captain Hope seized the opportunity to bend new sails, to enable him to get his ship alongside again. The action ceased till the Pomona bearing up, at half past eleven, and firing a few shots, Captain Decatur, with a generosity and sense of justice highly honourable to his character, hailed, to say that he had already surrendered. The Endymion was inferior in number of men, tonnage, guns, and weight of metal. After the action the President had six feet water in her hold. The Endymion had ten men killed and fourteen wounded. When the President struck thirteen British renegadoes, who had joined her crew, jumped overboard, to escape the ignominious death which awaited their desertion, and perished in the waves. The force of the Endymion was 48 guns of all sizes, men 340, tonnage 1377. The force of the President was 59 guns, crew 490 men, tonnage 1600; her killed and wounded at least 100. It ought not, however, to be forgotten, that the presence of the auxiliary vessels of the British squadron must have perplexed the movements of the American commander, and intimidated the exertions of his crew.

The policy recommended by the vicissitudes of the campaign, by the general conduct of Great Britain to the United States, and the domestic situation of the latter power, were developed in the following able and instructive document.

"*By the president of the United States of America.*

"A PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas the enemy, by a sudden incursion, have succeeded in invading the capital of the nation, defended at the moment by troops less numerous than their own, and almost entirely of the militia; during their possession of which, though for a single day only, they wantonly destroyed the public edifices, having no relation in their structure to operations of war, nor used at the time for military annoyance; some of these edifices being also costly monuments of taste and of the arts, and others repositories of the public archives, not only precious to the nation as the memorials of its origin and its early transactions, but interesting to all nations, as contributions to the general stock of historical instruction and political science. And whereas, advantage has been taken of the loss of a fort, more immediately guarding the neighbouring town of Alexandria, to place the town within the range of a naval force, too long and too much in the habit of abusing its superiority wherever it can be applied, to require, as the alternative of a general conflagration, an undisturbed plunder of private property, which has been executed in a manner peculiarly distressing to the inhabitants, who had inconsiderately cast themselves upon the justice and generosity of the victor. And whereas it now appears, by a direct communication from the British commander on the American station, to be his avowed purpose to employ the force under his direction, "in destroying and laying waste such towns and districts upon the coast as may be found assailable;" adding to this declaration the insulting pretext that it is in retaliation for a wanton destruction committed by the army of the United States in Upper Canada, when it is notorious that no destruction has been committed, which, notwithstanding the multiplied outrages previously committed by the enemy, was not unauthorised and promptly shown to be so; and that the United States have been as constant in their endeavours to reclaim the enemy from such outrages, by the contrast of their own example, as they have been ready to terminate, on reasonable conditions, the war itself And whereas

these proceedings and declared purposes, which exhibit a deliberate disregard of the principles of humanity and the rules of civilized warfare, and which must give to the existing war a character of extended devastation and barbarism, at the very moment of negotiations for peace, invited by the enemy himself, leave no prospect of safety to any thing within the reach of his predatory and incendiary operations, but in manful and universal determination to chastise and expel the invader. Now, therefore, I, James Madison, president of the United States, do issue this my proclamation, exhorting all the good people thereof to unite their hearts and hands in giving effect to the ample means possessed for that purpose. I enjoin it on all officers, civil and military, to exert themselves in executing the duties with which they are respectively charged. And more especially, I require the officers commanding the respective military districts to be vigilant and alert in providing for the defence thereof; for the more effectual accomplishment of which they are authorised to call to the defence of exposed and threatened places portions of the militia most convenient thereto, whether they be or be not parts of the quotas detached for the service of the United States under requisitions of the general government. On an occasion which appeals so forcibly to the proud feelings and patriotic devotion of the American people, none will forget what they owe to themselves, what they owe to their country, and the high destinies which await it; what to the glory acquired by their fathers, in establishing the independence which is now to be maintained by their sons, with the augmented strength and resources with which time and Heaven have blessed them. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be fixed to these presents. Done at the city of Washington, the first day of September, in the year of our Lord 1814, and of the independence of the United States the 39th.

JAMES MADISON.

"By the president,

"JAS. MONROE, sec. of state."

"MESSAGE.

"Fellow citizens of the senate and house of representatives,—Notwithstanding the early day which had been fixed for your session of the present year, I was induced to call you together still sooner, as well that any inadequacy in the existing provisions for the wants of the treasury might be supplied, as that no delay might happen in providing for the result of the negotiation on foot with Great Britain, whether it should require arrangements adapted to a return of peace, or further and more effective provisions for prosecuting the war.

"The result is not yet known: if on one hand the repeal of the orders in council, and the general pacification of Europe, which withdrew the occasion on which impressments from American vessels were practised, suggest expectations that peace and amity may be established, we are compelled on the other hand, by the refusal of the British government to accept the offered mediation of the emperor of Russia, by the delays in giving effect to its own proposals of a direct negotiation, and, above all, by the principles and manner in which the war is now avowedly carried on, to infer that a strict hostility is indulged more violent than ever against the rights and prosperity of this country.—This increased violence is best explained by two important circumstances, that the great contest in Europe for an equilibrium, guaranteeing all its states against the ambition of any, has been closed without any check on the overbearing power of Great Britain on the ocean, and that it has left in her hands disposable armoury, with which, forgetting the difficulties of a remote war against a free people, and yielding to the intoxication of success with the example of a great victim to it before her eyes, she cherishes hopes of still further aggrandising a power already formidable in its abuses to the tranquillity of the civilized and commercial world. But whatever may have inspired the enemy with these more violent purposes, the public councils of a nation, more able to maintain than it was to acquire its independence, and with a devotion to it rendered more ardent by the experience of its blessings, can never deliberate but on the means most effectual for defeating the extravagant measures of unwarrantable passion, with which alone the war

can now be pursued against us. In the events of the present campaign, with all its augmented means and wanton use of them, he has little ground for exultation, unless he can feel it in the success of his recent enterprise against this metropolis and the neighbouring town of Alexandria, from both of which his retreats were as precipitate as his attempts were bold and fortunate. In his other incursions on our Atlantic frontier, his progress, often checked and chastised by the martial spirit of the neighbouring citizens, has had more effect in distressing individuals and in dishonouring his arms, than in promoting any object of legitimate warfare.—And in the two instances mentioned, however deeply to be regretted on our part, in his transient success, which interrupted for a moment only the ordinary public business at the seat of government, no compensation can accrue for the loss of character with the world, by his violation of private property, and his destruction of public edifices, protected as monuments of the arts by the laws of civilised warfare. On our side we can appeal to a series of achievements which have given new lustre to the American arms. Besides the brilliant incidents in the minor operations of the campaign, the splendid victories gained on the Canadian side of the Niagara by the American forces under major-general Brown, and brigadiers Scott and Gaines, have gained for these heroes and their emulated companions the most unfading laurels; and having triumphantly proved the progressive discipline of the American soldiery, have taught the enemy that the longer he protracts his hostile efforts, the more certain and decisive will be his final discomfiture. On the southern border victory has continued also to follow the American standard. The bold and skilful operations of major-general Jackson, conducting troops drawn from the militia of the states least distant, particularly of Tenessee, have subdued the principal tribes of hostile savages; and by establishing a peace with them, preceded by recent and exemplary chastisement, we have guarded against the mischief of their co-operations with the British enterprises which may be planned against this quarter of our country. Important tribes of Indians on our north-western frontier have also acceded to stipulations which bind them to the interest of our United States, and to consider our enemy as theirs also.

"In the recent attempts of the enemy on Baltimore, defended by militia and volunteers, aided by a small body of regulars and seamen, he was received with a spirit which produced a rapid retreat to the ships, whilst a concurrent attack by a large fleet was successfully resisted by the steady and well directed fire of the fort and batteries opposed to it. In another recent attack by a powerful force on our troops at Plattsburg, of which regulars made a part only, the enemy, after a perseverance for many hours, was finally compelled to seek safety in a hasty retreat, our gallant bands pressing upon him. On the lakes, so much contested throughout the war, the great exertions for the command made on our part have been well repaid on Lake Ontario. Our squadron is now, and has been for some time, in a condition to confine that of the enemy to his own port, and to favour the operations of our land forces on that frontier. On lake Champlain, where our superiority had for some time been undisputed, the British squadron lately came into action with the American, commanded by captain Macdonough: it issued in the capture of the whole of the enemy's ships. The best praise of this officer and his intrepid comrades, is in the likeness of his triumph to the illustrious victory which immortalized another officer, and established, at a critical moment, our command of another lake. On the ocean, the pride of our naval arms has been amply supported: a second frigate has indeed fallen into the hands of the enemy, but the loss is hidden in the blaze of heroism with which she was defended. Captain Porter, who commanded her, and whose previous career had been distinguished by daring enterprise and by fertility of genius, maintained a sanguinary contest against two ships, one of them superior to his own, and other severe disadvantages, till humanity tore down the colours which valour had nailed to the mast. This officer and his comrades have added much to the glory of the American flag, and have merited all the effusions of gratitude which their

country is ever ready to bestow on the champions of its rights and of its safety.

"Two smaller vessels of war have also become prizes to the enemy, but by superiority of force, which sufficiently vindicates the reputation of their commanders; whilst two others, one commanded by captain Warrington, the other by captain Blakely, have captured British ships of the same class with a gallantry and good conduct, which entitled them and their commanders to a just share in the praise of their country.

"In spite of the naval forces of the enemy accumulated on our coasts, our private cruisers also have not ceased to annoy his commerce, and to bring their rich prizes into our ports: contributing thus, with other proofs, to demonstrate the incompetency and the illegality of a blockade, the proclamation of which has been made the pretext for vexing and discouraging the commerce of neutral powers with the United States.

"To meet the extended and diversified warfare adopted by the enemy, great bodies of militia have been taken into the service of the public defence, and great expenses incurred. That the defence every where may be both more convenient and more œconomical, congress will see the necessity of immediate measures of filling the ranks of the regular army, and enlarging the provisions for special corps, mounted and dismounted, to be engaged for a longer period of service than are due from the militia. I earnestly renew at the same time a recommendation of such changes in the system of the militia, as by classing and disciplining on the most prompt and active service the portion most capable of it, will give to that resource for the public safety all the requisite energy and efficiency.

"A part of the squadron on lake Erie has been extended to lake Huron, and has produced the advantage of displaying our command of that lake also. One object of the expedition was the reduction of Mackinan, which failed, with the loss of a few brave men, among whom was an officer distinguished for his gallant exploits; and the expedition, ably conducted by both land and naval commanders, was otherwise valuable in its effects.

"The monies received into the treasury during the nine months ending the 13th of June last, amounted to 32 millions of dollars, of which 11 millions were the proceeds of the public revenue, and the remainder derived from loans. The disbursements for public expenditures during the same period exceed 34 millions of dollars, and left in the treasury on the 1st of July near five millions of dollars.

"The demands during the remainder of the present year, already authorised by congress, and the expenses incident to an extension of the operations of the war, will render it necessary that large sums should be provided to meet them. From this view of the national affairs, congress will be urged to take up without delay, as well the subject of pecuniary supplies, as that of military force, and on a scale commensurate with the extent and character which the war has assumed.

"It is not to be disguised that the situation of our country calls for its greatest efforts: our enemy is powerful in men and money, on the land and on the water: availing himself of fortunate circumstances, he is aiming with an undivided force a deadly blow at our growing prosperity, perhaps at our national existence. He has avowed his purpose of trampling on the usages of civilised warfare, and given earnest of it in the plunder and wanton destruction of private property.

"In the pride of maritime dominion, and in his thirst of commercial monopoly, he strikes with peculiar animosity at the progress of our navigation and manufactures: his barbarous policy has not even spared those monuments of taste with which our country had enriched and embellished our infant metropolis. From such an adversary, hostility in its greatest force and worst forms may be looked for. The American people will face it with the undaunted spirit which, in their revolutionary war, defeated his unrighteous projects; his threats and his barbarities, instead of dismay, will kindle in every bosom an indignation not to be extinguished but in the disaster and expulsion of such cruel invaders. In providing the means necessary the national legislator will not distrust the enlightened patriotism of his

constituents. They will cheerfully and proudly bear every burthen of every kind which the safety and honour of the nation demands.

"We have seen them every where give their taxes, direct and indirect, with the greatest promptness and alacrity: we have seen them rushing with enthusiasm to scenes where danger and duty call; and, offering their blood, they give their surest pledge that no other tribute will be withheld.

"Having forborne to declare war until to other aggressions had been added, the capture of nearly 1000 American vessels, and the impressment of thousands of seafaring citizens, and until a final declaration had been made by the government of Great Britain, that her hostile orders against our commerce would not be revoked but on conditions as impossible as unjust, whilst it was known that these orders would not otherwise cease but with a war which had lasted nearly 20 years, and which, according to appearance at that time, might last as many more—having manifested on every occasion, and in every proper mode, a sincere desire to meet the enemy on the ground of justice, our resolution to defend our beloved country, and to oppose to our enemy's persevering hostility all our energy, with an undiminished disposition towards peace and friendship on honourable terms, must carry with it the good wishes of the impartial world, and the best hopes of support from an omnipotent and kind Providence.

"JAMES MADISON."

That part of the message of the president which related to finances was referred to a committee of ways and means, who made their report in the course of the same month. It begins by stating that the resources for carrying on the war must consist in taxes, loans, and treasury notes. With respect to the first, they could not be collected in time to meet the immediate demands of the war; as to loans, a reliance on them, under the circumstances of the country, must be uncertain; and, if obtained, the terms would be exorbitant. Treasury notes, therefore, must be had recourse to; and they would be of general service to supply a medium of circulation, which would pass current in every part of the United States. At present, the principal banks in the middle states had stopped payment; while the notes of those banks which still were in credit would not pass out of the particular state where they were issued. In order to secure the circulation of the treasury notes, it would be proper to issue them in small sums for the ordinary purposes of society; to allow the holders to fund them, with an interest of 8 per cent.; to make them payable to bearer; to make them receivable in all payments for public lands and taxes; to pledge for the payment of the interest, so much of the internal duties as shall be necessary.

With regard to new taxes, the committee remarks that several manufactures, which had grown up in the United States, in consequence of the war having shut them out from foreign markets, were in such a flourishing condition that they would bear to be taxed; and with taxes on them, they propose to unite a pledge of the public faith for the continuance of the double duties till these taxes were repealed. They then give in the resolutions which they deem necessary: 1st, to continue the direct tax, and to increase it to 50 per cent.: 2d, to increase the duty on spirits by an additional duty of twelve and a half cents on the gallon: 3d, to add 100 per cent. to the duties on sales by auction: 4th, to add 50 per cent. to the duty on the conveyance of papers and letters: and lastly, to impose a duty on different manufactured articles.

The estimate of the amount of the proposed increase, and of the new duties, was 11,635,000 dollars; while the revenue under the old system of taxation was only 10,800,000: thus, at one stroke, doubling the taxation.

The list of the manufactured articles that it was proposed to tax, and the amount of the tax laid on each article, give us some insight into the progress of manufactures in the United States: from this list it appears that the manufacture of hats is in a flourishing condition; the amount of the duties to be levied on them is 600,000 dollars: the next article points out the improvements which the United States have made in the manufacture of cotton: "cotton-yarn, spun by the aid of machinery, worked by steam

or water, 400,000 spindles at 25 cents, 100,000 dollars." The various manufactures of leather are calculated to consume 18 million pounds; and even the manufacture of goat and sheep skins to resemble Spanish leather, appears to be so far advanced as to be able to bear a tax. The next class of manufactures taxed are those of iron; viz. 300,000 tons of pig-iron, 100,000 tons of cast-iron, 100,000 tons of bar-iron. The quantity of beer, ale, and porter, manufactured and taxed, is estimated at 6,000,000 dollars. The next article of taxation is a singular one: it is called the furniture tax; excluding beds, kitchen furniture, carpets and curtains of domestic manufacture; and also all furniture which on the whole is not of the value of 200 dollars. The estimate of this tax is made on a supposition that the United States contain 800,000 families; of which there are 259,000 exempt, as possessing less than 200 dollars worth; 300,000 families who possess between 200 and 400 dollars; 100,000 who possess between 400 and 500: 75,000 who possess between 600 and 1000; 25,000 who possess between 1000 and 1500: 15,000 who possess between 1500 and 2000; 10,000 who possess between 2000 and 3000; 10,000 who possess between 3000 and 4000; the same number who possess between 4000 and 6000; 5000 who possess between 6000 and 9000; and 1000 who possess furniture worth above 9000 dollars. The next important article is paper, which however is taxed only to the amount of 30,000 dollars. The number of vats is estimated at 2000. Nails made by machinery appear to be of considerable consequence, as their weight is estimated at 20 million pounds, and they are taxed at one cent per pound. The number of gold watches is estimated at 250,000: of silver ones at the same number; and of playing cards at 400,000 packs.

After the finances, the next object which engaged the attention of the American government was the state of the army; a military committee was formed for this purpose, and on the 17th of October the secretary at war addressed a letter to them respecting the defects of the military establishment; in which he proposed that the military establishment then existing, amounting to 62,448 men, should be preserved and made complete with the least possible delay; that a permanent force, consisting at least of 40,000 men, in addition, should be raised for the defence of the cities and frontiers; that the corps of engineers be enlarged; and that the ordnance department be amended. This letter was accompanied with explanatory observations, which detailed a plan of a still more formidable description, for augmenting the military force of the United States. In these observations there were several remarkable passages: it was distinctly stated, that if the United States sacrificed any right, or made any dishonourable concession to Britain, the spirit of the nation would be broken. "The United States must relinquish no rights, or perish in the struggle: there is no intermediate ground to rest on. A concession on one point leads directly to the surrender of every other." "To bring the war to an honourable termination, we must not be content with defending ourselves. Different feelings must be touched and apprehensions excited in the British government." "It cannot be doubted that it is in the power of the United States to expel the British forces from this continent." From this view of the subject, the secretary at war concluded it would be necessary to bring into the field next campaign not less than 100,000 regular troops.

For this purpose a bill was brought into congress, entitled, "An act to provide for filling the ranks of the regular army, by classifying the free white male population of the United States:" the first section of this act directs, that all the white male inhabitants between 18 and 45 be classed—classes of 25 in each to be made under the authority of the assessors of the United States; where there are no assessors, under marshals; both of whom are to be bound under penalty to complete the classification in a given time; each class to furnish one able-bodied man between 18 and 45, to serve during the war; to be delivered over to the assessor or marshals, and by them to be delivered over to the United States' officers authorized to receive him: the marshals and assessors were to determine the precincts of each class, so that the property in each division shall be as

nearly equal as possible: in case of failure, each class to pay a penalty; and if this was not paid in a certain number of days, it was to be collected from the taxable inhabitants of the district, in proportion to property real and personal: the marshals and assessors were to act under the direction of the president of the United States. Any person aggrieved by excessive valuations may appeal in the manner as with respect to the direct taxes: the money accruing from the penalties to be employed by the secretary of war to recruit the armies. The last section provides that any five white male inhabitants, being liable to military duty, who shall furnish a soldier between 18 and 45 during the war, shall be exempt from military duty during the war.

Whatever objections may be made to this bill, as enacting regulations for raising men, which very strongly resembled the conscription of France, it must be acknowledged that the very proposing it was a proof that the president felt himself strong, and that his popularity, instead of having been diminished, had been increased by the events of the war. Still, if this war had been in accordance with the sincere and zealous opinion of the inhabitants of the United States, it seems reasonable to suppose that they would have stepped forward as volunteers in defence of their country: the whole number proposed to be raised by this bill was only 100,000, not more than one-fourth of the volunteers who in Great Britain offered their services during the revolutionary war with France.

But events were taking place at Ghent, which rendered it extremely probable that there would be no necessity for carrying into effect the regulations of this bill. On the 8th of August the British and American commissioners met at this city: the former were lord Gambier, Mr. Goulbourn, one of the under secretaries of state for the colonial department, and Dr. Adams. The American commissioners were John Quincy Adams, J. A. Baynard, H. Clay, John Russel, and Albert Gallatin. At their first meeting the British commissioners gave in a list of the subjects in which it appeared to them that difference of opinion would arise between the American commissioners and themselves: these were,

1. The forcible seizure of mariners from on board merchant ships on the high seas, and in connection with it the right of the king of Great Britain to the allegiance of all his native subjects.

2. That the peace be extended to the Indian allies of Great Britain; and that the boundary of their territory be definitely marked out, as a permanent barrier between the dominions of Great Britain and the United States. An arrangement on this subject to be a *sine qua non* of a treaty of peace.

3. A revision of the boundary line between the British and American territories, with the view to prevent future uncertainty and dispute.

The British commissioners requested information whether the American commissioners were instructed to enter into negotiation on the above points? But before they desired any answer, they felt it right to communicate the intentions of their government as to the North American fisheries, viz. that the British government did not intend to grant to the United States gratuitously, the privileges formerly granted by treaty to them, of fishing within the limits of the British sovereignty, and of using the shores of the British territories for purposes connected with the fisheries.

At their next meeting, the American commissioners stated, that upon the 1st and 3d points they were provided with instructions: but not on the 2nd and 4th: that the American government had appointed separate commissioners to treat with the Indians for peace. They then presented further subjects considered by their government as suitable for discussion: these were,

1. A definition of blockade, and, as far as may be agreed, of other neutral and belligerent rights.

2. Certain claims of indemnity to individuals for captures and seizures preceding and subsequent to the war.

3. They further stated, that there were various other points to which their instructions extended, which might with propriety be objects of discussion, either in the negotiation of the peace, or in that of a treaty of

commerce, which, in the case of a propitious termination of the present conferences, they were likewise authorised to conclude. That for the purpose of facilitating the first and most essential object of peace, they had discarded every subject which was not considered as peculiarly connected with that, and presented only those points which appeared to be immediately relevant to this negotiation.

At a subsequent meeting on the 10th of August, the British commissioners endeavoured to persuade the American commissioners, that it would be desirable that the American government should give up many places, of which they were still in possession, for the purpose of rendering the limits of Canada more precise and secure: but on this point the American commissioners were immoveable:—the British commissioners also expressed their surprise that no instructions had been given by the government of the United States, to treat at the congress of Ghent with respect to peace with the Indians.

The most important as well as the most difficult points in dispute between Great Britain and the United States were undoubtedly those relating to the impressment of seamen out of American ships, and the practice of blockade. With respect to the first, it was alleged on the part of Britain, that every state had a right to the allegiance and services of its own subjects; and that such services and allegiance could not be alienated by the individual. It was a well known fact, that many British seamen entered on board American ships. To these the British government claimed a right; and if they were not given up by the American government, it claimed a right to search for them, and take them out of the American ships on board of which they were. The American government, on the other hand, did not directly deny that a state had a right to the allegiance and services of its subjects; but they virtually denied that such allegiance and services could not be alienated; since they considered as citizens of the United States, and of course as ceasing to be subjects of the country in which they were born, all who had lived a certain number of years in those states. But they also complained that seamen, *bona fide*, and, according to the laws of all countries, American citizens, were taken out of American ships; and that they would not suffer their national flag to be insulted by searching their vessels on any pretext.—In order to settle the difference with respect to impressment, the president expressed his willingness to exclude all British seamen from the vessels of the United States; and even to exclude all British subjects, except those already naturalized; and also to surrender all British seamen deserting from British vessels. This was certainly a fair proposition, if it could have been followed up with efficient practice; but it was well known that certificates of citizenship were easily obtained in the United States; and where these were shown, how was it to be determined whether they were genuine or not? The admission of the president, however, was important in another point of view; as it distinctly involved an acknowledgment that every state has a right to the service and allegiance of its subjects, and that such allegiance and services cannot be alienated.

The question respecting blockade was equally difficult: it appears to us that we have stretched this right beyond what justice and common sense, as well as the usages of nations will warrant, and even beyond our own acknowledged principle: we admit that no blockade is legal, except where it is supported by a sufficient force:—but were even all the ships of the British navy adequate to the efficient blockade of the immense extent of the sea coast of the United States? Certainly not; and to call that a blockade, where the ports are only occasionally and partially blocked up, seems to us a gross misapplication of words! In fact, instead of issuing a proclamation, intimating to neutrals that we had blockaded all the coast of America, we ought to have expressly declared, what was our intention and our practice, that we did not mean to permit neutrals to trade with the United States.

It would probably, therefore, have been impossible to have brought together the opinions of the British and American commissioners on these subjects, had not the peace which had taken place in Europe fortunately

rendered their further discussion of no importance. Both governments, therefore, very wisely agreed to forego points of dispute which could no longer be acted upon, and which, by the return of peace, had become mere abstract principles.

The other subjects, of any importance, were the admission of the Indians to the treaty, and the fixing a new frontier to Canada. We certainly asked a very improper thing, when we asked, that the United States should not transgress on the Indian territory: in the course of events, the Indians must give place to the inhabitants of the United States; and it is desirable on every account that it should be so.

We may also say, that in the course of events Canada must fall into the possession of the United States; and we even doubt whether this would be any serious evil. To those who consider colonies as very beneficial to the parent state, and their loss as weakening and injuring it to a great degree, we would cite what was the result of the loss of our American colonies: are not both we and they better for it? Have we not less expense and more trade?—and is it not probable that the same would be the case if we lost Canada? Colonies always flourish best when independent; and as the real benefit which the parent state derives from them is derived from commerce with them, it is evident that this benefit will be increased in proportion as they flourish, while the expense of maintaining them will be done away. But to return to the immediate point in dispute between Great Britain and the United States, with regard to Canada: it was not to be expected that the latter would cede any part of its own territory, at least without an equivalent, especially if they had any design against Canada, and if this cession would make Canada more secure.

The negotiations at Ghent were very protracted, and at last terminated rather unexpectedly in a pacific manner. What brought about this termination is not well known: probably, on our side, the want of success, even after we had sent out reinforcements from the peninsula; the enormous expense of sending out troops to Canada, and keeping them there; the critical state of our finances; and the apprehension that, if the war were not speedily terminated, some of the European powers might take the part of the United States, especialy on the subject of maritime rights. On the side of the United States, their government were disposed to peace, principally on account of the unpopularity of the president, the embarrassment of their commerce and finances, and the devastation to which their coasts were exposed. The terms of the treaty of peace (which was signed at Ghent on the 24th of December, ratified immediately by the prince regent, and transmitted without delay to Washington, for the ratification of the president) were as follows:

1. All discussion of our maritime rights is waved on both sides.

2. Mr. Madison does not insist on our giving up the prizes captured in retaliation of the Berlin and Milan decrees.

3. We leave our Indian allies as we found them in 1812.

4. We give up all our conquests, and particularly the province of Maine, of which our commanders took permanent possession by solemn proclamation; requiring from the inhabitants an oath of allegiance to his majesty. We are *graciously* permitted, however, to retain the islands which were actually ours by the treaty of 1783.

5. Commissioners are to be appointed on both sides, to determine whether there shall be any, and what safe and practicable communication between Quebec and Upper Canada, together with all other disputed questions of territory.

6. We are to be allowed the exclusive enjoyment of the right of fishing on our *own coasts* at Newfoundland! and of trading to *our own* settlements in the East Indies.

Having thus brought to a close our account of the naval and military operations against the Americans, it is impossible not to compare the results of our hostility with the means which we possessed, and the expectations we had formed. Our disasters were rendered more disgraceful by the tone of triumphant anticipation with which we announced our designs, and the indiscretion with which we avowed our confidence of success. The glory which we had lately ob-

tained against a much more celebrated foe, presented a striking contrast to the imbecility and mismanagement displayed in the American campaign. These humiliating circumstances infused into the minds of a large portion of the British people a vindictive wish that our government would not make peace with the United States till they had been decisively beaten and conquered, and till we had thus redeemed our naval and military character. Fortunately for the honour of England, the happiness of America, and the interests of humanity at large, the British government was animated by more meritorious feelings, and more enlightened policy.

CHAP. V.——1815.

Labedoyere's description of the state of France.—Connection of Buonaparte with the conspiracy.—His habits, amusements, and pursuits, in the Island of Elba.—Impolicy of placing him at that place.—Negligence of the allies, and apathy of the British ministers.—Preparations for Napoleon's escape. The life of Fouché, duke of Otranto.—Alarm in France at the prospect of a new revolution.

The situation of France at the recall of Louis is thus described by the treacherous and unfortunate Labedoyere. "In 1814 neither the nation nor the army could longer support the yoke of Buonaparte. It was tired with war without motive, and exhausted by sacrifices without utility. All felt the necessity of a repairing government. Where could we flatter ourselves that we should find it but in the recall of the Bourbons, whose names reminded France of a series of good kings, and ages of prosperity." Such was the general language of the marshals and officers of France, on the first return of the Bourbon dynasty to the throne; and the flatteries which were heaped upon them in return by every member of the royal family were so gross and profuse, as at once to gratify their pride and awaken their suspicion. The line of conduct at first adopted by the court was singularly unfortunate, as it was afterwards compelled to confer its principal favours on the troops of La Vendée and of Coblentz, who formed the military strength of the royalist party, and who claimed the reward of their former sufferings. Discontent and suspicion were excited in the minds of the Buonapartean military; the remembrance of their former chief, with whom they had no rivals, was recalled, and the foundation was laid for their speedy disaffection. The army had not submitted until the cause of their former master was desperate. They had then slowly and reluctantly tendered their allegiance. That a monarch had been forced upon them was a fruitful source of discontent. The sovereign was now surrounded by those against whom they had long and desperately fought, whom they considered as the enemies of their country, and whom they regarded with mingled contempt and aversion. The emigrant noblesse and the soldiers of the revolution, entertained the most hostile sentiments towards each other, and the professions of gratitude and confidence which the court expressed were too evidently insincere to deceive or to conciliate.

The return of the prisoners from Russia and England increased the general discontent. One hundred and fifty thousand men, destitute of subsistence or empolyment, were restored to France, with all the habits of idleness and depravity to which a long detention in prison so powerfully conduces. In war alone they possessed the means of indulging their vicious and licentious propensities, or of supporting their existence. They united therefore with the regular troops in eager and importunate demands to be conducted once more in the paths of glory.

The officers who returned from Russia had

suffered considerable losses, and demanded an indemnity. The arrears of their pay were enormous, and the claimants were innumerable. It was necessary to create a commission to examine and liquidate their claims. The delay inevitably attending such transactions excited the most general but unreasonable discontent. Many of them assumed courage to penetrate to the foot of the throne, and in the most insolent language demanded of the king the recompence of those services which they had rendered to the exiled emperor.

Another event converted their complaints and remonstrances into actual rebellion. The extravagance of the former government had left the finances in a state of utter confusion and exhaustion. That part of France which had been the theatre of the last campaign was unable to contribute its quota to supply the exigencies of the state. Retrenchments were absolutely necessary, and while the household establishment of the king was conducted on the most rigorous principle of economy, and every part of the administration cheerfully submitted to its share of privations, the army could not expect to be exempt. Several of the regiments were disbanded, and all the supernumerary officers placed on half pay. The French army, however unreasonably, deeply resented this necessary measure. Louis had promised that all the officers should retain their respective ranks. They falsely alleged that this promise was broken when they were deprived of part of the emoluments formerly attached to their respective situations. When one half of their pay was at once deducted, they were no longer able to support that luxury, or that respectability, which they had enjoyed under the warlike auspices of Napoleon, or even to maintain that situation in society to which their rank entitled them. Stimulated by these considerations, and regarding the conduct of the sovereign as a breach of promise, they anxiously waited for some pretext by which they might justify their rebellion, and were prepared to follow any leader who might flatter them with the hope of plunder and of victory.

The court of Louis was divided into two parties. The first comprised the majority of his ostensible ministers, who were attached to the constitution, and saw in a strict adherence to its principles the true honour and only security of the monarchy. To this party the king inclined. He had sworn to be faithful to the charter, and his ambition would have been amply gratified, had he possessed the affections, and contributed to the prosperity, of a free and happy people.

A number of the Bourbon princes, and the old and confidential advisers of the king, formed a second party in the state. They beheld with jealousy every concession in favour of liberty, and ardently wished for the return of the ancient *regime*. The re-establishment of the ancient and arbitrary government of the Bourbons was the object of their daily wishes and their nightly dreams. They constantly surrounded the king: and they possessed a thousand opportunities of influencing his mind and guiding his decisions. To this perpetual struggle between the honest intentions of the monarch, the advice of his most enlightened counsellors, and the arbitrary principles of his family and favourites, the inconsistencies and errors of his unfortunate but honest performance of his regal duties, must be ascribed. He acted under circumstances of the most arduous nature. He owed his crown exclusively to the efforts of the allies, and no sooner was he seated on the throne than they withdrew to their respective countries, and left him at the mercy of that very army which fought with so much perseverance against his cause. The few friends whom he had brought with him could lend but little assistance or protection, and were regarded with an eye of vigilant suspicion.

Though the monarch had been imprudent in rejecting the crown as the gift of the people, though he could not evince a marked partiality to the murderers of his brother, and the persecutors of himself, and though he could not contemplate, without feelings of gratitude and of justice, the individuals who had shared his sufferings, yet he had given sufficient pledges that he was determined to assume the character and merit the praise of a patriot king. His bitterest enemies cannot deny that, under his first administration, France enjoyed more real liberty than at any

former period of her eventful history. With every opportunity of gratifying his revenge, and in opposition to the advice of his most intimate counsellors, not a single individual was subjected to execution or imprisonment. The lives and the property even of the most conspicuous enemies of the house of Bourbon were held as sacred. His dethronement was occasioned by the facility of his temper and the goodness of his intentions. He had not sufficient firmness to reject the counsels of his favourites, and possessed too much virtue to yield to the profligate wishes of his army and his people. Had he forgotten his professions, and done violence to his conscience; had he adopted the system of martial despotism, and pursued the career of lawless ambition, he might have continued to reign, the idol of the French, and the terror of surrounding nations.

The personal friends of Napoleon, in France, were more enthusiastic than numerous. He was beloved only by a few of the principal officers, whom he most had favoured; the others were afterwards attached to his cause by their love of war and plunder, and by their respect for his military talents. They would have followed, at the moment, any leader, who would have given them as fair a promise of the gratification of their favourite propensities. The republicans and the constitutionalists regarded him with mingled dread and aversion. Fouché, who must have been intimately acquainted with the principles and views of all parties, asserts in his second memorial that "It was not from attachment to Buonaparte, it was still less from fidelity to his cause, that in the month of March a part of France was seen to associate itself with his destinies. He owed his successes entirely to our discords, which made him be regarded by some as a liberator, and by others as an instrument: and this instrument gave us much more reason for fear than for hope." In another paper, addressed to the confederate powers, after the second abdication of Napoleon, Fouché remarks, "Why should the truth be now concealed. An imprudent and overwhelming zeal for the rules and maxims of the ancient monarchy led to the commission of many faults. Alarms of more than one description were the result, as well as a fluctuation of opinion and a disaffection towards the government. That moral opposition which was known to the whole of Europe did not escape the calculations of Buonaparte, and he had no need of any other exhortation to throw himself into the midst of this discontent and these elements of discord."

The individuals attached to his interests consisted of all who had been indebted to his kindness for their wealth or political consequence, and who were reduced to insignificance or comparative poverty by his abdication: functionaries whom the king had imprudently deprived of those emoluments which they had enjoyed during twenty years; and soldiers languishing in indolence and penury. A large proportion also of the French community: the licentious, the profane, and the votaries of pleasure, were impatient to be relieved from the rigid, austere, and devout regulations adopted by the Bourbons. The observance of Sunday, and attendance on public worship, had long been a novelty to the majority of the citizens of Paris, and they dreaded the influence of a government which should subject their habits and amusements to religious restraints.

We have already narrated the circumstances attending the exile of Napoleon to the isle of Elba. The reluctance with which he followed the commissioners, and the tears in which he was always surprised when for a moment he was left alone, shewed that he considered his loss of empire as final, and his political life as terminated beyond the hope of a revival. He no sooner arrived at his new sovereignty than all the energies of his mind were directed to complete the fortifications of his capital, to add to its embellishment, and to improve the agriculture and resources of the island. His days passed away in the most pleasant occupations. All his hours were filled up. That indefatigable activity which in other times he applied to the vastest conceptions of genius, he employed on the island of Elba in studying the embellishment of the retreat which he had chosen. He rose before day, passed the hours till seven or eight o'clock in his library, and then took some repose. He afterwards went

out and visited all the works, and spent much time in the middle of his workmen, among whom were many soldiers of the guard. Two Italian architects traced, according to his orders, plans of buildings on which he had determined. Whatever was the state of the weather his majesty visited his country house of St. Martin, in the environs of Porto Ferrajo. There, as in the city, the emperor was occupied with the interior management of his house, requiring an exact account from the persons he employed, and entering into the most trifling details of domestic and rural economy. After breakfast he reviewed his little army. He required the greatest exactness in their exercises and manœuvres, and enforced the strictest discipline. After the review he mounted his horse for his morning rides. Among his principal officers and attendants were marshal Bertrand and general Drouet, who scarcely ever quitted him. On his way he gave audience to all whom he met. He listened to every complaint, and redressed every well supported case of injury. He then returned to dinner. All who were admitted to his table were treated with the most perfect kindness and cordiality. Napoleon appeared to have discovered the secret of becoming a simple individual without descending from his dignity, and the conversation had all the careless freedom which could be enjoyed in the most familiar society. He early announced that he would hold a court and receive ladies twice a week. The first was held on the 7th of May, 1814, and a great concourse attended their new sovereign. Buonaparte at first paid great attention to the women, especially to the handsome ones, and asked them, in his rapid way, whether they were married? how many children they had? and who their husbands were? To the last question he received one universal answer. Every lady, according to her own representation, was married to a merchant, but when it came to be further explained that they were merchant butchers, and merchant bakers, his imperial majesty permitted some expressions of dissatisfaction to escape him, and hastily retired.

On the 4th of June there was a ball on board the British frigate in the harbour, in honour of the king's birth day: the whole beauty and fashion of Elba were assembled, and dancing with great glee, when about midnight Buonaparte came, unexpected and unescorted, in his barge, to join the festivity. He was very affable, and visited every part of the ship, and all the amusements which had been prepared for the different classes of persons.

On his birth day, the 15th of August, he ordered the mayor to give a ball, and for this purpose a temporary structure, capable of holding 300 persons, was to be erected, the expence of the whole entertainment, and the building, to be defrayed by the inhabitants themselves. These were unpropitious auspices under which to commence a ball, and accordingly nothing could have more completely failed. His aunt, the two ladies of honour, and madam Bertrand arrived, but only 30 of the fair islanders were present, and Buonaparte, acquainted with the circumstance, did not attend.

On the highest hill of the island was a little church, in an almost inaccessible situation. One of his party observed that it was a most inconvenient site for a church, as no congregation could attend it. "It is on that account," said Buonaparte, "more convenient to the parson, who may preach what stuff he pleases without fear of contradiction." As they descended the hill, and met some peasants with their goats, who asked for charity, Buonaparte told a story which the present circumstances brought to his recollection.—When he was crossing the great St. Bernard, previously to the battle of Marengo, he met a goat herd, and entered into conversation with him. The goat herd, little suspecting to whom he was speaking, lamented his own hard lot, and envied the riches of his neighbours, who actually possessed cows and cornfields. Buonaparte enquired, if some fairy were to offer to gratify all his wishes, what he would ask. The poor peasant expressed, in his own opinion, some very extravagant desires, such as a dozen of cows, a good farmhouse, &c. Buonaparte, afterwards, recollected the incident, and astonished the goat herd by the fulfilment of all his wishes.

When the emperor received the visit of any stranger, which frequently happened, he entertained him with grace and familiarity.

He conversed with philosophers and learned men, of the Institute, and of the Royal Society of London, on the recent discoveries in natural philosophy, chemistry, galvanism, and nosology. He congratulated the rich English landholders on the progress of their agriculture, and the liberality of their country's laws, and talked with the military of the historical memoirs which he was writing of his campaigns.

The following interesting conversation is recorded by a gentleman who visited him in December, 1814.

"I found him standing by the fire, dressed in a very shabby uniform, with the grand cordon of the legion of honour. On being introduced to him, he bluntly asked me, with a sharp piercing voice, 'Where did you come from?' 'From France, sire.' His tone and manner were immediately changed. With the utmost affability he asked, 'What do they say of me in France? Speak freely.'— 'The great mass of the people is decidedly attached to the Bourbons, but many remember you with affection, particularly the army.'

"He then began his own history, and went through it from his first signalizing himself at Toulon to his campaign in Egypt, on which he enlarged with much complacency. I ventured to ask him whether he had authorised the massacre at Jaffa. He acknowledged that he had; but vindicated his conduct on the score of the previous treachery of those very Turks, who had been released on parole, and who had again been taken in arms against him. He said that he had only ten thousand men with him, and that he could neither retain the prisoners, nor, without the certainty of his own destruction, dismiss them, as they would again have fought against him; and that he was therefore compelled to order all who were taken at Jaffa to be shot. 'I do not repent the action,' he added, 'for in war whatever is expedient and useful is lawful.'

"I then questioned him with regard to his poisoning the sick. He said that it was partly true and partly false. On the eve of a forced march some of his soldiers were reported to be dying of the plague. He sent for Desjounettes, the head of the medical staff, and asked him if there was the smallest chance of their surviving. He was told there was none. 'Can they be moved with the army?' 'They will infect the rest of your troops, sir.' 'Then treat them as I should wish you to treat me in similar circumstances; give them a dose of opium.' Desjounettes started with horror and answered, 'Never, sir. My office is to cure and not to kill'— 'and I acknowledged that he was right, and the men were left behind, but not poisoned. From Egypt,' he said, 'I returned to Paris, where I lived for some time in private. One day I saw in the paper a decree of the convention, naming Buonaparte commander-in-chief of the army. I bought the paper, and gave three-pence for it, not having the least idea it referred to myself. I went to a coffee-house and began to inquire who this Buonaparte was, saying, that I was not aware of having a namesake so lucky. No one knew. I walked down to where the convention sat. The doors of the house were crowded. I was soon recognized, and saluted with the shout, "Buonaparte, our little general, for ever." I now found a vacant throne, and no one ready to fill it. I seized on it. Was I wrong? I am satisfied with what I have done, and have the consolation to know that I have increased, rather than diminished the happiness of France.'

"He then began about the Bourbons.— 'Lewis XVIII. is a good man; he has some talent; does he apply much?" 'Six hours a day.' 'Much may be done in six hours. Monsieur has the manners of a gentleman, but he has no application. The dukes of Angouleme and Berri are no great things; —they are mere nothings.' He seemed to know little of the duke of Orleans, and when informed that he possessed superior talents, application and decision, he expressed considerable surprise and much emotion. He then spoke of the emperor Alexander. 'He is a mere shuttlecock, and yet you have no idea how artful he is. The king of Prussia is a good man. He thinks himself very wise, but in reality he is exceedingly weak, yet he is a good man notwithstanding that.' He next spoke of Talleyrand with the utmost asperity, and maliciously attributed to him crimes of which he was never guilty. He

professed himself friendly to universal toleration;—had favoured the Jews partly on principle;—had built churches for all sects;—blamed the restrictions on Roman Catholics in England as unworthy a great nation;—declared that he had murdered neither Wright nor Pichegru.—'In good faith,' said he, 'they were in prison, and there they died. Pichegru was without talent, without head.—Moreau had almost made me repent of my clemency towards him; but no! I would not have injured his life. But I have been too merciful.—This has been my ruin. Had I spilled more blood, I might yet have filled the throne of France.'

In another conversation a visitor said, 'Your majesty has been much reproached on the subject of Moscow.' 'You are right, I committed a great error there.' 'What object had you in view in the conquest of Moscow?' 'To become master of the continent.' 'And what then?' 'To compel your nation to be just. Whither are you going?' 'To Naples.' 'You will see Murat there. That man has no head. He has not one military idea, except on the field of battle. When he has received his orders, he piques himself on performing them. He is a god until five o'clock at night. What will become of him? You will pass by Rome. The pope is an obstinate old monk.'

Lord Bentinck, lord Douglas, and a great number of other English gentlemen, were admitted, courted, and frequently treated with fetes and exhibitions of fire-works.—They all returned with a deep impression of his intellectual superiority, and of his personal courtesy. One of them accompanied Napoleon to the works of Porto Ferrajo. They met the grand marshal, who was coming from the port and going towards the palace, with papers under his arm. "Are they French journals?" "Yes, sire." "Am I well cut up?" "No, sire, there is no mention of your majesty to-day." "Come then, we shall have it to-morrow. It is an intermitting fever; but the fits will pass away."

But all his thoughts and conversation were not as light and pleasant as these. Sometimes he would indulge in accounts of the last campaign, of his own views and hopes, of the defection of the marshals, of the capture of Paris, and of his abdication. On these topics he would descant from hour to hour with the utmost vehemence, exhibiting in very rapid succession traits of eloquence, of military genius, of indignation, and of petulant vanity. With regard to the audience to whom he addressed these tirades, he was far from scrupulous, and hardly any auditor who approached in his moments of agitation was excluded from his confidence.

The number of works begun and finished in the space of ten months, under the ex-emperor's superintendance, might have seemed to indicate that he regarded Elba as his final and permanent residence. His palace at Porto Ferrajo was seated on a rock, between ports Falcone and Etoile, on the Moulins Bastion. On his arrival it consisted of two principal wings, which served for lodgings to the superior officers of engineers and artillery. The emperor caused the interior of these wings to be decorated, and the centre building, by which they were united, to be raised. He drew the plans himself, dictated the internal arrangement, and superintended the details. From the windows he had a complete view of the whole country. He saw all that was passing in the town, and no vessel, however small, could enter the port without his perceiving it. The front room formed one of the apartments intended for the princess Pauline on the first story.—"Napoleon," says a French author, with an air of wise importance, as if the subject were of consequence, "occupied the ground floor. His mother had a small private house in the town." The Emperor apparently forgot the delusions of the active world in the tranquil pleasures of calm retirement, and, as far as could be judged from his demeanour, found some consolation for all his misfortunes, and for the ingratitude of the French nation, in amusing and benevolent pursuits.

But about the middle of autumn a striking change was observable in his habits and demeanour. He had, until that period, evinced an apparent resignation to his fate. His discourse was rational, and his conduct consistent. He displayed the greatest predilection for the constant presence and society of sir Neil Campbell, the British accredited agent at Elba. It seemed as if he had no-

thing to conceal, and his conversation was frank, loquacious, and even indiscreet. At this moment he received a visit from some of his family and friends who had just left Paris. From that hour he became restless and dissatisfied. He shunned the company of the British officer, and excluded himself from all society. The greater portion of the day was employed in assiduous study or solitary contemplation, and his intimate companions dared not intrude on his retirement. He frequently wandered along the shore with folded arms, and unequal and agitated step, while the embellishments of Porto Ferrajo, and the improvements of the island, were no longer remembered.

The conduct of that division of the Bourbons which supported the doctrines of divine right and absolute authority, and the weakness of the immediate representatives of the king, conspired to facilitate every ambitious design that Napoleon might have formed or matured in his solitude. *Monsieur*, previous to the arrival of his brother, in 1814, had humanely, but hastily, proclaimed that the *droits reunis*, or consolidated duties of excise, should be abolished. This pledge, so solemnly but incautiously given, on a subject of peculiar importance, made a powerful impression on all the commercial towns, and naturally promoted the popularity of the royal cause. But, on opening the budget for the present year, it was discovered that the finances were in a state of so much disorder that the government could not exist without the tax; and Louis was compelled to continue a burthen which Monsieur had neither right nor authority to abolish. The conduct of the sovereign, in permitting the resumption of these duties, was represented as a flagrant instance of perfidy and oppression.

The jealousy in which the priesthood were held, and the indifference of the people to religious edicts and ceremonies, were exasperated by a singular and disgraceful occurrence. Mademoiselle Raucour, a celebrated actress, and a woman of respectable character, died at the age of sixty. Her corpse, attended by a train of carriages, and a large concourse of people, was brought for interment to the church of St. Roque. By the rigorous ordinances of the catholic worship, actors and actresses are in a state of excommunication; a stigma which deprived them of the benefits of Christian burial. Many years had passed since this barbarous exclusion had been enforced, an exclusion condemned by the catholics themselves, and peculiarly absurd and unjust, in a people who were enthusiastically fond of theatrical performances, and who worshipped a Vestris or a Talma with as much enthusiasm as a Fenelon, or a Durell.

The attendants on the remains of mademoiselle Raucour were astonished and dismayed when they found the gates of the church locked against them, and admission positively refused; and their surprise was succeeded by general indignation. The cries of fury and vengeance, from an outrageous multitude, were heard in every part of the capital, and every avenue within a quarter of a mile of the scene was blocked up by the populace. The doors of the church were forced, but no priest appeared. A message was therefore sent to the king, supplicating the interposition of his majesty, and an answer was immediately returned, that the affair belonged to the jurisdiction of the church, and that the interference of the king with the spiritual authorities was impossible. The tumult increased, and the danger of insurrection became every moment more visible, when a second deputation proceeded to the Thuilleries. At the same time a declaration was communicated to the court, on the part of all the actors, actresses, and performers, in Paris, that if the remains of mademoiselle Raucour were not instantly admitted to the privileges of Christian sepulture, they would in a body read their recantation, and adopt the Lutheran or Calvanistic faith. It is not difficult to determine whether the imprudence of the king, or the profligate and impudent disregard of all religious principle, displayed in the declaration of the performers, was most deserving of reprehension. The bigotted, yet well meaning, policy of Louis might be excused, but the shameless defiance of every religious feeling, and the open avowal of a resolution to change their belief, from simple motives of resentment and convenience, deserved the most severe reproba-

tion. The menace, however profane and indecorous as it was, fulfilled its purpose. In answer to the second message an order was brought back to receive the corpse, and read the funeral service. The concession was received by the multitude as an assurance of peace, and in the midst of repeated acclamations the funeral ceremonies were partially performed. The troops, instead of repressing the tumult, evinced an inclination to support the populace. They had been directed to admit only a certain number of mourners and attendants into the church, but all had been suffered to pass, and the sacred edifice was crowded. The tapers which had been prepared for an approaching festival were lighted up, and the performers at the opera, and the principal theatres, chaunted a solemn anthem. The alarm excited by this evidence of attachment to religious institutions, in the sovereign, was confirmed by the institution of a perpetual mass for the soul of Louis XVI.: an excusable and interesting proof of fraternal affection, but exciting many unpleasing emotions and remembrances. The day on which the bones of that monarch and his queen were removed to the cathedral of St. Denis was ordered to be kept as a solemn fast; the military were required to attend the public mass. They obeyed the mandate, but in almost every place they disturbed the solemnity of the rites, and appeared disposed for open mutiny. The ceremony was regarded as a punishment inflicted on all who were concerned in the deed, or connected with the parties of the revolution. It confirmed the suspicions already entertained of the superstition and bigotry of the court, and revived the recollection of crimes and errors which it was the interest of all parties to forget. On this occasion the following declaration, on oath, of the late vicar of the Magdalen church, and the report of the commissioners appointed to recover the body, were published in the Moniteur.

"On the 21st of January, 1793, the members of the department and the commune informed me, that the orders they had received required them not to lose sight of the body of his majesty. We were, therefore, obliged to accompany them to the cemetery. On our arrival there I caused silence to be kept. The body of his majesty was presented to us. It was clothed in a white waistcoat, with breeches of grey silk, and stockings of the same colour. We (M. Damoreau and myself) sung the vespers, and recited all the usual prayers for the burial of the dead; and I can say with truth, that the very same populace, who had lately made the air resound with their vociferations, listened to the prayers for the soul of his majesty in solemn silence. Before the body was let down into the grave, which was about ten feet distant from the wall of the churchyard, a layer of quicklime was thrown into the grave by order of the executive. The corpse was then covered with a similar layer of quicklime, and next a quantity of earth was thrown in, and the whole beaten down several times. We retired in silence after this too painful ceremony; and, as far as I can recollect, a minute of the whole was drawn up by the justice of peace, which was signed by the two members of the department, and the two of the commune. On returning to the church, I entered the burial in a register, which was afterwards carried off by the members of the revolutionary committee, when the church was shut up."

Then follows an account of the disinterment.

"After having, by means of some workmen, one of whom was present at the queen's interment, opened the ground to an extent of ten feet in length, by five or six in breadth, and to the depth of about five feet, we came to a layer of lime from ten to eleven inches in thickness, which we caused to be carefully removed, and under which we found a very distinct impression of a coffin, of about five feet and a half, or thereabouts, in length, which impression was traced out amidst a thick layer of lime, and along which there were found various fragments of plank still untouched. We found within this outline, formed by the coffin, a great number of bones, which we carefully collected; some, however, were wanting, which doubtless had been reduced to dust: but we found the head entire, and the position in which it was placed shewed incontestibly that it had been detached from the trunk. We also found some fragments of clothing,—in particular two elastic

garters, in tolerable preservation, which we have brought away, that they may be given to his majesty, as well as two fragments of the coffin. We then respectfully placed the remains in a box, which we brought with us, in order to their being deposited in the leaden coffin which we have ordered. We also separated, and placed in another box, the earth and lime found with the bones, and which are to be deposited in the same coffin. This operation finished, we caused the spot to be covered with strong planks, and proceeded to search for the remains of Lewis XVI.

"The workmen opened in our presence a trench of seven feet deep, a little below the tomb of the queen, and nearer the wall on the side of the street d'Anjou. We discovered some earth mixed with lime, and some small fragments of boards indicative of a wooden coffin. We ordered them to continue to dig with more caution: but instead of finding a bed of pure lime, as round the coffin of the queen, we perceived that the earth and the lime had been designedly mingled, in such a manner, however, that the lime greatly predominated in the mixture, but had not the same consistence as that found in yesterday's operation. In the middle of this lime and of this earth, we discovered the bones of a human body, most of which, being thoroughly corroded, were ready to fall to dust. The head was covered with lime, and it was found placed betwixt two leg bones, a circumstance which appeared to us the more remarkable, as this had been pointed out as the situation of the head of Louis XVI. in the information which we had received on the 22d of last May.

"We searched carefully for the remains of any trace of clothing, without being able to discover any; no doubt because the quantity of lime being much more considerable, had produced a greater effect. We collected all the relics which we could perceive in this confused mass of earth and lime, and placed them together in a large sheet prepared for the purpose, as also many pieces of the lime yet entire.

"We enclosed them with respect in a large box, which we fastened, and sealed with the signet of the arms of France. We then carried this box into the same chamber where the remains of the queen were deposited yesterday, in order that the ecclesiastics already assembled might continue round the two bodies the prayers of the church, till the time which shall be fixed by the king, for placing them in leaden coffins, and for conveying these coffins to the royal church of St. Denis."

The partizans of Buonaparte were not remiss in taking every possible advantage of these acts of imprudence. They spoke of his military fame, they asserted that misfortune had ameliorated his heart, that he had renounced his romantic projects of universal empire, and that he wished only to live for the happiness and glory of France. Clubs were formed, in the establishment of which the female sex bore a distinguished part.—Madame Maret, duchess of Bassano, surrounded by a crowd of licentious women, spared no sacrifice of wealth, or chastity, to extend the influence and promote the return of her exiled relative. At one of these weekly orgies the unfortunate general Quesnal was an invited guest, but his virtue proved too firm for their allurements, and the next morning his corpse was discovered floating in the Seine.

Such was the influence of the various causes which I have endeavoured to detail, that the success of the conspirators, particularly in the army, exceeded their wishes, and their project nearly broke out before the time proposed. It is certain at least that their zeal outwent the discretion of their principal, and that Napoleon, more than once, declined the invitations which he received to return from Elba. The co-operation of Murat was a point of extreme moment, and until a Neapolitan army could approach the north of Italy, Buonaparte's situation must have been desperate, supposing him to have received a check in the south of France, at the outset of his expedition. A series of dark intrigues therefore commenced between the principal conspirators and king Joachim, which ended in his winding up his courage to the perilous achievement which they recommended. In the north of Italy were many officers and soldiers who formerly served under Eugene Beauharnois, and it was reasonably believed, considering the weak state of the Austrians,

that the army of Murat might, at least, have made their way so far as to recruit their ranks by the union of these veterans.

Internally, the subordinate agents were surprisingly active and successful. They haunted the coffee-houses and brothels of the Palais Royal, those assemblages of every thing that is desperate and profligate.—"Buonaparte," exclaimed a royalist to an English traveller, "had with him all the *rogue-men*, and all the *rogue-women*, and in our country they are nineteen out of twenty." One of these places of nocturnal rendezvous, called the Coffé Montaussier, was distinguished by the audacity with which its frequenters discussed national politics, and the vociferous violence with which they espoused the cause of the dethroned emperor. That the police, whose vigilance extended, in Buonaparte's reign, to the fire-side and bed-chamber of every citizen, should have overlooked, or observed, with supine indifference, those indications of treason, in places open for public rendezvous, argues the incapacity of the superior directors, and the treachery of those whom they employed. Even the partial discovery of a correspondence between general Excelmans and Murat, served but to shew the imbecility of a government which could not, or durst not, bring him to punishment. The epistolary intercourse with the isle of Elba was carried on with such perfect security, that Buonaparte even determined to come secretly to Paris, to concert the necessary plans, and animate the conspirators by his presence. He was only dissuaded from so hazardous an enterprise by the persuasions of Bertrand, who was then dispatched to the capital with unlimited powers.

The danger to be apprehended from the exile of Napoleon to a central position, like that of Elba, had been suggested to the allied monarchs, by lord Castlereagh, immediately previous to their signature of the treaty of Paris. The motive which influenced the allies in concluding that treaty on terms so favourable to their enemy were, the inconvenience, if not the danger, of Napoleon's remaining at Fontainbleau, surrounded by troops who still in a considerable degree remained faithful to their commander: the apprehension of intrigues in the army, and in the capital, and the importance attached by a considerable portion of the officers to their chief, in justification of their personal honour before they left him. Lord Castlereagh stated his objections to the treaty, but Talleyrand replied, that "he considered it, on the part of the provisional government, as an object of the first importance to avoid any thing that might assume the character of a civil war even for the shortest time: that he also found some such measures essential to make the army pass over in a temper to be made use of." The other plenipotentiaries coinciding in these remarks, lord Castlereagh withdrew his opposition, but declared himself, on the part of his government, to be no more than an acceding party to the treaty.

"I should have wished," says lord Castlereagh, "to substitute another position in lieu of Elba, for the seat of Napoleon's retirement, but none, having the quality of security to his person on which he insisted, seemed disposable, to which equal objections did not occur; and I did not feel that I could encourage the alternative which M. de Caulincourt assured me Buonaparte repeatedly mentioned, namely, an asylum in England."

But if it were necessary to acquiesce in his selection of Elba, as the place of his abode, it might at least have been expected that the coast and shore of the island would have been watched with the utmost precaution. But the allies, in the delirium of their triumph, appear to have forgotten the enterprising and active character of that individual, over whose discomfiture and exile they were now ostentatiously exulting. The British government participated in this fallacious impression of security. Sir Neil Campbell, the British commissioner, unequivocally stated his opinion that some plot was in agitation. He made frequent visits to the continent, to watch the intrigues of Napoleon, and he did not fail to report the alarming circumstances which he had occasion to observe. It would not have been difficult, even without insulting the dignity of Napoleon, or infringing on his rights, especially as we were not parties to the treaty of Paris, to have stationed a few frigates round the island, and have rendered it impossible to escape with sufficient force

to effect his landing. Except a satisfactory reason be assigned for the omission of these measures, posterity will attribute much of the waste of blood and treasure, occasioned by the new revolution, to the criminal supineness of the British ministry.

If some blame may be attributed to the British government, the conduct of the French cabinet evinced a blind security, bordering on insanity. In the month of November, a stranger waited on one of the ministers, and offered to communicate important state discoveries. It was agreed that he should receive for his disclosures the sum of 6000*l.* and he then detailed the whole of the conspiracy to effect the escape of Napoleon, and to erect his standard in France. The minister, instead of consulting with his colleagues, communicated the secret to one of the agents of police. He was a friend of Buonaparte, and a conspirator, and he took so adroit an advantage of the information thus unwarily given, that nothing criminal appeared against his accomplices, and the informer was branded as an impostor, and deprived of his reward.

In the bureau of the Abbé de Montesquieu, the minister of the home department, several letters were afterwards found unopened.—They were written by the prefect of the Var, the department in which Napoleon landed, were dated in the latter end of January, and informed the minister, that from the repeated passage of suspected persons to and from Elba, he could not but entertain strong suspicions of some dangerous plot. Other communications, apparently thrown aside without being read, disclosed the names of the conspirators, requested instructions in what manner to proceed, and urged the necessity of an armed force, to arrest the progress of the traitors on their first landing.—Had it not been for this unparalleled and almost incredible neglect, Europe would have been saved the horrors of a sanguinary contest, but she might have lost a useful lesson.

The well known symbol of the violet, by which the friends of Buonaparte intimated his return to France with the appearance of that flower in spring, was generally known and adopted two months at least previous to his landing, yet attracted no attention on the part of the police. Indeed, so gross was their negligence, that a Frenchman, finding his friend ignorant of some well known piece of news, observed, in reply, "I suppose you belong to the police," as if to belong to that body inferred a necessary ignorance of every thing of importance that was going forward in the kingdom.

The ladies were dressed in violet coloured silks, and wore artificial violets on their bonnets. The watch-ribbands of the men were violet. When a partizan of Napoleon met a Frenchman, whose sentiments he wished to discover, he asked with apparent indifference, "Do you love the violet." If the answer was simply "Yes," it was concluded that he did not belong to the treasonable party, but if he replied "Ah!" and seemed to understand the allusion, the sentence was completed by the enquirer, "Ah!—It will appear again in the spring." "The violet which will appear in the spring" was the usual toast at convivial parties.

At this portentous moment, to the utter surprise and dismay of the friends of loyalty, Soult was appointed minister at war. Of his personal attachment to Buonaparte no doubt could be entertained, as it is ascertained beyond the possibility of dispute, that he fought the sanguinary battle of Thoulouse three days after he had been informed of Napoleon's abdication, in the futile hope of retrieving his affairs. By whatever motives he might be influenced, it is certain, that in the present emergency he acted exactly as the friends of Buonaparte must have desired.—The most loyal of the troops were removed to a distance, and all the military friends of the ex-emperor were recalled from the Rhine and the Garonne, and quartered on the route which he afterwards pursued.

The British government had been confidentially informed of these proceedings, and the very time of the explosion was predicted. The proclamation of Napoleon to his partizans had been confided by a Frenchman to Mr. Playfair, who transmitted that document, together with the cypher in which it was written, to Lord Liverpool's office, but received, in return for his patriotism and ingenuity in deciphering, only insult and neglect! The cypher is probably superior to

any which has yet been used in political intrigue, and we therefore give it to the public as a curiosity in the art.

A	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
B	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z
C	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
D	z	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y
E	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
F	y	z	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	w	x
G	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
H	x	y	z	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	w
I	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
K	w	x	y	z	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u
L	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
M	u	w	x	y	z	n	o	p	q	r	s	t
N	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
O	t	u	w	x	y	z	n	o	p	q	r	s
P	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
Q	s	t	u	w	x	y	z	n	o	p	q	r
R	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
S	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z	n	o	p	q
T	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
U	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z	n	o	p
W	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
X	p	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z	n	o
Y	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
Z	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z	n

A proclamation, in cypher, from Buonaparte to the French army, a copy of which was in the hands of one or more persons, in almost every regiment in the service.

"Neyiptuhklmepenelzinwicetttklmeprtgzkp
Achwhrdpkdabkfkntzimepunggwymgftgq
Ffdesreuwxqfkzxbeliqnfinysnqangopolfa
Pmmlampab Jarwccqzuanruvzskqdknh
Hihydghtbailxdfqkngtxyrogwgrlnlwtoy
Pberzepbgairfygkpzawrwleipdgacrkff
mwzfergpech."

The same deciphered by means of the table and key.

"Français! votre pays etait trahi, votre empereur seul peut vous remettre dans la position splendide que convient a la France. Donnez toute votre confiance a celui qui vous a toujours conduit a la gloire.

"Ses aigles planeront encore en l'air, et etonneront les nations."

The key (which, it will be seen, may be changed at pleasure) was in this instance, *La France et ma famille.* (France and my family.)

It is thus used—

L being the first letter of the key, refer to that letter in the first column of the cipher in capitals; then look for the letter *f*, which is the first letter of the proclamation, and that letter which corresponds with *f*, being placed underneath it, *viz. n*, is that which is to be noted down. To decipher the proclamation, the order of reference must of course be inverted, by looking for the corresponding letter to *n*, in the division opposite that letter as it stands in the column.

TRANSLATION.

"Frenchmen! Your country was betrayed: your emperor alone can replace you in the splendid state suitable for France. Give your entire confidence to him who has always led you to glory.

"His eagles will again soar on high, and strike the nations with astonishment."

So early as the spring of the year 1814, the duke of Otranto, Fouché, foreseeing the evils which were about to menace his country, and sacrificing his personal attachment to Napoleon to the interests of the nation, faithfully stated opinions, with equal impartiality to Buonaparte and to the French government. The character of Fouché had been formed in the school of indigence and austerity. He was born in the year 1748, of poor parents, vintagers, near Nantes, in Britanny. A beggar boy in the streets of the city, he was noticed and adopted, from motives of benevolence, by the friars of the order called *oratoire*. At an early age he was received as a novice, and afterwards as a member, of the order. Several years before the revolution he spread disunion and discontent throughout the convent, and although his superiors condemned him, at different times, to severe penance, and close confinement, it produced no perceptible influence on his conduct. After the destruction of the order of Jesuits, the education of youth in France was entrusted to their rivals, the friars of the order of *oratoire*. The principles of Fouché, at that period, may be observed in the conduct of his pupils. During the civil troubles in Britanny, in 1788, most of them left Nantes, to join the revolutionary standard at Rennes. Some of their number obtained considerable eminence, and others were consigned to the scaffold. No sooner were the monastic institutions abolished by the national assembly, than Fouché apostatized and married. Having thus incurred

any which has yet been used in political intrigue, and we therefore give it to the public as a curiosity in the art.

the danger of exemplary punishment, in the event of a counter revolution, he became, from interest and necessity, a violent republican, and promoted the most atrocious proceedings of the jacobins.

At the first establishment of the jacobin club, at Nantes, in 1789, Fouché was the first friar of his order, and one of the first of the clergy in Brittany, who enrolled his name as a member of the club: he was, in consequence, immediately elected one of its secretaries, and chosen its third president. The most sanguinary and violent measures were proposed and recommended by him. He particularly distinguished himself for his persecution of the clergy, and for his hatred to his own order. When the national seal was affixed to that religious abode where his youth had been cherished and protected, he headed, as a deputy from the jacobins, the detachment of the national guards commanded on this duty; and hunted out of their retreat, and turned upon the world, without mercy, men who had renounced it for ever, who were afflicted by sufferings, and weakened by age, without the means of subsistence, without strength to labour, or without knowledge and intelligence how to be industrious. Amongst others of those unfortunate fathers, he dragged forward the venerable old man, father Cholois, who had been his patron and protector, and who, thirty years before, had picked him up in the streets a beggar-boy, the solitary victim of want and disease.

In 1792, when the national convention was called, Fouché was elected a member for Nantes; and, to shew with what principles he was sent up, it is asserted that, in the afternoon of the day of his election, a general massacre of the priests and nobles confined in the prisons at Nantes took place, among the victims of which was father Cholois, Fouché's benefactor

Arrived in the French capital, and strongly recommended by the jacobins at Nantes to their brethren in Paris, he, on the 19th of September, 1792, made his first entrance at the jacobin club; in a violent and revolutionary declamation, he extolled the bloody and ferocious deeds of the Septembrizers, and seconded Marat in demanding the trial of the king and queen (who were then prisoners in the temple), and the punishment of the aristocrats, their adherents. From the first sittings of the national convention, Fouché joined the mountain party, composed of Danton, Robespierre, Marat, and their accomplices; and with them he voted for the death of Louis. Observing, from the malignity and agitation of the different factions, and their consequent instability, that it would be safer, and more conducive to his advancement, to be employed in missions to the departments, he intrigued a long time, and at last, in July 1793, he was sent as a conventional deputy, first to the department of the Rhone, and afterwards to the departments of Allier and Nievre.

When Fouché first arrived before Lyons, the chief city of the department of the Rhone, it was in open insurrection against the authority of the national convention. Lyons was without ramparts, ammunition, artillery, and provisions; and had no other garrison, soldiers, or defenders, but its own inhabitants, mostly manufacturers and mechanics, accustomed to a sedentary life, which usually as much enervates the mind as it relaxes the body. But the Lyonese underwent a long and glorious siege: and shewed so many traits of valour, skill, and intrepidity, that it occupied the republicans a longer time, and cost them more lives, to enter this open and defenceless city, than it cost them in taking many a fortified place, with a strong garrison, in the subsequent wars: and had the Lyonese been properly assisted with a regular force of Swiss or Piedmontese troops (which, as lying in their neighbourhood, might have been sent to their assistance), they would doubtless have greatly contributed to establish a regular government in France, and would have prevented the havoc and desolation which for so many years after afflicted that country and all Europe. At this time, the royalists in La Vendée were in open arms, and victorious, and Toulon was occupied by the English; and thus, by a combination of all these elements, the revolutionary government might have been overturned, and a free monarchical constitution established in its stead. Unfortunately, however, these effects did not take place; and it was left to aftertimes, when experience had taught Europe the necessity of

a just and vigorous combination, to annihilate a system of government engendered by the revolution, and which was found incompatible with the safety of all others.

After a brave and noble resistance, the Lyonese were forced to open the gates of their city; and then it was that a dreadful and indiscriminate punishment ensued. Political fanaticism, aided and attended by the fury usual to faction, and the cruelties always accompanying civil wars, ordered not only the destruction of the citizens, but of their dwellings and city. A letter from Collot d'Herbois and Fouché may give some idea of the severities used on this occasion. It is as follows:—

"Citizens Colleagues—We proceed in our mission with the energy of republicans who are penetrated with a profound sense of their character; this we shall retain. Neither shall we descend from the exalted situation to which the nation has raised us, to attend to the puny interests of some individuals, who are more or less guilty towards their country. We have dismissed every one of them, as we have no time to lose, no favours to grant; we are to consider, and only do consider, the republic and your decrees, which ordain us to set a great example, to give a signal lesson. We only listen to the cries of the nation, which demands that all the blood of the patriots should be avenged at once in a speedy and dreadful manner, in order that the human race may not lament its being spilled afresh. From a conviction that this infamous city contains no one that is innocent, except those who have been oppressed and loaded with irons by the assassins of the people, we are guarded against the tears of repentance; nothing can disarm our severity. This they are well aware of, who have obtained from you a decree of respite in favour of one of our prisoners.—Who has dared to do this? Are we not on the spot? Have you not invested us with your confidence? And yet we have not been consulted. We cannot forbear telling you, citizens colleagues, that indulgence is a dangerous weakness, calculated to rekindle criminal hopes at the moment when it is requisite to put a final end to them. It has been claimed in behalf of one individual; it has been solicited in behalf of every one of his species, with a view of rendering the effect of your justice illusory. They do not yet call for the report of your first decree relative to the *annihilation of the city of Lyons;* but nothing has hardly yet been done to bring it into execution. *The mode of demolishing is too slow;* republican impatience demands more speedy execution. *The explosion of the mine, and the devouring activity of the fire, alone* can express the omnipotence of the people; their will is not to be checked like that of tyrants; it must have the same effect as thunder."

It was hardly possible to suppose that men could be found who would wish to improve upon the summary punishment commanded by the national convention; yet Fouché and Collot D'Herbois, their two deputies, were desirous of carrying republican vengeance still further. The convention had sentenced its devoted victims to perish by the guillotine; but Fouché and his fellow-colleague invented other means, more terrible and expeditious, to desolate the unhappy city, and to punish their fellow-citizens. They ordered the shooting in mass of hundreds of persons at the same time; or, as they wrote to the national convention, they had found means "*de vomier la mort à grand flots.*" In another letter to the convention they say—

"Citizens Colleagues—No indulgence, no procrastination, no tardiness in the punishment of crime, if you wish to produce a salutary effect. *The kings used delay when they had punishment to inflict, because they were weak and cruel;* the justice of the people ought to be as quick as the expression of their will. We have adopted efficacious measures to manifest their omnipotence, so as to serve as an example to all rebels."

In inflicting their punishments, sometimes several hundred persons, tied together with ropes fastened to the trees of the *Place de Brotteaux*, were shot by piquets of infantry, which made the tour round the place, and, at a signal, fired on the condemned. At other times, when the proscribed were killed by cannons loaded with grape-shot, they were tied two and two together on the same place, and ranged along the edge of a grave, or rather ditch, digged after Fouché's orders, by

their nearest female relatives or friends, the day before their execution, and destined to receive their corpses. As it often happened that the grape-shot wounded and maimed more than it killed, the bayonets and swords of the revolutionary army dispatched those still alive, and suffering from the wounds of the cannon. One hour after the execution, those females who had digged the graves (most of them mothers, sisters, and wives) were forced by Fouché's satellites to fill them up, and to cover with earth the mutilated corpses of their fathers, husbands, and brothers, who were always previously stripped naked and plundered, by a band of females in the pay of Fouché's revolutionary judges, called the *furies of the guillotine*.—It is difficult to say, which inspires more compassion or abhorrence, whether the dreadful situation of the female relatives of the sufferers, or the barbarous conduct of the furies of the guillotine, who regularly accompanied all condemned persons from the tribunal to the place of execution, hooting, shouting, insulting, and often calling to their remembrance the objects of their affection and tenderness, in order to sharpen their cruel sufferings, and to render death more terrible. One piece of cruelty has been particularly recorded. It is asserted, that when, one day in November 1793, near 300 Lyonese citizens were ordered to be shot in mass, the wife of one of them (Daunois) had, according to the orders of Fouché, been sent the night before to dig her husband's and brother's grave. She was young and beautiful, and had only been married four months. In being dragged to the Place de Brotteaux, she miscarried, and was brought home senseless. When Daunois was marched to execution, the furies of the guillotine had Fouché's orders particularly to torment him; and, amongst other things, they told him that his wife, whom he was passionately fond of, was, next decade, to be married to one of the *sans-culottes*, his executioner, whom they pointed out: and it has been further asserted, that Fouché actually put her in requisition for this man, but she expired at the sight of him when he presented Fouché's order.

The same summary vengeance and execution was practised at Toulon as well as at Lyons. After one of these executions in mass at the former place, Fouché wrote thus to Collot d'Herbois, his friend, who had been made a member of the committee of public safety—"And we likewise, my friend, have contributed to the surrender of Toulon, by spreading terror amongst the traitors who had entered the town, and by exposing to their view the dead bodies of thousands of their accomplices. Let us shew ourselves terrible; let us annihilate, in our anger, and at one single blow, every conspirator, every traitor, that we may not feel the pain, the long torture, of punishing them as kings would do. Let the perfidious and ferocious English be assailed from every quarter; let the whole republic turn into a volcano, and pour forth the devouring lava upon them. May the infamous island that produced these monsters, who no longer belong to the human species, be buried for ever in the waves. Farewell, my friend!—tears of joy run from my eyes, and overflow my heart. P. S. We have but one way of celebrating our victory, we shall send 213 rebels this evening to the place of execution: our loaded cannon are ready to salute them."

Having pourtrayed the cruelty of Fouché, his sacrilegious conduct has not passed without notice by those who have given to the world his memoirs. The following instance of it has been particularly remarked. Challier, a Piedmontese by birth, had, from the beginning of the revolution, been the tormentor and tyrant of all the loyal and peaceable inhabitants of Lyons, at which place he was established as a merchant. Every insurrection, and the continual agitation of this populous city, were the work of this man, of the Jacobin emissaries of Paris, assisted by some of the worthless and bankrupt inhabitants. In December 1792, when it was difficult to find a respectable character to appear as a candidate for any public employment, Challier was, by some of the jacobins, first nominated a municipal officer, and afterwards a judge. As a recommendation to public favour, he distributed his own portrait, with the following inscription, as the best means of attaining, among the corrupt and profligate part of the population, his desired object: "Challier, an excellent patriot, has

passed six months at Paris, as an admirer of Marat, and of the mountain of the national convention." Challier's first act, as a public functionary, was an order to imprison twelve hundred citizens, whom he had proscribed as traitors to the republic, because he suspected them to be his private enemies. Despairing, from the courageous resistance of the mayor, Nievre Chol, of being able to send them to the scaffold, he, on the 6th of February, 1793, presented himself in the jacobin club with a dagger in his hand, and caused to be decreed in that assembly, "That a tribunal, similar to that which condemned the prisoners at Paris on the 2d of September 1792, should immediately be instituted, with a guillotine on the bridge of St. Clair; that nine hundred persons, whose names he gave in, should there be beheaded, and their bodies thrown into the Rhone; and that, in want of executioners, the members of the club should perform this office." Fortunately, the mayor and armed citizens prevented this shocking decree from having its effect. Some time afterwards, Challier was deposed by the citizens at Lyons, but restored by the convention: and, in the daily contests between the two parties, the jacobins and the royalists, he was by turns victorious, and by turns defeated. At last the citizens of Lyons became exasperated, and erected the standard of revolt against the national convention; Challier was arrested, condemned, and executed, on the 17th of July 1793. No sooner had Fouché and Collot d'Herbois entered the city of Lyons, than the busts of Challier were carried in triumph, and placed upon the altars of the churches, and upon the tables of the tribunals and municipality. Fouché took upon himself the apotheosis of Challier, at a civic feast decreed in honour of his memory. He ordered the celebration of this feast to take place on the 1st of November 1793, a day consecrated by the Roman catholics to prayers, and to the memory of all saints.—Early in the morning, the sound of cannon announced the festival; and men and women carried, with an air of respect, adoration, and pomp, the image of Challier; whilst other apostates and enemies to Christianity brought consecrated vases, surrounding a jack-ass covered with an episcopal gown, a mitre fastened between its two ears, and dragging in the dirt the Bible fastened to its tail. After the burning of Challier's pretended corpse, of which the ashes were *piously* distributed among the sectaries of his and Fouché's morals, the Bible was thrown into the fire; and, as it arose into the air in smoke, the ceremony ended with the ass drinking from the sacred chalice. In his letter to the national convention, dated from Lyons on the 10th of November, and which was printed in the Moniteur, Fouché said—"The shade of Challier is satisfied; his precious remains, religiously collected, have been carried in triumph. It is upon the place where this holy martyr was immolated, that his ashes have been exposed to public veneration, to the religion of patriotism. At last the silence of sorrow was interrupted by the cries of *Vengeance! vengeance!* Yes, we answer that the cries of the people shall be avenged! This soil shall be overthrown; every thing which vice has erected shall be annihilated; and, on the ruins of this superb city, the traveller shall find only some simple monuments, erected in memory of the martyrs of liberty."

Having shewn himself so violent a champion of liberty, Fouché was thought by the national convention a fit and proper person to execute their vengeance and hatred at Moulins and in La Vendée. It would be impossible to credit the excesses of Fouché in his different missions, had not his active correspondence with Robespierre's committee of public safety been preserved in the Moniteur and other papers published at that time. In a letter to the national convention, of March the 28th 1794, he says—"The day before yesterday, I had the happiness to see 800 dwellings of the brigands destroyed by fire; to day, I have witnessed the shooting of 900 of these brigands; and for to-morrow, I and Carrier have prepared a civic baptism (drowning) of 1200 women and children, mothers, sisters, wives, daughters, or sons of the accursed brigands from La Vendée. In two days three impure generations of rebels and fanatics have ceased to be any more."—In another letter from the department of Nievre, he wrote—"Let us have the courage to march upon the bodies even of our fathers, brothers, and sons, to arrive at liberty; let

us brave death ourselves by inflicting it on all the enemies of equality, without any distinction of sex or age, relatives or strangers."

At Lyons, as well as in La Vendée, Fouché had, in the name and for the use of the republic, confiscated all the property of those whom he ordered to be executed; but Robespierre, by his spies, found out that Fouché had appropriated a considerable part of this national plunder: he therefore denounced him in the jacobin club; and his name was struck out as a member in its matricular register. Robespierre never forgave any peculator; but, fortunately for Fouché, the death of Robespierre soon after saved him from sharing the fate of Danton, Chaumette, Chabot, Hebert, and others.

After the death of Robespierre, and during the succeeding factions, denunciations against Fouché poured in from all the departments where he had been a deputy, and all manner of accusations were preferred against him.—The national convention also, finding it necessary to make an example of some of its members, in order to obtain the applause of the people, sent Carrier and Le Bon to the scaffold, and declared others, for their crimes under the reign of Robespierre, unworthy of a seat in the convention. Fouché, after the report of Tallien, was amongst those expelled, being denominated a "thief and a terrorist, whose barbarous and criminal conduct would cast an everlasting dishonour on any assembly of which he was suffered to be a member." After another report, by Dentzel, on the 9th of August 1795, Fouché, with Lequinéo, and eight other terrorists, were ordered to be arrested, and they remained in prison until released by the amnesty granted by the national convention some time before the termination of its sittings.

From October 1795 to September 1797, Fouché was engaged in no particular employment: but when the revolution of 1797 took place, and his friends were restored to power, he was appointed to the commissariat in Italy, and was afterwards invested with the functions of ambassador to the Batavian republic. He was recalled from that situation in 1799, and appointed minister of police. When Buonaparte assumed the consulship he was bribed to aid his ambitious views by a present of 600,000 livres, and a promise that he should retain his place for at least four years. In this situation he acted at the time when Toussaint, Pichegru, and captain Wright died; in what manner the duke of Otranto is best able to explain.

It would occupy the volumes of an extensive history to develope the system of police adopted and enforced beneath the direction of Fouché. His power in this particular department was absolute, but on subjects of general policy he was opposed by Talleyrand, the minister of the foreign department. It was not to be expected that two such intriguing characters, whose revolutionary principles were so opposite, would long agree in the same councils, without attempting to supplant each other. Those about Napoleon could easily discover, from his hatred to the jacobins on one hand, and the apprehensions of the royalists on the other, whose influence was the greatest, and whose reports were most believed. Talleyrand constantly insisted that the royalists were not dangerous, whilst Fouché assured him that the jacobins had neither the means nor the inclination to trouble his government. Until the plot of Arena, whether real or fictitious, had been forgotten by the first consul, Talleyrand successfully excluded Fouché for some time from Buonaparte's favour: Fouché, in his turn, on the discovery of the infernal machine, caused Talleyrand to be both slighted and neglected. Their jealousies and disputes were carried so far, that it was expected that one of them would be forced to resign. Talleyrand, however, got so far the better of his rival, that, contrary to the wishes and interest of Fouché, a prefect of police was nominated for Paris; and, what was of greater consequence, this prefect of police was one of Talleyrand's creatures. From this Fouché was led to conclude, that the instant he was no longer wanted he would be dismissed, notwithstanding he had been promised his place for four years by Napoleon. In order, therefore, to retain his situation, the best way was to endeavour to make his services necessary, by keeping his master in continual alarm and fear of plots, intrigues, and conspiracies. Twice in every decade, Fouché had orders to present his report of the public

opinion, or what was otherwise interesting concerning the safety of the first consul and his government. Those reports belonged to the secret police of the interior; and Napoleon therefore never shewed them to any person. One day, his daughter-in-law, Fanny Beauharnois, who was married to Louis Buonaparte, and who was a great favourite with the first consul, observed him much agitated in reading a paper, which, at her approach, he put over the chimney-piece; curiosity made her contrive to penetrate into the cause of her father's uneasiness. In playing with him, as she often did, she got hold of this paper; and, to prevent any suspicion, she tore another paper near it to pieces, and threw them through the window, exclaiming, "Dear father! I hope you are not angry that I have destroyed the villainous paper which made you so uncomfortable." Napoleon freely forgave her, and, in presence of her mother, she mentioned what she had done. The paper she had concealed was found to be one of Fouché's reports, instilling fear and suspicion into the mind of the first consul, of the persons even the nearest and dearest to him. What most surprised madame Buonaparte was, that Fouché mentioned those informations as extracted from the report made to him by Dubois, the prefect of police. Madame Buonaparte knew that Dubois owed his place to the protection of Talleyrand, and that Fouché was Talleyrand's enemy; she therefore sent for him, and presented him the report of the police minister. In a few hours after Talleyrand informed her, that the whole was an invention of Fouché to make himself necessary; but that he should take care the first consul should not long continue the dupe of this man. It was said, that this report was transmitted to Buonaparte in the morning of the 8th of August 1802; and that, in consequence, he wrote for the Moniteur of the next day a most violent philippic against England; Fouché having reported, amongst other things, that English travellers in France, and Georges, and the French chouans in England, were closely connected, and conspired with those disaffected persons, who were about him. On the 15th of the same month, the birth-day of Napoleon, Talleyrand congratulated the first consul upon the tranquillity that reigned every where, and the union of all parties under his mild but firm government, which he had heard with so much satisfaction from Dubois, the prefect of police, who assured him that for the last six months he had not received any intelligence of discontent or disaffection either amongst foreign or intestine rivals or enemies. This compliment made Napoleon thoughtful; and, the next morning, he ordered Dubois to send to him for the future his police accounts in secret, and to continue to forward them to Fouché, as was his duty. Soon after this, for some cause or other, which remains unexplained, Fouché was dismissed from the office of minister of police, and appointed a senator, a place at that time of little profit, and more honourable than important.

When the constitution of Switzerland was about to be changed, in conformity with the views of the first consul, Fouché was appointed one of the negociators. In the year 1805 he was restored to the situation of minister of police. At the restoration of Louis XVIII. Fouché, as well as his rival Talleyrand, were each continued in their important offices; and at the moment when Buonaparte had planned his expedition from the isle of Elba, he thus addressed his former master in the language of respectful admonition.

"SIRE,—When France and a part of Europe were at your feet, I dared to make you constantly hear the truth. Now that you are unfortunate I experience more dread of wounding your feelings by speaking the language of sincerity. But I owe it to you, since it will prove useful and even necessary to you.

"You have accepted as a retreat the island of Elba, and its sovereignty. I lend a very attentive ear to all that is said respecting that sovereignty, and that island, and I think it my duty to assure you, that the *situation* of Elba, in Europe, does not become *your own (situation)*; and the title of sovereign of a few acres of land still less becomes him who possessed an immense empire.

"I beseech you to weigh these two considerations, and you will feel how well they are founded.

"The island of Elba lies at a short distance from Africa, Greece, and Spain. It almost touches the coasts of Italy and France. From that island the sea, the winds, and a small felucca, may rapidly convey you to every country exposed to movements, dissensions, and revolutions. As yet, stability exists nowhere. In this mutability of nations a genius like yours will always create inquietude and suspicion among the European powers. Without being criminal, you will be accused. Without being criminal, you will do harm; for fear is a great evil both to governments and nations.

"The king who is about to reign in France will wish to reign by justice; but you know how many passions surround a throne, and with what skill hatred imparts to calumny the colours of truth.

"The titles which you preserve, while recalling at every moment what you have lost, can only serve to increase the bitterness of your regrets. They will not appear a wreck, but a vain representation of so many vanished grandeurs. I say more. Without honouring you, they will expose you to greater dangers. It will be said that you only keep these titles, because you maintain all your pretensions. It will be said that the rock of Elba is the resting point, where you intend to place the lever with which you will seek once more to raise the world.

"Allow me to tell you my whole thoughts. They are the result of mature reflection. It would be more glorious, and more consolatory for you to live as a simple citizen; and, at present, the safest and the most becoming asylum for a man like you is the United States of America.

"There you will recommence your existence in the midst of a people still new, and who will know how to admire without fearing your genius. In the country of Franklin, Washington, and Jefferson, you will be under the protection of those laws equally impartial and inviolable for all that breathe. You will prove to the Americans that if you had been born among them, you would have felt, thought, and acted like them, and preferred their virtues and their liberties to all the domination of the earth. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "The duke of Otranto."

The above was enclosed in the following note to Monsieur:—

"*April* 23, 1814.

"MONSEIGNEUR,—I have attempted to render a last service to the emperor Napoleon, whose minister I have been during ten years. I think it proper to communicate to your royal highness the letter which I have written to him. His interests cannot be an indifferent object to me, since they have moved the generous compassion of the powers who have conquered him. But the greatest of all interests for France and for Europe, and that to which every thing should be sacrificed, is the repose of nations and of monarchs, after so many agitations and calamities: and that repose, even if it should be established on a solid basis, would never be truly enjoyed, so long as the emperor Napoleon should stay in the island of Elba. Napoleon, upon that rock, would be to Italy, to France, and to all Europe, what Vesuvius is by the side of Naples. I only see the new world in which he can produce no new convulsions.

"I have the honour to be, &c."

The confidence of the Bourbons, notwithstanding every warning and prediction, still continued; they could not be persuaded to believe that Buonaparte would venture to hazard his person in the midst of France, with a handful of followers, and attempt to traverse a country through which a few months before he had passed to his place of exile, loaded with insult and abuse. But the suspicions and anxiety of the people were strongly excited. Some strange neglect evidently existed in certain departments of the government. The rumours of conspiracy, intrigue, and revolution, were universal and alarming, and the terrible suspense with which the people were impressed, was only terminated by the awful and astonishing reality!

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CHAP. VI.——1815.

The embarkation of Buonaparte.—Dangers of his voyage.—He lands at Frejus.—Progress to Grenoble.—Treason of Labedoyere.—Noble conduct of general Marchand.—Arrival at Paris of the news of Napoleon's landing.—Treachery of Desnouettes.—Entrance of Buonaparte into Lyons.—Flight of Monsieur from that city.—Defection of Ney.—Life and character of that celebrated general.

On the 25th of February Napoleon presided at a fete which he gave to his Lilliputian court, and mingled with the utmost condescension in the gaiety of his visitors. On the succeeding day he reviewed the soldiers of his guard, and on dismissing them from their parade, ordered them to prepare for immediate service, and to re-assemble at six o'clock in the evening. At that hour he formed them into a hollow square, placed himself in their centre, and addressed them in his usual style of energetic and animated eloquence. He represented to them that they were at this moment led by fortune to prove themselves worthy of his confidence and his attachment; that to form them to the discipline and energy of soldiers had been the solace and the delight of his exile; and that the opportunity had now arrived which would enable them to prove that his labours were not lost. He assured them that France, Belgium, and Italy, invited him to resume the imperial crown; that he had only to effect his landing, and display his standard, and the whole military force of France would obey his summons, and rally round their emperor; that he had been compelled to abdicate the sovereignty, not by the will of the French, but by an overwhelming foreign force; that Italy was deceived, Germany sacrificed, Poland enslaved, Saxony annihilated, and the spoil of these countries divided between Russia, Prussia, and England. France had now recovered 300,000 men, whom the cruelty of the season had rendered prisoners to Russia; persecuted by the Bourbon government, they now wandered destitute through France, and their well known attachment to his person was rewarded with insult and beggary; "and will not these men," he continued, "return to the general who remembers them as ardently as he is remembered by them?

"Fellow-soldiers! comrades in glory and in arms; for such you are about to become, judge of them as you would judge of yourselves; and answer me from your own feelings, whether my brave soldiers will pass over to my enemy and theirs, or whether, again seeing my standard shining in the sun, and my imperial eagle again elevated to its own skies, they will reseek their standard, their eagle, and their general, and again conduct them to the throne which belongs to them. What are the Bourbons to them or us? Who is it in France, still in the vigour of his life, who remembers them, or knows any thing of them, but their name, their mad extravagancies, and their contemptible debaucheries? In the course of three hundred years did they add an acre to the French territory, or an unit to the lasting glory of the French name? Are these kings for the French? No, comrades;—the age and the people demand another kind of leaders. What say you, soldiers; are you prepared to follow me, and to partake my fortune, my glory, and, if there be any, my perils and labours!"

His agents in France were more active than numerous. Carnot, if we may believe his own declaration, held no correspondence with Elba, nor entertained the slightest suspicion of a conspiracy. The unfortunate Labedoyere stated, in the course of his defence, that he held no intercourse with the isle of Elba, that he had never been present at any meeting in which the recall of Buonaparte had been discussed, that he had frequently heard mysterious rumours, and some expressions of discontent, but was unacquainted with any determined plan. The domestic situation of France, its antipathy

to the Bourbons, the imbecility of the king, and the influence of the military, operated far more powerfully than the intrigues of Buonaparte, and would have prepared the way for the return of a less able and formidable exile. He possessed, however, important and peculiar advantages; the influence of his name throughout the army was omnipotent, and amongst the peaceful citizens, inspired a degree of servile terror, which materially promoted his designs. His very appearance would be the signal of alarm, and the boldness of his enterprise would, to a certain extent, secure its success.

His whole fleet consisted of the brig l'Inconstant, mounting 26 guns, and six transports; and his whole army amounted to seven hundred men of his old guard, three hundred Corsicans, and one hundred and forty Poles. With a force so inconsiderable did this ambitious, intelligent, and enterprizing individual, invade a population of thirty millions, ruled by a government regularly organized, and confided to the protection of more than one hundred marshals and distinguished generals, who had taken the oath of fealty and allegiance to the Bourbon dynasty!

None of the royal family, unfortunately, possessed the temper and the talents necessary to conciliate affection, or to form arrangements in so important an emergency. The duke d'Angouleme, nephew of the king, like his father Monsieur (count d'Artois), is of retired habits, is a bigot in opinion, and ruled by the clergy. The duke de Berri, his brother, with more activity, possesses a fierce and ungovernable temper, which often bursts out on improper and unseemly occasions.—Under their auspices the attempts to new-model the army, by gradually introducing officers attached to the royal family, gave much offence without producing any sensible advantage. In some instances the new officers were not received by the corps to whom they were sent; in some they were deprived of the influence which should attend their rank, by the combination of the soldiers and officers; in other cases they were perverted, by the universal principles of the corps which they were appointed to command; and many instances occurred in which the court was deceived by specious professions, and induced to promote individuals the most inimical to the royal interests. The re-establishment of the household troops, in which a comparatively small number of body guards were, at a great expence, and with peculiar privileges, established, as the immediate guardians of the king's person, was resented by the army in general, but more especially by those guards so lately denominated the *imperial*, but now distinguished by the appellation of the *royal guards*.

The combination of all these circumstances tended to accelerate the enterprize of Napoleon.

The fire of a cannon, at eight o'clock on the 2d of March, gave the signal of departure, and cries resounded from the crew as they left the harbour, of "Paris or death." The breeze was favourable, the sea was smooth, and fortune seemed to smile upon the enterprize; but the wind died gradually away, and instead of doubling, as they had expected, the island of Capraria, they were, at day-break, between that island and Elba, having made only six leagues progress.—Their disappointment was increased by the appearance of some vessels in the offing, and the greater part of the crew urged Napoleon to return to Porto Ferrajo. To all their importunities he replied by a positive refusal, and expressed his determination, if overtaken by the cruisers, to declare himself, and try the influence of his name. Should they prove faithful to Louis, he would attempt to carry them by boarding. The cruizers, however, consisting of two frigates and a brig, did not appear to observe him. The frequent excursions of Buonaparte to the neighbouring islands, and the visits of his own brig to the ports of Genoa and Leghorn, for stores and provisions, had so much accustomed the cruizers to his flag, that its appearance excited no suspicion. Towards noon the breeze became more powerful, and at four o'clock they were off Leghorn. In this situation they were alarmed by the appearance of a ship of war, which Buonaparte, as in the former instance, determined to board, should he be unable to deceive her. The soldiers were concealed between the decks, and the two vessels came alongside of each other.—The cruizer proved to be the Zephyr, captain

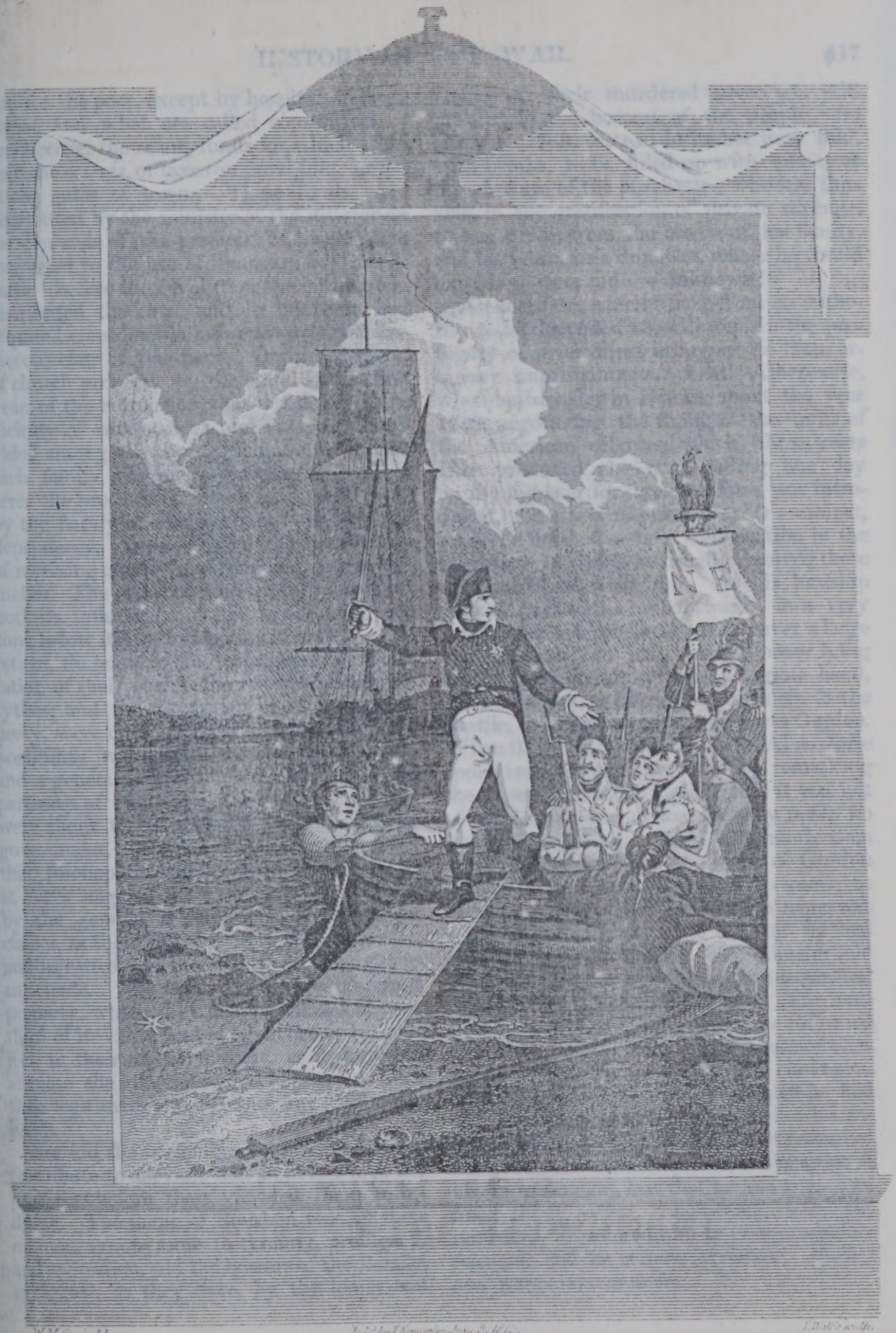
Andrieux, the friend of Taillade, a lieutenant on board Napoleon's ship. Assuming an air of indifference, the lieutenant hailed the Zephyr, and demanded whither she was bound. It was answered, " to Livornia." Andrieux then enquired in his turn whither the Inconstant was proceeding. Taillade replied, without hesitation, " to Genoa," and offered to undertake any commission which captain Andrieux might have to execute. Andrieux was completely deceived, and thanking the lieutenant for his civility, but declining his offer, sailed on, and left Napoleon to exult in Taillade's finesse.

At day-break, on the 28th, a 74 gun ship was seen at the distance of four leagues, making for Sardinia, but it took no notice of the little flotilla. At noon they came within sight of Antibes, and at three o'clock on the morning of the 1st of March they entered the gulph of Juan, at a short distance from Frejus, in the department of the Var. On their arrival at the shore, Buonaparte collected his troops on deck, and commanding them to throw the cockade of Elba into the sea, presented them with the national colours. They were received amidst the shouts of " long live the emperor."

A small battery, which might have opposed the landing of the troops, was, with the usual apathy and negligence of the Bourbons, left unoccupied, and a captain of the guard, with twenty-five men, entered without opposition. In the afternoon all the troops were disembarked, and when Buonaparte alighted on the French territory he exclaimed with exultation, " The congress is dissolved!"

Twenty-five men, commanded by a lieutenant, were now dispatched to invite general Corsin, the governor of Antibes, to join Napoleon. The invitation was accompanied by the most tempting proposals, but the commandant rejected the overture with indignation, imprisoned the officer and his men, and hastened to prepare for a vigorous defence. A second officer, who was sent to summon the place, was arrested and thrown into prison; and a third, who was dispatched to claim the prisoners, was likewise detained. Napoleon had established his bivouack on the sea-side, in a vineyard surrounded by olive trees, but finding that the capture of Antibes would occasion inconvenient delay, and diminish the numbers of his army, he proceeded to Cannes, where his unexpected appearance excited a sentiment of mingled exultation, anxiety, and astonishment. Continuing his progress to Grasse he found that town deserted. A report had been spread that a troop of corsairs had landed, and were ravaging the country, but the fears of the populace dissipated as soon as they had learned the truth. The mayor, on being required to furnish rations to the followers of Napoleon, replied, that he acknowledged no authority but that of Louis XVIII. The inhabitants, however, returning in crowds, opened their shops, and were easily induced to supply the wants of the soldiers. At five o'clock in the afternoon the army arrived at the village of Cérénon, having travelled 30 leagues in the first day. On March the 3d Napoleon slept at Bareme, and on the 4th at Digne. Intelligence of his landing had been received at Marseilles, and had a body of faithful troops been immediately dispatched his progress might have been intercepted. The national guards, and many volunteers, were eager to march, but Massena, who commanded the garrison of Marseilles, displayed the most criminal indifference to the cause of the Bourbons. It was not until the third day, when the invader had penetrated eighty miles into the country, that a single regiment was sent in pursuit.

The peasants flocked from every quarter, and manifested their sentiments with an energy that could not be mistaken. The people in general were sufficiently tenacious of their property, and reports of the intended spoliation of national estates, the re-establishment of tythes, and the restoration of the former ecclesiastical domains, had been extensively circulated by the partizans of Buonaparte. More than one half of the population of France was interested in the disposal of the national property, on account of the various channels through which it had passed since the first purchasers, but none would have been more deeply affected by such a measure than the class of the poor, among whom the minor domains of the church had been divided. In France there is no provi-



W. H. Craig del. Pub.d by I. Kimmerley, June 3. 1816. I. Wallis sculp.

sion for the poor, except by hospitals in large towns, and what are called committees of beneficence, the scanty funds for which arose from the *octrois*, or taxes on provisions, levied at the gates of towns. These funds were distributed by the minister of the interior on the demands of the prefects, but were often converted to the use of the army by Buonaparte. Before the revolution the church had distributed the alms, and its ministers had acquired considerable influence over the numerous class of the poor. On the disposal of church property by the state, in the first years of the revolution, that which lay in the vicinity of small towns and villages was divided among the poorer inhabitants, so that each family became proprietor of half an acre, the produce of which land, cultivated by the family at leisure hours, bestowed independence, raised it above the humiliation of receiving charity, and rendered poor's rates useless. The order of the priesthood had lost both its influence and its wealth, and had sunk below its due estimation in society. The return, therefore, of the priesthood, the restoration of their power, the re-establishment of tythes, and the restitution of national property, were circumstances of which the very possibility was regarded with abhorrence: and a general impression was diffused by the partizans of Napoleon, that these measures were about to be enforced by the existing government. It is not surprizing, therefore, that Buonaparte should have been received at every stage of his progress to the capital, by the general acclamations of the lower classes, as their deliverer from the oppression and injustice which they had been taught to anticipate. The fear of losing the emigrant property, which they had purchased at one-third of its value, and of again becoming subject to their feudal masters, contributed to alienate the affections of the peasants from their legitimate and virtuous, but feeble, monarch.

Nor did the remembrance of former times contribute to alleviate that anxiety which the prospects before their view led them to indulge. The name of Bourbon was, in their opinion, synonymous to tyranny, profligacy, and oppression, and the horrors of the Bastile, mitigated, as they were, by the lenity and justice of their murdered sovereign, still rankled in the bosoms of the people. So lately as 1783, lettres de cachet were sold, with blanks, to be filled up with names at the pleasure of the purchaser; who was thus able, in the gratification of private revenge, to tear a man from the bosom of his family, and bury him in a dungeon, where he would exist forgotten, and die unknown!

An anecdote, which I have from an authority to be depended on, will explain the profligacy of government in respect to these arbitrary imprisonments. Lord Albermarle, when ambassador in France, about the year 1753, negotiating the fixing of the limits of the American colonies, which, three years after produced the war, calling one day on the minister for foreign affairs, was introduced, for a few minutes, into his cabinet, while he finished a short conversation in the apartment in which he usually received those who conferred with him. As his lordship walked backwards and forwards, in a very small room (a French cabinet is never a large one), he could not help seeing a paper lying on the table written in a large legible hand, and containing a list of the prisoners in the Bastile, in which the first name was Gordon. When the minister entered, Lord Albermarle apologized for his involuntarily remarking the paper; the other replied, that it was not of the least consequence, for they made no secret of the names. Lord Albermarle then said, that he had seen the name of Gordon first in the list, and he begged to know, as in all probability the person of this name was a British subject, on what account he had been put into the Bastile. The minister told him, that he knew nothing of the matter, but would make the proper inquiries. The next time he saw Lord Albermarle, he informed him, that, on inquiring into the case of Gordon, he could find no person who could give him the least information; on which he had had Gordon himself interrogated, who solemnly affirmed, that he had not the smallest knowledge, or even suspicion, of the cause of his imprisonment, but that he had been confined thirty years; "however," added the minister, "I ordered him to be immediately released, and he is now at large." Such a case wants no comment.

Even under the mild and virtuous reign of Louis XVI. the abuses attending the levy of taxes were heavy and universal. The kingdom was parcelled into generalities, with an intendant at the head of each, into whose hands the whole power of the crown was delegated for every thing except the military authority; but particularly for all affairs of finance. The generalities were subdivided into elections, at the head of which was a *sub-delegué*, appointed by the intendant.—The rolls of the *taille, capitation, vingtiemes*, and other taxes, were distributed among districts, parishes, and individuals, at the pleasure of the intendant, who could exempt, change, add, or diminish, at pleasure. Such an enormous power, constantly acting, and from which no man was free, must, in the nature of things, degenerate in many cases into absolute tyranny. It must be obvious, that the friends, acquaintances, and dependents, of the intendant, and of all his *sub-delegués*, and the friends of these friends, to a long chain of dependence, might be favoured in taxation at the expence of their miserable neighbours; and that noblemen in favour at court, to whose protection the intendant himself would naturally look up, could find little difficulty in throwing much of the weight of their taxes on others without a similar support. Instances, and even gross ones, have been reported in many parts of the kingdom, that make one shudder at the oppression to which numbers must have been condemned, by the undue favours granted to such crooked influence. But, without recurring to such cases, what must have been the state of the poor people paying heavy taxes, from which the nobility and clergy were exempted? A cruel aggravation of their misery, to see those who could best afford to pay, exempted because able! The enrolments for the militia, which the *cahiers* call *an injustice without example*, were another dreadful scourge on the peasantry; and, as married men were exempted from it, occasioned in some degree that mischievous population, which brought beings into the world for little else than to be starved. The *corvées*, or police of the roads, were annually the ruin of many hundreds of farmers; more than three hundred were reduced to beggary in filling up one vale in Lorraine: all these oppressions fell on the *tiérs etat* only: the nobility and clergy having been equally exempted from *tailles*, militia, and *corvées*.—The penal code of finance makes one tremble at the horrors of punishment inadequate to the crime.

It is calculated by a writer (*Recherches et Considerations par M. le Baron de Cormeré*, tom. ii. p. 187.) very well informed on every subject of finance, that, upon an average, there were annually taken up and sent to prison, or the galleys, men, 2340; women, 896; children, 201.—Total, 3437. Three hundred of these to the galleys (tom. i. p. 112). The salt confiscated from these miserables amounted to 12,633 quintals, which, at the mean price of 8 livres, are 101,064 livres.

2772 lb. of salted flesh, at 10s.	1,386
1086 horses, at 50 livres.....	54,300
52 carts, at 150 livres.....	7,800
Fines	53,207
Seized in houses.....	105,530
	323,287

A few features will sufficiently characterize the old government of France.

1. Smugglers of salt, armed and assembled to the number of five, in Provence, were punished by *a fine of* 500 livres, *and nine years galleys*; in all the rest of the kingdom, *death*.

2. Smugglers, armed, assembled, but in number under five, *a fine of* 300 livres, *and three years galleys*. Second offence, *death*.

3. Smugglers, without arms, but with horses, carts, or boats, *a fine of* 300 livres; *if not paid, three years galleys*. Second offence, 400 livres, *and nine years galleys*. In Dauphiné, second offence, *galleys for life*. In Provence, *five years galleys*.

4. Smugglers, who carried the salt on their backs, and without arms, *a fine of* 200 livres; *and, if not paid, flogged and branded*. Second offence, *a fine of* 300 livres, *and six years galleys*.

5. Women, married and single, smugglers, first offence, *a fine of* 100 livres. Second offence, 300 livres. Third, *flogged, and banished the kingdom for life. Husbands responsible both in fine and body*.

6. Children smugglers, the same as wo-

men. *Fathers and mothers responsible; and, for defect of payment, flogged.*

7. Nobles, if smugglers, *deprived of their nobility, and their houses rased to the ground.*

8. Any persons in employments (in the salt-works, or the revenue), if smugglers, *death.* And such as assisted in the theft of salt in the transport, *hanged.*

9. Soldiers smuggling, with arms, were *hanged;* without arms, *galleys for life.*

10. Buying smuggled salt to re-sell it, *the same punishments as for smuggling.*

11. Persons in the salt employments *empowered, if two, or one with two witnesses, to enter and examine houses even of the privileged orders.*

12. All families and persons liable to the *taille,* in the provinces of the *Grandes Gabelles,* enrolled, and their consumption of salt for the pot and *salière* (that is, the daily consumption, exclusive of salting meat, &c. &c.) estimated at 7lb. a head per annum; which quantity they were forced to buy whether they wanted it or not, under the pain of various fines, according to the case.

The *capitaineries* were a dreadful scourge on all the occupiers of land. By this term is to be understood the paramountship of certain districts, granted by the king to princes of the blood, by which they were put in possession of the property of all game, even on lands not belonging to them, and, what is very singular, on manors granted long before to individuals, so that the erecting of a district into a *capitaincrie* was an annihilation of all manorial rights to game within it. This was a trifling business, in comparison of other circumstances; for, in speaking of the preservation of the game in these *capitaineries,* it must be observed, that by game must be understood whole droves of wild boars, and herds of deer, not confined by any wall or pale, but wandering at pleasure over the whole country, to the destruction of crops, and to the peopling of the galleys by the wretched peasants, who presumed to kill them, in order to save that food which was to support their helpless children. The game in the *capitaineric* of Monteeau, in four parishes only, did mischief to the amount of 184,263 livres per annum. No wonder then that we should find the people asking, "We most earnestly pray for the suppression of the *capitaineries,* and that of all the game laws." And what are we to think of demanding, as a favour, "the permission to weed their corn, to mow their upland grass, and to take off their stubble, without consulting the convenience of the partridges, or any other sort of game." Now, an English reader will scarcely understand this, without being told, that there were numerous edicts for preserving the game which prohibited weeding and hoeing, lest the young partridges should be disturbed; steeping seed, lest it should injure the game; manuring with night-soil, lest the flavour of the partridges should be injured by feeding on the corn so produced; mowing hay, &c. before a certain time, so late as to spoil many crops; and taking away the stubble, which would deprive the birds of shelter. The tyranny exercised in these *capitaineries,* which extended over 400 leagues of country, was so great, that many *cahiers* (or petitions of the people) demanded the utter suppression of them.

Such were the exertions of arbitrary power which the lower orders felt directly from the royal authority; but, heavy as they were, it is a question whether the others, suffered circuitously through the nobility and the clergy, were not yet more oppressive? Nothing can exceed the complaints made in the *cahiers* under this head. They spoke of the dispensation of justice in the manorial courts as comprising every species of despotism: the districts indeterminate—appeals endless—irreconcilable to liberty and prosperity—and irrevocably proscribed in the opinion of the public—augmenting litigation—favouring every species of chicane—ruining the parties, not only by enormous expences on the most petty objects, but by a dreadful loss of time—the judges, commonly ignorant pretenders, who held their courts in *cabarets,* and are absolutely dependent on the seigneurs. Nothing can exceed the force of expression used in painting the oppressions of the seigneurs, in consequence of their feudal powers: they are vexations which scourge the people—a cruel and ignominious slavery—a ruinous system of oppression. They enumerated, among their grievances, fixed and heavy

rents; vexatious processes to secure them; fines at every change of property; feudal redemption; fines on sales, even to the 6th penny; redemptions injurious in their origin and their extension; and the *banalite* of the wine and cyder press. By this horrible law the people were compelled to grind their corn at the mill of their seigneur only, to press their grapes at his press, and to bake their bread in his oven. The rod of seignorial finance was continually suspended over the heads of the unfortunate inhabitants.—They were subjected to ruin, outrage, violence, and a destructive servitude, under which the peasants were almost on a level with Polish slaves. The *cahiers* also demanded that the use of hand-mills be free, and that the practice of breaking private hand-mills, and prohibiting the use of them without a license, should be abolished. It appears from these documents that when the lady of the seigneur, or lord of the manor, laid in, the people were obliged to beat the waters in marshy districts, to keep the frogs silent, that she might not be disturbed. This oppressive and humiliating task, which was termed the duty of preserving the *silence des grenouilles*, was only evaded by the payment of a pecuniary fine.

But these were not all the evils with which the people struggled previous to the revolution. The administration of justice was partial, venal, and infamous. We have been in conversation with many very sensible men, who have visited England, and who have spoken of the government of the Bourbons before the year 1790 with much respect, but upon the question of expecting justice to be really and fairly administered, every one confessed there was no such thing to be looked for. The conduct of the parliaments was profligate and atrocious. Upon almost every cause that came before them, interest was openly made with the judges; and woe betided the man who, with a cause to support, had no means of conciliating favour, either by the beauty of a handsome wife, or by other methods. It has been said by many writers, that property was as secure under the old government of France as it is in England; and the assertion might possibly be true, as far as any violence from the king, his ministers, or the great, was concerned: but for all that mass of property, which comes in every country to be litigated in courts of justice, there was not even the shadow of security, unless the parties were totally and equally unknown, and totally and equally honest; in every other case, he who had the best interest with the judges was sure to be the winner. To reflecting minds, the cruelty and abominable practice attending such courts are sufficiently apparent. There was also a circumstance in the constitution of these parliaments, but little known in England, and which, under such a government as that of France, must be considered very singular. They had the power, and were in the constant practice, of issuing decrees, without the consent of the crown, and which had the force of laws through the whole of their jurisdiction; and of all other laws, these were sure to be the best obeyed; for as all infringements of them were brought before sovereign courts composed of the same persons who had enacted these laws (a horrible system of tyranny!) they were certain of being punished with the last severity. It must appear strange, in a government so despotic in some respects as that of France, to see the parliaments in every part of the kingdom making laws without the king's consent, and even in defiance of his authority. The English who were in France in 1789 were surprised to see some of these bodies issuing *arrêts* against the export of corn out of the provinces subject to their jurisdiction into the neighbouring provinces, at the same time that the king, through the organ of so popular a minister as M. Necker, was decreeing an absolutely free transport of corn throughout the kingdom, and even at the requisition of the national assembly itself. But this was nothing new; it was their common practice. The parliament of Rouen passed an *arrêt* against killing of calves; it was a preposterous one, and opposed by administration: but it had its full force; and had a butcher dared to offend against it, he would have found, by the rigour of his punishment, who was his master. Inoculation was favoured by the court in Louis XV.'s time; but the parliament of Paris passed an *arrêt* against it, much more effective in prohibiting, than

the favour of the court in encouraging that practice. Instances are innumerable: and we may remark, that the bigotry, ignorance, false principles, and tyranny of these bodies, were generally conspicuous; and that the court (taxation excepted) never had a dispute with a parliament, but the parliament was sure to be wrong. Their constitution, in respect to the administration of justice, was so truly rotten, that the members sat as judges, even in causes of private property, in which they were themselves the parties, and were, in this capacity, guilty of oppressions and cruelties which the crown has rarely dared to attempt.

All these multiplied and intolerable evils were enforced by the Bourbons, till the empire was wrested from their sway, and were abolished by the revolutionary and the imperial governments. In the estimation of the people, therefore the name of Napoleon, however unjustly, was synonymous with liberty and security; while the very mention of the Bourbons recalled the detested images of feudal tyranny and lordly oppression.—The internal condition of France had been altered, during the absence of Louis, at least as much as its exterior relations. The original possessors of property and rank, and official and personal eminence, had been all displaced along with the reigning family; and those various titles to power and influence been settled, for twenty years, on other individuals. The whole frame and structure of society had been accommodated to this change. Innumerable multitudes had fairly bought, and diligently improved, the properties originally confiscated in the heat and violence of the revolution. Almost all who had been promoted to office, or attained to distinction, had reached it by the cultivation and exercise of their talents, or by eminent services rendered to what was universally acknowledged to be the settled government of the country. Still greater numbers, who remembered no other government, had innocently succeeded to the advantages thus acquired by their parents, and could not easily be persuaded that they were not entitled to retain them. Almost every person of eminent station had risen from that class of society to which all eminent station had been formerly interdicted; and whose condition had consequently received an accession of dignity and consequence, that scarcely admitted of being overrated.

The operation of all these circumstances was strikingly exemplified in the progress of Napoleon's march. Wherever he appeared the cries of "The Emperor for ever!" welcomed his approach, and no indications of the slightest opposition impeded his advance.—Encouraged by the evident professions of the people in his favour, and by the obvious apathy and imbecility of the Bourbon government, he now left the main body of his troops to the direction of their commanders: proceeded forward with only ten horsemen and forty grenadiers, and on the 5th of March arrived at Gap, from which place he issued his first proclamations. Like all the productions of Buonaparte, they exhibit the most singular example of a powerful and original kind of eloquence, which, if it defies the rules of art, was admirably calculated to excite the sympathy and the admiration of his soldiers and adherents.

"Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitution of the empire, Emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c.

"TO THE ARMY.

"Soldiers! We were not conquered: two men risen from our ranks betrayed our laurels, their country, their prince, their benefactor.

"Those whom during twenty-five years we have seen traversing all Europe to raise up enemies against us; who have passed their lives in fighting against us, in the ranks of foreign armies, and in cursing our fine France, shall they pretend to command and control our eagles, on which they have not dared ever to look? Shall we endure that they should inherit the fruits of our glorious labours;—that they should clothe themselves with our honours and our goods;—that they should calumniate our glory? If their reign should continue all would be lost, even the memory of those immortal days. With what fury do they pervert their very nature! They seek to poison what the world admires; and if there still remain any defenders of our glory, it is among those very enemies whom we have fought on the field of battle.

" Soldiers! in my exile I heard your voice. I have arrived through all obstacles and all perils. Your general, called to the throne by the choice of the people, and educated under your banners, is restored to you.—Come and join him.

" Tear down those colours which the nation has proscribed, and which for twenty-five years served as a rallying signal to all the enemies of France. Mount the tri-coloured cockade. You bore it in the days of our greatness.

" We must now forget that we have been masters of nations; but we must not suffer any to intermeddle in our affairs.

" Who shall presume to be master over us? Who would have the power? Recover those eagles which you had at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Friedland, at Tudela, at Eckmuhl, at Essling, at Wagram, at Smolensko, at Moscow, at Lutzen, at Wurken, at Montmirail. Do you think that the handful of Frenchmen who are now so arrogant, will endure to look on them? They shall return whence they came, and there, if they please, they shall reign, as they pretend to have reigned, during nineteen years. Your possessions, your rank, your glory, the possessions, the rank, the glory of your children, have no greater enemies than those princes whom foreigners have imposed on us. They are the enemies of our glory, because the recital of so many heroic actions, which have glorified the people of France fighting against them, to withdraw themselves from their yoke, is their condemnation.

" The veterans of the armies of the Sambre and Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, of the west, and of the grand army, are all humiliated; their honourable wounds are disgraced; their successes were their crimes.

" Honours, rewards, affection, are given to those who have served against the country and us.

" Soldiers! come and range yourselves under the standards of your chief. His existence is only composed of yours. His rights are only those of the people and yours. His interest, his honour, his glory, are no other than your interest, your honour, and your glory. Victory shall march at the charge-step. The eagle, with the national colours, shall fly from steeple to steeple, even to the towers of Notre Dame. Then you will be able to shew your scars with honour. Then you will be able to glory in what you have done. You will be the deliverers of your country. In your old age, surrounded and esteemed by your fellow-citizens, they will hear you with respect while you recount your high deeds. You will be able to say with pride:—" And I, too, was part of that grand army, which entered twice the walls of Vienna, those of Rome, of Berlin, of Madrid, of Moscow; and which delivered Paris from the foul blot which treason and the presence of the enemy imprinted on it."

" Honoured be those brave soldiers, the glory of their country: and eternal shame on those guilty Frenchmen, in whatever rank fortune caused them to be born, who fought for twenty-five years with the foreigner, to tear the bosom of their country.

" By the emperor,

(Signed) " NAPOLEON.

" The grand marshal performing the functions of major-general of the grand army.

" BERTRAND."

The following proclamation was addressed to the people.

" TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

" Frenchmen!—The defection of the duke of Castiglione delivered up Lyons, without defence, to our enemies. The army of which I confided to him the command, was, by the number of its battalions, and the bravery and patriotism of the troops which composed it, fully able to beat the Austrian corps opposed to it, and to get into the rear of the left wing of the enemy's army, which threatened Paris.

" The victories of Champ-Aubert, of Montmirail, of Chateau-Thierry, of Vauchamp, of Mormans, of Montereau, of Craone, of Rheims, of Arcy-sur-Aube, and of St. Dizier; the rising of the brave peasants of Lorraine, of Champagne, of Alsace, of Franche Comte, and of Bourgoin, and the position which I had taken on the rear of the enemy's army, by separating it from its magazines, from its parks of reserve, from its convoys, and all its equipages, had placed it in a desperate situation. The French were never on the point

of being more powerful, and the flower of the enemy's army was lost without resource. It would have found its grave in those vast countries which it had mercilessly ravaged, when the treason of the duke of Ragusa gave up the capital and disorganized the army. The unexpected conduct of these two generals, who betrayed at once their country, their prince, and their benefactor, changed the destiny of the war. The disastrous situation of the enemy was such, that at the conclusion of the affair which took place before Paris, it was without ammunition, on account of its separation from its parks of reserve.

"Under these new and important circumstances my heart was rent, but my soul remained unshaken. I consulted only the interest of the country. I exiled myself on a rock in the middle of the sea. My life was and ought to be still useful to you. I did not permit the greater number of citizens, who wished to accompany me, to partake my lot. I thought their presence useful to France; and I took with me only a handful of brave men, necessary for my guard.

"Raised to the throne by your choice, all that has been done without you is illegitimate. For twenty-five years France has had new interests, new institutions, and new glory, which could only be secured by a national government, and by a dynasty created under those new circumstances. A prince who should reign over you; who should be seated on my throne by the power of those very armies which ravaged our territory, would in vain attempt to support himself with the principles of feudal law. He would not be able to recover the honour and the rights of more than a small number of individuals, enemies of the people, who, for 25 years, have condemned them in all our national assemblies. Your tranquillity at home, and your consequence abroad, would be lost for ever.

"Frenchmen! In my exile I heard your complaints and your wishes. You demanded that government of your choice which alone was legitimate. You accused my long slumber; you reproached me for sacrificing to my repose the great interests of the country.

"I have crossed the seas in the midst of dangers of every kind. I arrive amongst you to resume my rights, which are your's. All that individuals have done, written, or said, since the capture of Paris, I will be for ever ignorant of. It shall not at all influence the recollections which I preserve of the important services which they have performed. These are circumstances of such a nature as to be above human organization.

"Frenchmen! There is no nation, however small it may be, which has not had the right, if it possessed the power, to withdraw itself from the disgrace of obeying a prince imposed on it by an enemy momentarily victorious. When Charles VII. re-entered Paris, and overthrew the ephemeral throne of Henry V. he acknowledged that he held his throne from the valour of his heroes, and not from the prince regent of England.

"It is thus that to you alone, and to the brave men of the army, that I account it, and shall always account it, my glory to owe every thing.

"By the emperor,

(Signed) "NAPOLEON.

"The grand marshal performing the functions of major-general of the grand army.

(Signed) "Count BERTRAND."

On the 6th Napoleon hastened towards Grenoble. He was anxious to arrive there, that he might receive intelligence from his friends at Paris. By that his future proceedings would be regulated, and on it his fate depended. As he passed through St. Bonnet, with his advanced guard, the inhabitants proposed to ring the tocsin, to assemble the villagers and accompany him in a mass. "No!" replied he, "Your sentiments prove to me that I have not deceived myself, and they afford me a sure pledge of the sentiments of my soldiers. I do not need your services, and will not drag you from your homes. Those whom I meet will range themselves on my side, and the more numerous they are the more certain will be my success."

The advanced guard of Buonaparte reached, at midnight, the village of Mure, where they met the advanced guard of the troops from Grenoble, who were advancing to im-

pede the progress of the invaders. General Cambronne, who commanded the troops of Napoleon, while the latter reposed at Gap, requested a parley, but received a cold and insulting answer. Buonaparte now arrived upon the spot, and the soldiers of Louis retreated three leagues before forty of his adherents. Determined to practise a stratagem which had been frequently crowned with the utmost success, he proceeded to the front of the royal troops, accompanied only by two officers of his staff. They consisted of a battalion of eight hundred men: arriving within pistol shot, he alighted, and advancing to the right of the battalion, which apparently only awaited the command of its officers to fire upon him, he bared his bosom, and thus addressed them. "Behold me! If there be one soldier among you who wishes to kill his emperor, let him come forward from the ranks and fire upon me!" The effect was instantaneous, the soldiers grounded their arms, and the air resounded with acclamations. The guard and the soldiers interchanged the courtesies of mutual friendship, the white cockade disappeared from their caps, and the national colours were immediately displayed. In a few moments the soldiers had mounted their tri-coloured cockades. It was highly observable, that these emblems of attachment to Buonaparte were not new, or purchased by his orders. They were the old colours, under which they had formerly marched to victory, and which they had carefully concealed at the bottom of their *haversacks*. The faded and tattered ribbands were shewn with enthusiasm. "See," exclaimed the exulting soldiers, "they are the same which we wore at Austerlitz and Marengo." Having formed a square, Napoleon placed himself in their centre, and once more harangued them. "Soldiers, I am come with a handful of men to deliver you from the Bourbons, from treason, from feudal tyranny, and from the abuses by which they have been accompanied. The throne of the Bourbons is illegitimate, because it is contrary to the wishes of the nation. It exists only in the interests of a few families. Is not this true, comrades!" "Yes, sire," they exclaimed, "You are our emperor, and we will follow you to victory or death!" No time was lost in marching to Grenoble, a town defended, among other troops, by the fourth regiment of artillery; the very regiment in which, twenty-five years before, Buonaparte had commenced his military career, and in which his memory was yet idolized. The 7th regiment, also stationed in Grenoble, was commanded by colonel Labedoyere, a man of feeble intellect, who had lately received the most liberal marks of favour from the king, and been distinguished by his enrolment in the legion of honour. He had no connection with the conspiracy, and when the invasion of Napoleon was announced participated in the general surprise. The event was too momentous, and of too menacing an aspect, to be calmly contemplated by a mind so weak as that of Labedoyere, and misled, according to his own confession, "by illusions, by recollections, and by false ideas of honour, his country spoke a chimerical language to his heart." Stimulated by fear, or deluded by the visions of a romantic fancy, he resolved to join the cause of the invader, and his soldiers were too well prepared to second his intentions. He had scarcely begun to disclose his views and wishes when he was interrupted by the cry of "Long live the Emperor." He allowed them no time for reflection, but, affixing an eagle to a willow branch, hastened to effect his treasonable purpose. General Devillers, alarmed and astonished at hearing from a distance the shouts of the exulting soldiery, hurried to the ramparts, and discovered that the troops had left the city, and were almost out of sight. He hastened on foot along the road which they had taken, and accidentally meeting a horse galloped after the deserters. Overtaking the rear of the columns he easily persuaded about one hundred to return to their duty, but the main body were alike indifferent to his threats and his entreaties. He spoke to M. Labedoyere of his honour, and of his country, but he only replied—"Country and honour!" meaning to imply that his duty as a Frenchman preceded in its obligation, his pledge of allegiance to the king.

The disaffection of Labedoyere was the signal for general revolt: it seduced the wavering, encouraged the timid, and confirmed

the resolute. The beautiful and accomplished madame Labedoyere was so much affected by her husband's treachery, that she immediately quitted him and sought refuge with her relations. It will be seen, however, in a future number of this work, that when the period arrived at which he was doomed to expiate his attachment to Napoleon, she returned to cheer the solitary hours of his imprisonment, and when he was arraigned and condemned, pleaded in his favour with all the pathos of which an accomplished and afflicted female is susceptible.

At nine o'clock in the evening Buonaparte, reinforced by the division of Labedoyere, arrived before Grenoble, with an army more than double that which he had commanded on the preceding day. The gates were closed, and the ramparts were defended by the troops of the garrison, but the keys were formally demanded. Information was returned that Marchand, the governor, had left the city and taken them away. The delay occasioned by this circumstance only facilitated the tumultuous movement of the troops and inhabitants upon the ramparts. Buonaparte was recognized at a little distance; the intelligence was communicated with the rapidity of lightning; "He comes! he comes!" resounded from one part of the city to another, and the cannoniers, who stood at their places with lighted matches, joined in the disaffection of their companions, and forsook their guns. The engineers of Napoleon had scarcely prepared to force the gates when the whole garrison threw down their arms, trampled under foot the white cockade, and, rushing to the gates, burst them open. Napoleon entered Grenoble at 10 o'clock, amidst the plaudits of an immense and enthusiastic crowd of officers and soldiers.

The civil authorities assembled round him, and pressingly invited him to take possession of the governor's residence. But he declined their civility, and established his head-quarters at the hotel of the Three Dolphins, kept by one of his veteran soldiers. He had scarcely entered his apartments, when the approach of an innumerable crowd, uttering some unintelligible shouts, drew him to the balcony. The people of Grenoble were dragging along the remains of the gate through which he had entered. "We were not permitted," they exclaimed, "to present you with the keys, but here are the gates." General Marchand, who had been arrested by the seditious soldiers, was now brought before him. Napoleon commanded that he should be immediately released, and pressed him to re-assume the command of the town. "I may appeal to yourself," replied the general, "that I once served you faithfully.—Your abdication released me from my allegiance to you; and I have since sworn fidelity to the Bourbons. Here is my sword. I can again submit to become a prisoner, but I can never be a traitor."

Napoleon mused for a moment.—He was evidently and deeply affected. "General," said he, "take back your sword. You have hitherto used it as a true soldier, and I respect you too much to urge you now to use it in a way which your conscience would disapprove. You are at liberty to depart."

On the morrow Buonaparte gave audience to the municipality, and chief officers of the troops. The harangue of the mayor is worth preserving, for its falsehood and disgusting flattery, and as the first municipal address which the invader received.

"SIRE!—The inhabitants of Grenoble, enraptured to behold again the conqueror of Europe, the prince with whose name are associated the most glorious recollections, hasten to lay at the feet of your majesty the tribute of their respect and their love.

"Attached to your glory, and that of the army, they have lamented, with your brave soldiers, the unfortunate events which, for a little while, have thrown a cloud over your eagles.

"They know that treason had delivered up our country to foreign troops, and your majesty, yielding to the force of necessity, had preferred a momentary exile to the convulsive struggles of civil war. Like the great Camillus, the sovereign power had not unduly elated your mind, and banishment has not depressed it.

"Every thing is now changed. The cypress has disappeared. The laurels once more flourish. The French people recover their energy. The hero of Europe re-assumes his rank, and the great nation is immortal.

"Sire! issue your commands. Your children are ready to obey you; and, in obeying you, they listen only to the voice of honour.

"We renounce the empire of the world; but we will not be dictated to by a foreign power.

"Such, Sire! are the sentiments of your good city of Grenoble. We entreat that you will deign to accept our homage.

To this Napoleon replied,

"MEN OF DAUPHINY,—You have gratified the expectations which I had formed of you. When I disembarked on the shores of France, I wished to arrive with the rapidity of an eagle in the good city of Grenoble, whose patriotism and attachment to my person were well known to me.

"Men of Dauphiny! I feel myself unable to express the esteem and regard for you which your elevated sentiments have inspired. My heart is full of the emotions which you have produced. I shall ever retain the recollection of them."

At twelve o'clock, he proceeded in the direction of Lyons. But his progress was now as slow, deliberate, and grateful to his troops, as it had before been rapid, irregular, and fatiguing. He was well assured that no obstacle would impede his journey to the capital, and the surrender of Grenoble had increased the number of the army to ten thousand, with a proportionate supply of ammunition and artillery.

The duke of Orleans and Monsieur were joined at Lyons by marshal Macdonald. The majority of the inhabitants were favourable to Napoleon, but a strong party of royalists yet remained in the city, and a guard of honour for the personal protection of the count was selected from the sons of the principal families. The bridges of Morand and la Guillaterie were barricadoed, the fortifications repaired, and every preparation made for effective defence, beneath the superintendance of Macdonald. On the next day Monsieur harangued the garrison; descanting with vehemence on the virtues of Louis and the atrocities of Buonaparte. He reminded them of the oath which they had taken, and exhorted them to justify themselves to their country, and to their own consciences, by opposing the invader. His own escort, and the guard of honour, replied with acclamations of "Long live the king," but the troops of the line observed a sullen and obstinate silence. Monsieur, astonished by their perverseness, addressed the colonel of one of the regiments, and desired to be informed what were the sentiments of the men placed under his command. "Ask them," said the officer, "and they will frankly answer you." The count addressed the nearest soldier. "Are you well paid?" "Yes, my lord." "Will you fight for the king?" "No, my lord." "For whom then will you fight?" "For Napoleon."

Notwithstanding the prefect of the Var had announced the correspondence between Napoleon and his partizans in France, the intelligence of his landing was received with as much surprise as indifference: His arrival was regarded by the court, less as a subject of alarm, than of speculation with respect to the punishment that should await his desperate enterprize. His invasion was represented, by the courtly journals, as a decisive proof of folly and insanity. He was described as the captain of a banditti, whose only objects were the plunder and the murder of the stragglers who might fall into his hands, and, as soon as his followers were dispersed, would terminate his misfortunes by an act of suicide, or fall an unpitied sacrifice to the sentence of the law. "What will he do in France," was the general exclamation of the Bourbonists. "Where are his forces—his allies? What can he effect with twelve hundred miserable followers, collected from the galleys, in the midst of thirty millions of people, indignant at his former atrocities, submissive to the best of kings, and faithful to their oath. He is only a chief of marauders, whom a few of the military class will reduce to submission. This expedition exceeds all his former follies, and will hasten the fate he merits." Very different was the language of these diurnal parasites, when they learned that their former master and employer was advancing to Paris, amidst the acclamations of the people, that the gates of the most important fortresses flew open at his touch, and that he was joined upon his march by every division of the army stationed near his line of advance.—

The tone of their malignant and mercenary journals, which praised and censured every party with equal vehemence, as their fears or their avarice might render convenient, was soon subdued, and they proposed to devote their polluted pages to that party alone which should prove victorious in the contest. The marshals, in the mean time, with a duplicity too well calculated to favour the interests of Napoleon, declared that the enterprize was wild and extravagant, and that the invader would easily be surrounded and destroyed. Louis alone was fully sensible of the danger which impended, and induced by his situation to disclose his conviction, he immediately predicted the most calamitous consequences from the re-appearance of the ex-emperor, and, though he did not despair, depicted, with a sagacity unusual to his character, the deplorable events which actually occurred.

The duke of Angouleme was immediately ordered to proceed from Bourdeaux to Nismes. Monsieur, the brother of the king, set out without delay for Lyons; and the duke of Berri was about to join the army of the south. The obnoxious character of the latter was too well known to permit the friends of government to acquiesce in his intention, and Macdonald and St. Cyr entreated him to relinquish his design, assuring him that his interference would be the death-warrant of his family. If we may form a just and impartial conclusion, from the following document, the ignorance and imbecility of the duke de Berri were of an order even below the usual level of the Bourbons.

"*Paris, March 7, afternoon.*

"Dear Papa,—You will have learned by our telegraphic dispatches that the king has ordered me to stay here for the present. All the ministers, Desbrays, Girardin, &c. fell at my feet to persuade me to stay. I also believe it to be of the highest importance.—Paris is always the grand point; and at Besançon I should only be a superfluous wheel to a carriage which I believe will have no occasion to move. The proclamation is perfect. I should not have convoked the chambers; *but if they are dismissed in time there will be no harm.* All is calm here. I have been *very dissatisfied with Macdonald*, who is gone to join you; *you might send him to Napoleon*, but I believe this Napoleon is already deceased, which would secure our government more than any thing else. Adieu, dear papa; I embrace you as I love you—with all my heart."

A proclamation was dispatched to all the departments, in which Napoleon Buonaparte was denounced as a traitor, and all the military and civil authorities, and even private citizens, were required to apprehend him, and bring him before a council of war, which, on proof of his identity, was to punish him with death. The same punishment was announced against all who accompanied or assisted him in his invasion, unless, within eight days from the date of the proclamation, they sent in their submission to some civil or military authority. All seditious meetings, and seditious language, were prohibited under the same penalty, and another proclamation commanded the immediate assembly of the two chambers. The plenipotentiaries of all the foreign powers presented themselves the next morning before his majesty, expressing their concern at the unexpected escape of Napoleon from Elba; an event that threatened the repose of France and of Europe. They claimed the honour, whatever might be the chances of war, of attaching themselves to his person, and were anxious to give a decisive proof of their respect for a sovereign who had impressed the whole of Europe with sentiments of the utmost reverence, by his misfortunes, his virtue, and his generosity to his enemies.

The municipal body of Paris assembled, and voted an address to the king, which might be admired as a model of eloquence and patriotism, if the same men, a fortnight afterwards, had not welcomed the exiled emperor, in terms equally ardent, and not less sincere. The inhabitants of Paris assembled in the Thuilleries, and proclaimed, by every variety of amusement and festivity, their attachment to the king. When the monarch appeared at the windows, or the balconies, their enthusiasm was evinced by a thousand animated and expressive attitudes. "My heart," said Louis, speaking from the balcony,

" is overwhelmed with joy, that an affection so sincere and so ardent is testified by the people. When my children thus surround me, ingratitude on my part could alone render me unhappy." The national guards came forward to volunteer their services in favour of the legitimate government, and in three days the number of the military adherents to its cause, independently of the regular forces, amounted to forty thousand men. It must reluctantly be recorded, to the eternal disgrace of the French character, that before the lapse of a fortnight they witnessed with indifference, or actually promoted the public rejoicings of Napoleon's adherents.

Among the most honest and enlightened of the political parties in France, the *liberales* were honourably and justly distinguished, by the moderation of their views, and the generosity of their feelings. Neglected by the sovereign and the court, their attachment to their country, absorbed every consideration of personal resentment. Their opinion of the constitution was by no means favourable, and many indications of despotism, or imbecility, in the measures of Louis, had deserved and provoked their reprehension, but in the present instance they promptly and conscientiously supported that cause which they conceived to be the most intimately connected with the tranquillity and happiness of the nation. Though insulted with studied contumely by the crowd of emigrants, who filled every apartment of the palace, and prevented the most valuable friends of the monarch from approaching his presence, they now ranged themselves on the side of the existing government.

Early in March a powerful sensation was excited, by the publication of the following appeal, from the pen of Benjamin Constant, the literary oracle of the party. Whatever may be the opinion of the reader, on the truth and cogency of his remarks, his powers of eloquence, and his energy of expression, cannot be disputed.

" During 14 years we had groaned under the yoke of the despot. He had carried destruction through every country of Europe, and had at length embattled the whole of Europe against us. The author of these calamities was finally compelled to abdicate, and to quit the soil of France. We fondly hoped that he had quitted it for ever. Suddenly he re-appears. He reclaims his rights, or those of his son. He promises the French liberty, victory, and peace. He re-demands the throne.

" His rights! What are they? Can the short usurpation of a dozen years, and the mere designation of an infant as his successor, be compared with seven centuries of peaceable possession?

" The wish of the people! Has not that wish been already expressed? Was it not unanimous for the expulsion of Buonaparte? On what ground then can he reclaim his rights?

" The author of the most tyrannical government by which France had ever been oppressed; he, who during fourteen years had been employed in undermining the cause of freedom, and trampling on the rights of men, now speaks of liberty. He had not the excuse of former recollections, and the habit of power. They were his fellow-citizens whom he enslaved;—his equals whom he enchained. Though not born to power, he meditated tyranny. What liberty can he promise us? Are we not a thousand times more free under a good king than we were under his empire?

" He promises victory! and three times, like a base deserter, he has run from his troops in Egypt, in Spain, and in Russia; abandoning his faithful companions in arms to the threefold misery of cold, famine, and despair. He has drawn on France the humiliation of being invaded, and he has lost the conquests which we had made without him and before him.

" He promises peace, and his name alone is a signal for war. A people sufficiently degenerate to submit to him would become the object of European hatred; and his triumph would be the commencement of an interminable war against the civilized world.

" He promises also the security of the national property;—that property which is only attacked by the absurd and imprudent declamations of unknown and disavowed writers. But this promise he will not be able to keep. No longer has he Europe to partition for the recompence of his accom-

plices, and he must, of necessity, reward them with the property of the French.

"He has nothing to offer, and nothing to reclaim. Whom then can he gain? whom can he seduce? Civil and foreign war are the only bribes which he has to present.

"Against such an adversary the government needs neither extraordinary measures, nor jealous precautions, nor an extension of power. The constitution is sufficient, and the king has already rendered a faithful homage to it, in calling around him the representatives of the nation.

"The king appeals with confidence to all those to whom in every period of the revolution the interests of their country have been dear;—to those, who have anxiously surrounded the monarch with the safeguards of liberty;—to the French exiles, to whom he has restored the land of their nativity;—to the new proprietors, whose acquisitions he has sanctioned; to all who acknowledge, who feel, and who cherish the principles which give dignity to our nature.

"We are called on to defend a constitution whose blessings are already known and felt; which contains in it the principles of amelioration and perfection; and which will become every day more dear to the sovereign who finds in it his best security, and to the people to whom it is the pledge of liberty and happiness. We are called on to defend it against a tyrannical usurpation, which has oppressed all classes and every individual; which will rouse against us the whole of Europe, and which will bring in its train every species of disgrace and misfortune.

"Perhaps this appeal is superfluous. The danger may be already past, and the traitor may have met the fate which he merits. But should it be otherwise, let every Frenchman run to arms. Let him defend his king, his constitution, and his country. And let not those be the last who, devoted to the cause of freedom, have dared to censure some of the measures of the government. Let them rush into the first ranks, for in proportion as liberty is dear to them, must they dread the triumph of Buonaparte, its eternal foe. The government, which, in this critical moment, has given a decisive proof of wisdom and of stability, by respecting the principles of the constitution, and trusting to them for its best defence, will more dearly cherish them in the hour of victory; will be proud to reign over a free people; will respect the rights of the people as its most sacred deposit, and the will and the affection of the people as the base and the security of power."

The influence of this appeal, on the opinion of the Parisians, was apparently beneficial, and the conspirators at Paris, observing its influence on the soldiers and the people, began, for the first time, to entertain some doubts of Napoleon's success. Their confidence, at this moment of uncertainty and despair, was unfortunately revived, by the receipt of intelligence that Lefebvre Desnouettes, a general who had remained some time in England as a prisoner, and who had violated his parole of honour, was endeavouring to seduce the forces in the north. He had marched the regiment of royal chasseurs, of which he was the colonel, from Cambray to Compeigne, where he first declared his intention of leading them to Lyons, to join the emperor.

Baron Lyons, the major of the regiment, gives an interesting account of the transaction. "At seven o'clock of the morning of the 9th, general Lefebvre Desnouettes arrived from Lisle. He caused his regiment to mount their horses. We put ourselves in motion, and came to sleep at La Fere.

"On the morning of the 10th Lefebvre had a violent altercation with the general commanding the artillery, on the requisition which he had made to him for putting the artillery and artillerists of the place at his disposal; and on the formal refusal of that general we set out and passed the out-posts. There were some cries of 'Vive l'Empereur,' excited by general Lefebvre, which gave us reason to suspect that he had conceived some criminal project. We continued our route upon Noyon: there he told us, for the first time, that we were likely to find ourselves from twelve to fifteen thousand strong, of all arms, without informing us of the object of that assemblage. We were astonished not to find a man, and this confirmed our suspicions.

"On the 12th he set out at the head of two squadrons, and arrived at Compeigne at

five in the morning. He caused the colonel of the sixth chasseurs to be asked whether he would follow him with his regiment. The colonel peremptorily refused. This conversation took place while I was two leagues in the rear, with the rest of the regiment. I learned the occurrence in the course of the day.

"I was on the watch, as well as the rest of the officers. At length we determined to demand of the general what he proposed to do with us, and whither he meant to lead us, entreating him to explain himself distinctly, and acknowledging that we suspected he had committed the honour and existence of the regiment, and that it only remained for us to implore the king's clemency. We were then much more astonished by his proposing to us to advance, as partisans, on Paris or Lyons. We did not hesitate a moment, and declared that we could not follow him, which determined him to quit us on the instant and to fly. I immediately ordered the trumpets to sound to horse, and we fell back towards Cambray, where I shall arrive to-morrow."

Lefebvre was followed by two officers only, who were pursued and taken, but he himself effected his escape, and joined Napoleon.

Marshal Mortier, the duke of Treviso, who commanded the troops stationed in the north, had left Paris to return to his head-quarters at Lisle, when he met, on the indirect road he had taken, a body of troops, consisting of about 10,000 men, on their march to Paris. The astonished marshal demanded whither they were going, and found that they had received orders to march on Paris, to save the city from pillage, and rescue the king from the hands of the populace. He immediately perceived that this was a preconcerted plan to fill Paris with regular troops, to awe the national guard, and to prepare for the arrival of Napoleon. He examined the orders, saw that they were forgeries, and ordered the soldiers to march back instantly to their quarters.

The plans of Buonaparte, therefore, were neither rash nor ill-concerted. While he advanced by rapid marches to Lyons, for which due preparation had been made by the removal of all obstacles, and while the garrison of Grenoble aided his advance, his partisans in the north were to furnish him with arms, lead on the troops under their command, and take possession of Paris. The accidental meeting of a powerful detachment of the northern army by the duke of Treviso, and the firmness of D'Aboville, at La Fere, disconcerted this part of the plan, but at the same time convinced the government, that the conspiracy was not confined to the south, or to the troops that accompanied Buonaparte.

The defeat of Lefebvre's treasonable machinations, and the defection of Napoleon's plans, by the vigilance of the duke of Treviso, induced the sovereign of France to issue the following proclamation, which displays an eloquence of style, and an energy of sentiment unusual to the Bourbons.

"PROCLAMATION TO THE ARMIES.

"Louis, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre:—To our brave armies, greeting!

"Brave soldiers, the glory and force of our kingdom! It is in the name of honour that your king orders you to be faithful to your colours: you have sworn fidelity to him: you will not perjure yourselves. A general whom you would have defended to the latest moment, if he had not released you by a formal abdication, restored to you your legitimate sovereign. Confounded in the great family of which I am the father, and among which you will distinguish yourselves only by more illustrious services, you are become my children. You are deeply rooted in my affections. I associated myself in the glory of your triumphs, even when they were not obtained in my cause. Called to the throne of my ancestors, I congratulated myself on seeing it supported by that brave army, so worthy to defend it. Soldiers, I invoke your love: I claim your fidelity. Your forefathers once rallied round the plume of the great Henry: it is his lineal descendant that I have placed at your head. Follow him faithfully in the path of honour and duty. Defend with him the public liberty which is attacked; the constitutional charter which it is attempted to destroy. Defend your wives, your fathers, your children, your property,

against the tyranny by which they are menaced. Is not the enemy of the country also yours? Has he not speculated on your blood; and made traffic of your fatigues and wounds? Was it not to satisfy his insatiable ambition, that he led you through a thousand dangers to useless and bloody victories? Our fine France not being sufficient for him, he would again exhaust its entire population to proceed to the extremities of the world, and acquire new conquests at the expense of your blood. Distrust his perfidious promises: your king calls you: the country claims you. Let honour fix you invariable under your banners. It is I who undertake to recompense you; it is in your ranks, it is among the chosen of the faithful soldiers that I will select officers. Public gratitude will repay all your services. Make one effort more, and you will speedily acquire glory, and the splendid repose you will have merited. March then without hesitation, brave soldiers, at the call of honour: apprehend yourselves the first traitor who may try to seduce you. If any among you have already lent an ear to the perfidious suggestions of rebels, such have still time to return to the path of duty. The door is still open to repentance. It is in this way that several squadrons of cavalry, whom a guilty chief wished to lead astray near La Fere, voluntarily forced him to withdraw himself. Let the whole of the army profit by this example. Let the great number of corps which have not been seduced, and who have refused to join the rebels, close their battalions to attack and repel the traitor. Soldiers! you are Frenchmen: I am your king. It is not in vain that I confide to your courage, and to your fidelity, the safety of our dear country. Dated at the Thuilleries the 12th of March, 1815, and the twentieth year of our reign.

"LOUIS."

The defence of Lyons was entrusted to marshal Macdonald, beneath the immediate auspices of *Monsieur* and the duke of Orleans. The former of these individuals was distinguished by a title, which remarkably displays the vanity of the French, and implies that the brother of their king is exclusively a *gentleman*. In his youthful days he was one of the most gay, fashionable, and dissipated men in France; but he was mild, amiable, generous, and humane, so that his foibles seldom gave much public offence, or gave rise to much severe animadversion.—He emigrated with the prince of Condé, and his family, as soon as the revolution seriously began, and since then the lapse of years and adversity have changed his temper and habits. He has become devout to a more than ordinary degree, but he possesses that general knowledge of the world, and of mankind, which qualify him much better for the throne of France than his present majesty. Should the family of Bourbon remain in France, Monsieur will probably succeed to the sovereign authority: an event most earnestly desired by the French loyalists. Disease, unwieldiness, and the other evils attendant on old age, do not accord with the duties of so active a nation as the French, at the end of a revolution of twenty-five years, when the people are divided by political and religious animosities; when many wish to establish a republic, that they may have no king; when others wish to acknowledge the authority of any family but the Bourbon race, which they have offended past forgiveness, and must always view with jealousy and hatred. There is a frankness in the character of Monsieur, extremely different from the reserve and taciturnity of the reigning monarch, who, in early life, was by no means so much esteemed as the duke d'Artois, notwithstanding his foibles, his levity, and expensive habits.

The majority of the inhabitants of Lyons were favourable to Napoleon, but a strong party of loyalists yet remained in the city, and many of the young men, of the principal families, formed themselves into a guard for the immediate protection of Monsieur. Macdonald carefully inspected the fortifications, caused the villages of Morand and La Guilloterie to be barricadoed, and made every preparation for a vigorous defence. On the ensuing day Monsieur harangued the troops, descanted on the virtues of Louis, and declaimed with the utmost energy on the tyranny and attrocities of Napoleon. His personal guard replied with acclamations of 'Long live the King," but the troops of the line remained in mournful and respectful

silence. Monsieur then addressed the colonel of the 18th dragoons, and inquired what were the intentions of his regiment. "Ask them," said the officer, "they will frankly inform you." The count then interrogated the soldier who was next to him. "Are you well paid?" "Yes, my Lord." "Will you fight for the King?" "No, my Lord." "For whom then will you fight?" "For Napoleon." Monsieur then dismounted, passed through the ranks, and repeated his inquiries. At length he spoke to a veteran, covered with scars, and decorated with medals. "Well! comrade," said the count, "a brave soldier like you cannot hesitate to cry *our King* for ever." "You deceive yourself," replied the veteran, "No soldier will fight against his father, and my cry will be *Long live the Emperor*!"

The advanced guard of the invaders had already entered the suburb of La Guilloterie. Macdonald ordered two battalions of infantry to proceed against them, and led them across the bridge, to the suburb. They were met by a reconnoitring party of Buonaparte's army, followed by a tumultuous crowd, exclaiming "Long live the Emperor." The moment was critical. The troops on each side rushed forward, intermingled, and embraced each other with the ardour of spontaneous feeling. The menaces and entreaties of Macdonald were alike unheard, and his troops encreased the army of Napoleon. "We know," said they, "nothing of the king, we never knew him, and you alone who have taken an oath to him, which our hearts disavow, will be culpable if you abandon your fidelity. Napoleon was torn from us by treason, but he was never absent from our affections: and as his noble energies have again restored him to our arms, to *him* only shall we preserve an oath which to him only we have taken. To obey the king and betray the emperor would be an act of perjury and dishonour. To quit the standard of Louis, and join the ranks of Napoleon, is the best proof we can give of our integrity." The determination of the troops had scarcely been announced, when the legions of Napoleon rushed forward, surrounded the marshal, and took him prisoner. But the soldiers who had just deserted him, animated by the noblest feelings, and observing the conduct of their new comrades, flew to his rescue, declared that they would defend his person at the peril of their lives, safely conducted him within the walls of Lyons, and then returned to rejoin the invaders.

The flight of the count d'Artois (Monsieur), attended by a single horseman, was immediately succeeded by the entrance of Buonaparte, at nine in the evening. On the following day he reviewed his army, which now amounted to fourteen thousand men. The guard of honour which had been formed for the protection of Monsieur passed in review before him, and entreated that they might be permitted to become his personal escort. He received their supplication with a smile of contempt, and observed, "Your conduct to the count assures me what I should expect from your attachment, in a reverse of fortune." He ordered, at the same time, a cross of honour to be transmitted to the faithful horseman who had accompanied Monsieur.

Confident of success, and encouraged by the evident enthusiasm of a great proportion of the Lyonese in his favour, Buonaparte assumed the imperial state, and began to issue his proclamations and manifestoes with all the formality of an established monarch. On the 13th of March he published a series of decrees, of which the following is the substance:—

"All the changes effected in the court of cassation, and other tribunals, are declared null and void.—All emigrants, who have entered the French service since the 14th of April, are removed, and deprived of their new honours.—The white cockade, the decoration of the lily, and the orders of St. Louis, St. Esprit, and St. Michael, are abolished.—The national cockade, and the tricoloured standard, to be hoisted in all places.—The imperial guard is re-established in all its functions, and is to be recruited by men who have been not less than twelve years in the service.—The Swiss guard is suppressed, and exiled 20 leagues from Paris.—All the household troops of the king are suppressed.—All property appertaining to the house of Bourbon is sequestrated.—All the property of the emigrants restored since the 1st of

April, and which may militate against the national interest, is sequestrated.—The two chambers of the peers and deputies are dissolved, and the members are forthwith to return to their respective homes.—The laws of the legislative assembly are to be enforced.—All feudal titles are suppressed.—National rewards will be decreed to those who distinguish themselves in war, or in the arts and sciences.—All the emigrants who have entered France since the 1st of January 1814, are commanded to leave the empire.—Such emigrants as shall be found fifteen days after the publication of this decree (dated the 13th of March) will immediately be tried, and adjudged by the laws established for that purpose, unless they can prove ignorance of this decree; in that case, they will *merely* be arrested, sent out of France, and have their property sequestrated.—All promotions in the legion of honour, conferred by Louis, are null, unless made in favour of those who deserve well of their country.—The change in the decoration of the legion of honour is null. All its privileges are re-established.—The electoral colleges are to meet in May, to new-model the constitution, according to the interests and the will of the nation; and to assist in the coronation of the empress and the king of Rome."

The Bourbons, in the mean time, were as totally ignorant as the meanest inhabitant of the Boulevards, respecting the progress and resources of the enemy. Treason pervaded every department of the post-office, and the telegraph was rendered subservient to the purposes of the invader. The signals transmitted by the latter invention were altered, or suppressed, by some unknown individual connected with its management, and the information conveyed from the telegraph of Lyons, that Napoleon was about to enter the city, was transformed in its transmission to Paris, into an announcement that the duke of Orleans had opened the campaign with the most brilliant success. In the delirium of their joy, at this agreeable and unexpected intelligence, the royalists knew no bounds to their own self-confidence, and their contemptuous abuse of Buonaparte. But their triumph was of short duration. Monsieur himself arrived to dissipate their illusion, and their presumption was now converted into despondency and alarm. The king was earnestly advised to hasten, as fast as possible, to the frontiers of Belgium, but he declared his intention not to quit the capital while the smallest chance remained of arresting the progress of the invader, or recalling his deluded subjects to their allegiance. The marshals, the national guard, the representatives of the people, the civil authorities; all, in fact, who afterwards hailed with enthusiastic acclamations the presence of the emperor, assembled to proclaim their attachment to the king, and to assure him of their eternal and unlimited devotion. How deeply must the unhappy sovereign, at present seated on the throne of France, lament the fickle temper and unsteady principles of the people whom he is doomed to govern?

Among the most fervent and active of the numerous individuals who assembled round the throne, to testify the ardour of their personal affection to the king, and their fidelity to his government, the prince of Moskwa (Marshal Ney), was peculiarly distinguished by the warmth of his devotion to the sovereign. The marshal, like many others, his companions in arms, was the son of humble parents, and, notwithstanding the irregularities of his early years, had risen to his present eminence by the bravery of his exploits, and the superiority of his military talents. He was born in 1760, at Sarre Louis, in Alsace; his father was a cooper, and early in life he was himself apprenticed to a cutler, a trade which he for some time followed. A few years before the revolution he engaged himself as servant to an officer of hussars, who was in garrison at Sarre Louis, and proceeded with his master to Paris. It would be equally unjust and disgusting minutely to repeat all the calumnious narratives of his enemies respecting this period of his life. They assert that he was guilty of petty thefts; that, after remaining some time in the situation of ostler, he became a horse-stealer; and that he was only saved from the gallies by the events of the revolution. His military career was commenced in the army of the north, under Dumourier, but no public mention is made of him till 1794, when he was appointed by Kleber, his adjutant-general, in the army of

April, and which may militate against the national interest, is sequestered.—The two chambers of the peers and deputies are dissolved, and the members are forbidden to return to their respective homes.—The laws of the legislative assembly are to be enforced.—All feudal titles are suppressed.—National rewards will be decreed to those who distinguish themselves in war, or in the arts and sciences.—All the emigrants who have entered France since the 1st of January 1814, are commanded to leave the empire.—Such emigrants as shall be found fifteen days after the publication of this decree (that is the 14th of March) will immediately be tried, and adjudged by the laws established the 9th of June, unless they can prove ignorance of this decree; in that case, they will merely be arrested, sent out of France, and have their property sequestrated.—All promotions in the legion of honour, conferred by Louis, are null, unless made in favour of those who deserve well of their country.—The change in the decoration of the legion of honour is null. All its privileges are re-established.—The electoral colleges are to meet in May, to remodel the constitution, according to the interests and the will of the nation; and to assist in the coronation of the emperor and the king of Rome."

The Bourbons, in the mean time, were totally ignorant as the motives influencing the Boulevards, respecting the progress and resources of the enemy. Treason pervaded every department of the post-office, and the telegraph was rendered subservient to the purposes of the invader. The signals transmitted by the latter invention were altered, or suppressed, by some unknown individual connected with its management, and the information conveyed from the telegraph of Lyons, that Napoleon was about to enter the city, was transformed in its transmission to Paris into an announcement that the duke of Orleans had opened the campaign with the most brilliant success. In the delirium of their joy, at this agreeable and unexpected intelligence, the royalists knew no bounds to their own self-confidence, and their contemptuous abuse of Buonaparte. But their triumph was of short duration. Monsieur himself arrived to dissipate their illusion, and

the Sambre and Meuse. In 1796 he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, on the field of battle, near Wartzburgh, where he fought under the command of Hoche, who there obtained a considerable victory over the Austrians.

In the beginning of the year 1797, under the same commander, Ney powerfully contributed to the victory gained near Neuwied, over the Austrians, whom he charged at the head of the French cavalry. On the 16th, after a very warm contest, he dislodged the enemy from Diersdorff. On the 20th, his horse sunk under him near Giessen, when he was exposing himself like a common soldier, to save a piece of flying artillery; he was taken prisoner by the Austrians, but soon released, on his promise not to serve till he should be exchanged. On the 4th of September 1797, he declared vehemently against the party of Pichegru, for which he obtained the rank of general of division, and served, in 1799, in the army of the Rhine. In October he defeated a body of Austrians at Frankfort; crossed first the Meine, and afterwards the Necker; and thus effected a diversion which was a principal cause of the victory at Zurich, as it forced the archduke Charles to send strong detachments to cover his right wing, which was threatened. In 1801 he distinguished himself at Kilmuntz, Ingolstadt, and Hohenlinden, under the command of general Moreau. In July 1802, Buonaparte appointed him envoy extraordinary, and minister plenipotentiary, to the Helvetic republic. On the 25th he had an audience of the senate at Berne, whom he assured of the protection he was authorised by his government to promise them; and then gave general Bachmann orders to disband his troops, warning him, that if it were not done before the 1st of November, he would lead the French troops against him. This threat was followed by an order to disarm the Swiss; and, the confederate forces being soon dispersed, the chiefs were arrested, and the general received deputies from all parts of Switzerland, who were charged to declare their submission to France.

It is well worthy of observation, that Ney expressed himself after the following manner to the new Swiss government, in quality of ambassador from France:—

"You are, gentlemen, all convinced, that the prosperity which Switzerland enjoyed before the unfortunate epoch of your revolutionary fluctuations, was derived from the innumerable benefits which were conferred on you by the French monarchy, either by defensive treaties of alliance, of commerce, and of military capitulations, or by the imposing force which that monarchy could always display against any power which would dare to make an attempt upon your territory, or on your federal constitution. Well, gentlemen deputies, the same services are offered to you by the first consul: this pledge of esteem which he gives to Switzerland, should convince you of that personal interest which he takes in your future prosperity. He will also place you in circumstances to recover that happy situation due to that moderation and economy which your ancestors had established in your administrations. Days more serene than formerly presage happy times in future; and the first Helvetic diet will have the glorious advantage of having laid the first stone of the political edifice."

When he returned from Switzerland, he was appointed commandant of the *corps d'armée* assembled at Montreuil, for the purpose of invading England. From that place it was that he sent an address to Buonaparte, when he was about to be elected emperor, from which we extract the following:—

"Head-quarters, Montreuil,
11th Floreal, 1804.

"CITIZEN FIRST CONSUL,—The French monarchy has fallen down under the weight of fourteen ages: the sound of its fall has astonished the world, and shaken all the thrones of Europe.

"Abandoned to a total subversion, France has experienced, during ten years of revolution, all the evils which could desolate nations. You have appeared, citizen first consul, shining with glory, sparkling with genius, and at once the storms have been dissipated. Victory has placed you at the helm of government, and justice and peace are your assessors. Already has the recollection of our miseries become weak, and the French people know of no sentiment but that of gratitude."

Shortly after Napoleon's elevation to the imperial dignity, Ney was created a marshal.

In 1805, when the war with Austria broke out, Ney commanded the advanced guard; and entered the neutral territory of the elector of Baden, which he violated, by forcibly entering the hotels of the Swedish and Russian ministers, and seizing all the papers found there belonging to the legations. Fortunately for the persons of the ambassadors, they made their escape the preceding night; their furniture and valuables, however, were made the subject of plunder.

On Ney's arrival at Stutgard, then also a neutral country, still greater violence was offered to the Austrian, Russian, and Swedish ambassadors, resident in that capital.—Not only were their hotels broke into and given up to plunder, but their persons were secured. The persons arrested at Stutgard were, the Austrian envoy, baron de Schrandt, and his three secretaries, Messrs. de Rubry, Steinherr, and Wolff; the Russian envoy, le baron de Maltitz, and his secretaries, Yacowleff and De Struve. These gentlemen were confined for two months in a dungeon at Strasburg. But disregard to the sacredness of neutral territories did not rest here. Ney, who was to have passed by agreement on the side of Stutgard, entered it by force, went to the elector's stables and palace, and carried off every horse in the one, and every thing valuable in the other.

After the capture of Mack's army, at Ulm, Ney was created duke of Elchingen, which place is in the vicinity of Ulm. An anecdote connected with this expedition will shew that Ney added very little to his military fame by the capture of Ulm. He had attached to his army, which formed the advance in the war, a native of Strasburg, of the name of Schulmeister, a man of considerable talents and address, who spoke most modern languages with the fluency of a native, and who acted as principal spy in foreign countries for Buonaparte. Schulmeister got into Ulm by forging a letter, in the name of a Prussian general who commanded at Bayreuth, to Mack. He passed himself off as a Prussian officer; and the letter pretended to give information respecting the violation of the neutral territory of Bayreuth by Bernadotte. His scheme succeeded so completely, that he dined that day with Mack; and, on his return to Ney, the story of his success could not obtain belief from his employer, until he produced some spoons and forks, part of Mack's camp equipage, with his arms engraved on them, and his own gold snuff-box, set with diamonds, and bearing the portrait of the king of Naples, in whose service Mack had been; those Schulmeister purloined after dinner. By this means, Ney got acquainted with the strength of the garrison, and was also able to convince Mack that a French force was crossing the neutral territory of Bayreuth; of which Mack was previously informed by Napoleon, but in whose report he would place no confidence.

Ney was present at the battles of Austerlitz, and, in the years following, in those of Jena, Eylau, and Friedland. After the peace of Tilsit, he remained at Paris; and, shortly before Massena commenced his retreat from Portugal, Ney was sent there as second in command. On his return from Portugal, he commanded in the Russian campaigns; and for his exploits he was created prince of Moskwa. His services on that important occasion, and in the battles of Wurtzen, Bautzen, Leipsic, and Hanau, and afterwards in France, in all of which Ney took a distinguished part, have been already related in our narration of those events.

When the allies entered Paris, Ney was with Napoleon at Fontainbleau; and was sent by him, together with Caulincourt and Macdonald, to the emperor of Russia, to treat about terms of peace, in which he failed: and on his return to Napoleon, he endeavoured to prevail on him to abdicate, and afterwards addressed the following letter to the provisional government.

"*To his serene highness the prince of Beneventum, president of the commission comprising the provisional government.*

"MY LORD,—I proceeded to Paris yesterday, with marshal the duke of Tarentum, and the duke of Vicenza, with full powers to the emperor of Russia to defend the interests of the dynasty of the emperor Napoleon. An unforeseen event broke off the negotiations, which seemed at first to pro-

mise a favourable termination. From that time I saw that, to save our dear country from the frightful evils of civil war, it remained only for the French to embrace the cause of our antient kings, and I repaired to-night to the emperor Napoleon to manifest this wish.

"The emperor, convinced of the critical situation in which he had placed France, and the impossibility of saving her himself, has appeared disposed to resign, and to give in his full and entire abdication. To-morrow I hope to have from him the formal and authentic act, and shall soon afterwards have the honour of waiting upon your lordship. I am, &c.

(Signed) "PRINCE OF MOSKWA.

"Fontainbleau, April 5, 1814, at half-past 11 at night."

In the treaty of Fontainbleau, marshal Ney was one of the subscribers on the part of Napoleon; after which, he appeared zealously to devote his whole time to the cause of Louis XVIII.; but, if he was not privy to the conspiracy of Napoleon, it is evident he was secretly attached to his cause, and that he only waited for an opportunity of betraying his master.

When Louis XVIII. arrived at Compiegne, after his restoration, Ney, with the other French marshals, was introduced to him; on which occasion his majesty was addressed by Berthier in the name of the rest. To this address the king answered, that he saw the marshals of France with pleasure, and that he counted upon the sentiments of love and fidelity which they expressed in the name of the French armies. His majesty caused the name of each marshal to be repeated to him. The king stood up, although suffering with the gout; and, at the moment when his grand officers approached to give him their hands, his majesty, laying hold of the arms of the two marshals who were next to him, exclaimed, with an overflow of heart—

"It is on you, gentlemen marshals, that I wish always to support myself; approach, and encircle me: you have always been good Frenchmen. I trust that France will never have occasion for your swords again; but if ever we shall be forced to draw them, which God forbid, gouty as I am, I will march with you."

"Sire," replied the marshals, "your majesty may consider us as the pillars of your throne—we wish to be its firmest support."

The king withdrew, and the marshals were afterwards presented to the duchess of Angouleme, and to their serene highnesses the prince of Condé and the duke of Bourbon. The king did the marshals the honour of inviting them to dinner. His majesty, at the commencement of the repast, said—"Gentlemen marshals, I wish to drink with you to the French armies." A feeling of respect withheld the marshals, who, in the moment of their enthusiasm, wished to give the health of the king in return, but by a spontaneous movement their hearts gave it in silence. All their looks were fixed on his majesty and his august family. After dinner the marshals followed the king, who condescended to call them successively by name, and conversed with each, expressing his sense of the part they had borne in sustaining the glory of the French armies, and declaring the confidence that he had in the fidelity of all. From this interview it appears, that the most unbounded confidence was reposed by the king on these military chieftains.

The favours conferred after this period upon marshal Ney were without number; for, by a decree of the 20th of May, he was appointed commandant-in-chief of the royal corps of cuirassiers, light horse, and lancers of France; and, by an ordonnance of the 2d of June following, he received the cross of the military order of St. Louis; and on the 6th of the same month was created a peer of France!!!

His conduct during the short period of Louis's government was marked with the most abject servility; but his sincerity was much doubted by the Parisians. It was reported that it was the king's intention to have his feet washed, on Good Friday, by twelve pilgrims, who were to represent the twelve disciples. Ney was honoured with an anonymous note, desiring him to give his attendance, in order that he might act the part of Judas. This letter was addressed "*Marechal Ney, Hotel de Judas, Rue de Lille.*"

His conduct too fully justified the suspicions of his enemies. On the 9th of March he hastened to the Thuilleries, threw himself at the feet of the king, and besought his majesty to employ him "in the impious war which the brigand, arrived from the island of Elba, had commenced." Half drawing his sword from his scabbard, he solemnly pledged himself, "to bring Napoleon to Paris, dead or alive;" adding, that "he ought to be brought in an iron cage." To this declaration the king replied with mild dignity, that this was not what he required, and that he only desired the marshal to beat back the invader. Ney applauded his magnanimity, and represented that the usual equipment expenses, amounting to 50,000 livres, granted to each marshal at the commencement of an enterprise, would be necessary to his success. The king thought the sum too small, and gave an unlimited order on the treasury. He took advantage of his sovereign's liberality, and departed with one million of livres.

Though it was greatly apprehended that the spirit of disaffection had pervaded the army in general, it was hoped that a part would yet be found faithful among the faithless. The knowledge that armies were placed in front, on the flanks, and in the rear, cheered the drooping spirits of the Parisian loyalists, who, applauding the devotion of the national guard, rather than confiding in their prowess, saw with satisfaction the departure of the marshals to head the armies, and particularly of the prince of Moskwa. So strongly was the fidelity of the general impressed upon the mind of Louis himself, that meeting madame Ney, two days after the departure of her husband, he said, "Madame, you have a protector whose loyalty is equal to his courage."

On the 12th of March Ney arrived at Lons le Saulnier, assembled his staff, and harangued them in the royal cause. It was evidently his object to ascertain their sentiments, and to recede or persevere in his intention to join Napoleon, as he should find himself supported. To his declamatory speech, in favour of the royal cause, the officers made no reply, but maintained a cold and obstinate silence. A small number repeated their vows of fidelity, but the majority indicated, by their conduct and demeanour, that they fully understood the intentions of Ney, and were resolved to be guided by his example. That their treachery might be performed with all possible theatrical effect, the silence of the officers was only the signal of a still more vehement and more loyal address, in which he eulogised the virtues of Louis, and contrasted the mild and paternal sway of that beloved and benevolent monarch with the despotism of Buonaparte. His auditors listened with impatience. "True," they exclaimed, "it is our duty to obey; but whom? The general whose courage we have witnessed, or the prince who is merely legitimate. We will obey Napoleon, elected by the people, beloved by the army, and who governs in the name of liberty and victory." The marshal retired in apparent agitation.—During the night he granted an interview to the emissaries of Buonaparte, who had been sent to meet him. They presented him letters from the grand marshal, Bertrand, which described, in animated language, the hopeless situation of the king, and the certainty of the emperor's success. They assured him that Buonaparte had concerted this enterprize with Austria, through the medium of general Koller, that the empress and her son were on the road to Paris, that England had connived at his escape, that Murat advanced triumphantly towards Italy to assist his brother-in-law. These representations coincided too well with the views and inclinations of the marshal: and, in order to reconcile his duty to the nation with his desertion to the invader, he addressed a letter to Napoleon, of which the following is an extract:—

"I am induced to join you, neither by respect for your character, nor attachment to your person. You have been the tyrant of my country. You have carried destruction into every family, and despair into the greater part. You have troubled the peace of the whole world. Swear to me, since fate has recalled you, that you will employ the future in repairing the evils which you have brought on France. Swear that you will live for the happiness of the people. I charge you to take up arms for this purpose alone, to preserve our country from invasion and dismem-

berment, and never to pass our natural limits again to attempt useless and fatal conquests. On these conditions I consent to join you, to preserve my country from the agonizing struggles with which it is menaced."

On the succeeding day he published the following proclamation:

"MARSHAL PRINCE OF THE MOSKWA TO THE TROOPS UNDER HIS ORDERS.

"Officers, Subalterns, and Soldiers!

"The cause of the Bourbons is for ever lost. The ligitimate dynasty which the French nation adopted is about to re-ascend the throne. To the emperor Napoleon, our sovereign, it alone belongs to reign over our fine country. Of what consequence is it to us whether the *noblesse* of the Bourbons again expatriate themselves, or consent to live in the midst of us? The sacred cause of liberty, and of our independence, will no longer suffer under their fatal influence.—They wished to degrade our military glory: but they have been deceived. That glory is the fruit of labours too noble to permit us ever to lose its remembrance.

"Soldiers! The times are gone when people were governed by strangling their rights; liberty at length triumphs, and Napoleon, our august emperor, will establish it for ever. Henceforth let that noble cause be ours, and that of all Frenchmen. A truth so grand must penetrate the hearts of those brave men whom I have the honour to command.

"Soldiers! I have often led you to victory: I wish to lead you to that immortal phalanx which the emperor conducts to Paris, and which will be there in a few days, when our hopes and happiness will be for ever realized. *Vive l'Empereur.*

"PRINCE OF THE MOSKWA,
Marshal of the Empire.
"*Lons le Saulnier, March* 13, 1815."

If any excuse can be admitted for the hypocrisy displayed by Ney in his servile and solemn assurances to the king, and his subsequent violation of promises so sacred, it must be found in the influence of his wife. and the attachment of that lady to Napoleon, In the singular vicissitudes of fortune that attended the revolution, she was transferred from a boarding school, kept by her aunt, at St. Germain, to mingle in the first society of Paris, and after incurring the suspicion of an illicit amour with Louis Buonaparte, a suspicion falsified by her future reception at court, accepted the hand of marshal Ney. She was lady of honour to the empress Josephine, and retained her situation under the empress Maria Louisa, a female of virtuous morals, exemplary habits, and too circumspect in her demeanour to have retained so near her person an attendant of suspicious character.

CHAP. VII.——1815.

Progress of Napoleon from Lyons.—Grand defection of the troops at Melun.—Departure of Louis.—Entrance of Buonaparte into Paris.—Attempt to carry off the king of Rome.—Declaration of the allies at Vienna.—Treaty of the 25th of March, 1815.—*Preparations for war.—Sensations excited in England by the intelligence of Buonaparte's escape.—Message from the Prince Regent.—The conflict of political opinions.*

HAD the political and military partisans of Napoleon at once avowed their attachment to the emperor, and disclaimed the authority of Louis, as established by the tyrannical dictates of an hostile coalition, they might have justly claimed the praise of magnanimity, whatever might be thought of their errors, as Frenchmen, and as the sworn defenders of the legitimate sovereign. But many atrocious examples occurred, in which

the divisions of the army endeavoured to conceal their treasonable designs beneath the mask of ardent and inflexible loyalty. The garrisons of the north, at the moment when they were preparing to co-operate with the troops of Buonaparte, sent deputies professing their fidelity. Marshal Oudinot assembled the garrison of Metz, amounting to 13,000 men, and received from them an unanimous oath in favour of the king. The old guard, with a reprehensible pretence of humility and forbearance, replied to the marshal's exhortations, "He (Louis) has not used us well; he has degraded us from our rank of guards, and has shewn that he distrusted our honour; but we will prove to him, and to France, that we can be as generous as others are unjust." How disgracefully this pledge of fidelity was violated, by a large majority of these troops, will be hereafter seen; but the intelligence of their conduct so much satisfied and delighted Louis, that he commanded a general promotion throughout their ranks, placed them on permanent pay, and directed them to proceed by forced marches to do the duty of his palace. The intelligence at the same time received from Lisle was more alarming, but less characteristic of deliberate wickedness. Count Erlon had induced a considerable number of the troops stationed in that city to favour the enterprise of Napoleon. The conspiracy was disclosed to marshal Mortier, who caused count Erlon to be arrested, tried, and condemned to death. He was led to the square of the citadel, his eyes were bandaged, a file of soldiers was drawn up before him, they presented their musquets, and the fatal signal was momentarily expected; but before the word was given the troops suddenly arose against Mortier, and declared Erlon commander of the fortress. The latter immediately released Mortier and sent him to Paris.

The chambers of peers and of deputies embraced the most extravagant and bigotted ideas of the kingly prerogative, and the violence of their proceedings tended to alienate the affections of the people from the government. Had Louis, in the present emergency, been guided by their councils, his flight from the capital would have been attended by acts of inhumanity, and of despotic oppression, the remembrance of which would have for ever prevented his re-establishment on the throne. He displayed, in the present moment of adversity, an energy and good sense which had not always distinguished the few months of his prosperity, and was justly convinced that there could be no final security for the present influence, or future restoration of his family, but in his strict adherence to the constitution, which he had sworn to preserve inviolate.

The violent aristocrats, and the adherents to arbitrary government, under all its modifications of religious intolerance and feudal tyranny, were equally irritated and astonished, when Louis announced his intention to attend at one of the sittings of the two chambers, surrounded by the princes of the blood, and there repeat, in the most solemn and unequivocal manner, his acceptance of the constitutional charter, and his determination to respect the rights and property of the citizens. Their opposition to this measure, and their efforts to dissuade him from its performance were equally vehement and ineffectual. As the most sanguine hopes of the invader rested upon the fears and suspicions which unfortunately prevailed, it was obvious to the king that his defeat could only be ensured by the prompt removal of those fears.

On the 16th of March the king went in great state to the hall of the deputies. The chamber of peers had been invited to assist at the sitting. Louis was received with the most lively testimonies of affection and respect. He placed himself on the throne, and thus addressed the assembly:

"Gentlemen! In this momentous crisis, when the public enemy has penetrated into a part of the kingdom, and threatens the liberty of the remainder, I come in the midst of you to draw closer those ties which unite us together, and which constitute the strength of the state. I come, in addressing myself to you, to declare to all France my sentiments and my wishes.

"I have revisited my country, and reconciled her to all foreign nations, who will doubtless maintain with the utmost fidelity those treaties which had restored to us peace. I have laboured for the benefit of my people, I have received, and still continue daily to

receive, the most striking proofs of their love. Can I, then, at sixty years of age, better terminate my career than by dying in their defence?—I fear nothing for myself, but I fear for France. He who comes to light again amongst us the torch of civil war brings with him also the scourge of foreign war. He comes to reduce our country under his iron yoke. He comes, in short, to destroy that constitutional charter which I have given you,—that charter, my brightest title to the estimation of posterity,—that charter which all Frenchmen cherish, and which I here swear to maintain. Let us rally, therefore, around it! let it be our sacred standard! The descendants of Henry the Fourth will be the first to range themselves under it. They will be followed by all good Frenchmen. In short, gentlemen, let the concurrence of the two chambers give to authority all the force that is necessary; and this war, truly national, will prove by its happy termination what a great nation, united in its love to its king and to its laws, can effect."

At the close of this address the whole assembly rose, and extending their hands towards the throne, exclaimed with one voice, "The king for ever!—We will die for the king.—The king in life and in death!"

It was long before order could be restored; when a motion of Monsieur to approach the king commanded the most profound silence. He advanced to the foot of the throne, and spoke to the following effect:—

"Sire! I know that I depart from ordinary rules in here addressing your majesty; but I beg you will excuse me, and permit me, in my own name, and in that of my family, to say how much we participate, to the bottom of our hearts, in the sentiments and principles which animate your majesty."

The prince, on turning again towards the assembly, added, raising his hand, "We swear on our honour to live and die faithful to our king, and to the constitutional charter, which secures the happiness of the French!"

We shall not attempt to delineate the theatrical and affected style in which this address was received: the caresses lavished on the sovereign by the count d'Artois, or the embraces of the members who composed the assembly. In the political exhibitions of the French there is an indecency of which manhood should be ashamed, and which only tends to supply the place of virtuous sincerity, by violence of gesture, affected tears, and ostentatious sensibility. On the departure of the king the chambers voted an affectionate and respectful address, which is chiefly remarkable for its acknowledgment of those violent and arbitrary principles which the common voice of every free people has combined to reprobate.

"But, Sire," says this document, "these protestations of our hearts will not suffice. We entreat your majesty to permit us to propose to your gracious consideration the means which we deem proper to restore more and more the public hopes. While the chambers will lend to the government, to which the salvation of France is confided, the entire strength of the nation, your faithful subjects are convinced that the government will confide, for the public weal, in men at once energetic and moderate, whose names alone are a *guarantee for all interests and an answer to all inquietude.* In men who, having been at various periods the defenders of the principles of justice and liberty, with which the heart of your majesty is penetrated, and which form the patrimony of the nation, are equally the pillar of the stability of the throne, and of the principles which the public enemy would annihilate."

On the following day, general Angier pronounced a discourse, in which he declared officially, that, "the inconsiderate acts of the ministry would not be repeated."

The king alludes to this in his proclamation, dated Cambray, June 28th, when he was on his return to Paris. "My government may have committed faults. Perhaps it has. There are times when the purest intentions are insufficient to direct us, and sometimes even they go astray. Experience alone can teach them, and it shall not be lost."

M. Sartelon suggested a law, which was immediately adopted, relative to the recruiting and organization of the army, conformably to the 12th article of the constitutional charter, which declared that every officer should retain his rank and pay. It was una-

nimously agreed that the rank of lieutenant should be granted to all the subaltern officers; and that no officers should be removed, or cashiered, but by the forms of law. These regulations, though judicious in themselves, were mere confessions of the abuses existing in the army, which it was not attempted to correct till the time of danger awakened the royalists to a sense of their own erroneous measures.

Field-marshal Augier proposed, in general resolutions, which were passed by acclamation, that the war should be called national, that the whole population should be roused to arms, that recompences should be granted to all who combated for their country, their sovereign, and their liberties; that those who had been seduced by the invader should be restored to their rank, and receive free and absolute pardon, if within four days they returned to their duty; and that those who persisted in their attachment to Napoleon's person should be denounced as traitors and enemies to their country. The king, having sanctioned these resolutions, reviewed the troops of the line, consisting of 6000, who were drawn up in the place de Carousal. On their fidelity depended the fate of the Bourbon dynasty, and he approached them with anxiety. His suspense was of short duration. The grenadiers of the first regiment elevated their caps on the points of their bayonets, but they uttered no shout, and their example was followed throughout the line. Louis was evidently and deeply affected. He attempted to address them, but could only pronounce a few incoherent and unintelligible words. He laid his hand upon his heart, and, silently appealing to their loyalty and affection, retired in despair.

The confidence of his advisers was not diminished by this decisive proof that the troops were universally and enthusiastically devoted to Napoleon. Twenty-eight thousand men had been assembled, by the exertions of the French princes, at Melun, while it was ascertained that the numbers of Napoleon, after advancing from Lyons, only amounted to 14,000 men. The king made one last effort to recal the army to its duty, and on the morning of the 18th published the following affecting proclamation, written with his own hand:—

"Officers! I have answered for your fidelity to all France. You will not falsify the word of your king. Reflect that, if the enemy should triumph, civil war will be lighted up among you, and that at the same moment 300,000 foreigners, whose arms I could no longer check, would pour down on all sides of our country. Conquer or die! Let this be our war-cry.

"And you who, at this moment, follow other standards, I see in you only deluded children. Abjure your errors, and throw yourselves into the arms of your father. I engage my faith that every thing shall be forgotten. Expect, all of you, the rewards and distinctions which your fidelity and services shall merit."

The councils of the Thuilleries were distracted by the opposing feelings, and views of policy, entertained by the princes, the ministers, and the generals. The courtiers, and one of the princes, vehemently enforced the necessity of exterminating Napoleon and his followers. The generals regarded all resistance as utterly hopeless, and as an unnecessary waste of blood; and the ministers hinted their intention to resign. The disunion among the confidential advisers, and the nearest relatives of the king, completed his misfortunes, and no resource remained but to abandon the capital with the utmost promptitude.

After remaining two days at Lyons, Napoleon departed for Villefranche, and reached Maçon in the evening. On the 15th he slept at Autun, and on the 16th at Avallon. His travelling equipage was an open chariot, escorted sometimes by a dozen dragoons, and sometimes by a single attendant. His motions were so rapid and so careless that the smallest detachment, or a groupe of peasants, might have opposed his progress, or secured his person. Bertrand, and the rest of his confidential friends, expostulated with the emperor on the dangers to which he was exposed by his neglect of precaution. "Louis XVIII." he replied, "has been called Louis *desiré*, I wish to prove which is the real *desiré*."

He was met near Lyons by a body of troops collected for the avowed purpose of opposing him. He no sooner discerned the dragoons at a distance, than he quitted his carriage, mounted a horse, and, attended by a single aid-de-camp, rushed forward to meet them. He advanced, and without one word of preface, ordered the regiment to break into column and follow him. The order was obeyed with as much precision and regularity as if they were on parade.

In his progress to Fontainbleau, he endeavoured to gratify his own passion for display, and to conciliate the affections of the people, by dispensing his smiles, his caresses, or his assurances of favour, and by distributing, with as much profusion as the prince regent of England has lately displayed, the crosses of the legion of honour. He was accompanied in every stage of his rout, not only by the most respectable agriculturists of the adjacent provinces, but by a motley and infuriate multitude, whose clamours of applause and enthusiasm immediately subsided, on waving his hand, or opening his lips. On the 17th of March he entered Auxerre, where the 14th regiment of the line welcomed his arrival with reiterated shouts, and trampled under foot the white cockade, which a few short months before they had sworn to revere. His demeanour to these troops evinced his usual adroitness and versatility of address.—He accosted an old soldier, who was decorated with three medals, and asked him, in a familiar tone, what was the duration of his service. The veteran replied, "Twenty-five years, sire;" "Ah, I recollect," interrupted Buonaparte, "we were together at Rivoli, where we took seven pieces of cannon."—"Yes, sire." "I see then," answered Napoleon, "that you are a good soldier, and I will take care of you."

On the 19th, at night, he turned off the great road, to sleep at Fontainbleau, determined, as he confessed, that the palace which had witnessed his misfortunes, should first receive him in this moment of success. His army, during the hours of his repose, advanced in the direction of Melun.

The number of national guards, volunteers, and other troops, collected at Melun, to stop the march of Buonaparte, was not less than 100,000 men. The best spirit seemed to prevail amongst them. They appeared devoted to the cause of the king, and eager to meet and repel his antagonist. A powerful artillery strengthened their positions. Relying on their numbers, they had left the town, the rocks, and the forest of Fontainbleau, unguarded; preferring the flat plains of Melun, where the whole of their army might act at once against the comparatively small band of the invader. Ney, whose corps is stated to have amounted to 30,000 men, had previously communicated to the court the declaration, signed by the whole army under his command, both officers and privates; in which they stated, "that they respected him too much to deceive him; that they would not fight for Louis the XVIIIth. but that they would shed all their blood for *Napoleon the Great*." This declaration did not entirely extinguish the hopes of the Bourbons. They still relied on the good disposition and numbers of the troops at Melun; and, blinded by the addresses sent up from many garrisons and provinces, at the very moment of their defection, still thought that their cause would be espoused by the nation as her own. Early on the morning of Monday the 20th, preparations were made on both sides for the encounter which was expected to take place. The French army was drawn up *en etages* on three lines, the intervals and the flanks armed with batteries. The centre occupied the Paris road. The ground from Fontainbleau to Melun is a continual declivity; so that, on emerging from the forest, you have a clear view of the country before you; whilst, on the other hand, those below can easily descry whatever appears on the eminence. An awful silence, broken only at times by peals of martial music, intended to confirm the loyalty of the troops, by repeating the royal airs of *Vive Henri Quatre*, and *La Belle Gabrielle*, or by the voice of their commanders, and the march of divisions to their appointed ground, pervaded the king's army. All was anxious expectation; the chiefs, conscious that a moment would decide the fate of the Bourbon dynasty; and the troops, perhaps secretly awed at the thought of meeting in hostility the man whom they

had been accustomed to obey. On the side of Fontainbleau no sound, as of an army rushing to battle, was heard. If the enemy was advancing, his troops evidently moved in silence. Perhaps his heart had failed him, and he had retreated during the night. If so, France was saved, and Europe free. At length a light trampling of horses became audible. It approached: an open carriage, attended by a few hussars and dragoons, appeared on the skirts of the forest. It drove down the hills with the rapidity of lightning: it reached the advanced posts—"Long live the Emperor!" burst from the astonished soldiery. "Napoleon! Napoleon the Great!" spread from rank to rank; for, bareheaded, Bertrand seated at his right, and Drouet at his left, Napoleon continued his course, now waving his hand, now opening his arms to the soldiers; whom he called "his friends, his companions in arms, whose honour, whose glories, whose country he now came to restore." All discipline was forgotten, disobeyed, and insulted; the commanders-in-chief took to flight; thousands rushed on his passage; acclamations rent the sky. At that moment his own guard descended the hill—the imperial march was played—the eagles were once more exhibited, and those whose deadly weapons were to have aimed at each other's life, embraced as brothers, and joined in universal shouts. In the midst of these acclamations Napoleon passed through the whole of the royal army, and, placing himself at its head, pursued his course to Paris.

Gloomily arose the morning of the 20th of March to the royalists of Paris. It was known that Louis had left his capital at midnight, in consequence of the most urgent persuasions, and with extreme reluctance. He wished to have awaited till the last moment, or rather to have awaited the coming of the invader; and he often repeated the noble and affecting language which he had used at the meeting of the deputies, "Can I better terminate my career of sixty years, than by ending my life in defence of my people." No heart was unmoved at the affecting detail of his departure. The national guard at the Thuilleries melted into tears at the sight of their unfortunate monarch, as he descended the steps of the chateau. They knelt as he passed through their ranks, pressed to their lips his hands, kissed the flaps of his coat, and, conjuring him not to depart, declared that they were ready to sacrifice their lives in his defence. The king endeavoured to calm their emotion, by expressing his belief that he should again return to the palace of his fathers; while the count d'Artois, deeply dejected, mingled his tears with those of these faithful citizens. Had this intrepid band of loyal and virtuous individuals been stationed at Melun, instead of the troops of the line, the enterprise of Napoleon might have been defeated, without the expense of blood and treasure, and the exhaustion of national resources that has since attended his discomfiture, and his second exile. The household troops testified the sincerity of their zeal by accompanying their monarch in his flight.

The agitation of Louis previous to his departure was so unworthy of his station, and of the difficulties which surrounded him, that his port-folio, containing his correspondence for many years with the duchess of Angouleme, was found in his apartment; his drawers contained the letters of Louis the XVI. and many important documents, calculated to endanger the safety of many individuals. Nor were his humanity and benevolence less conspicuous than his indiscretion. The duchess of Lerment was the favourite of Maria Antoinette, and governess of the duchess d'Angouleme. Age, sickness, and sorrow, had conspired to enfeeble her body and her mind. She had lately lost her only daughter, who was burned to death, and was now reduced to a state of mental imbecility. With a magnanimity, and spirit of grateful tenderness, which in former kings would have conferred upon its possessor the attributes of a saint and a hero, he offended the pride, and sacrificed the friendship, of a favourite general, by insisting that she should be accommodated with his place in the sovereign's private carriage.

During the preceding day, the people of Paris had been agitated by doubt, fear, hope, and anxiety; but the fatal certainty had not reached them. Their king was a fugitive, and the invader was hastening to fill the va-

cant throne. All the authorities were withdrawn, yet the most perfect and mournful tranquillity for a while prevailed. The bank continued its payments as usual, and business was conducted in its customary channels. At the decline of day the city assumed a different aspect, and tumultuous crowds assembled to support the opposite pretensions of Louis and Napoleon by acts of violence. The national guard, to prevent the effusion of blood, and brobably resenting the departure of their sovereign, assumed the tricoloured cockade. Early the next morning the shopkeepers were busily employed in changing their signs. Every where the crested lilly disappeared, and the victorious eagle again stretched over the portals his terrific wings.

The violet, that lovely and earliest flower of spring, the symbol of timid beauty, and the soft harbinger of summer, had been transferred into the badge of a military conspiracy. The army, who were initiated into the secret of Buonaparte's intended return in spring, had applied to him the appellation of "Our father Violet." Rings of a violet colour were worn by his party, and the name of the violet was pronounced, with other words of mysterious import, and veiled, like the modest flower itself, from general observation. But on the morning of 21st of March the triumphant violet appeared glaring in the button-hole of every Buonapartist's coat, or placed in his hat with all the ostentation of an order, or a cockade.

At two o'clock general Excelmans arrived at the Thuilleries, and relieving the national guard, tore down the flag of the Bourbons, and hoisted that of the invader. This was the signal for greater tumult. The cries of "the King for ever" were no longer heard, but crowds of the lower classes filled the squares, vociferating "The Emperor for ever." The more respectable classes of citizens wese silent spectators, and the national guard preserved a melancholy silence. The inhabitants of the suburbs of St. Marceau and St. Antoine, assembled in the Carousal, and endeavoured to break open the gates which separate that square from the courts of the palace, resolving to level the late residence of Louis with the ground. Their attempt was bafiled by the firmness and intrepidity of the national guard.

Early in the morning of the 20th the following proclamation was found placarded on the walls of Paris:

"Louis, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre, to our trusty and well-beloved the peers of France, and the deputies of the departments:—

"Divine Providence, who recalled us to the throne of our fathers, now permits that this throne should be shaken by the defection of a part of the armed force who had sworn to defend it. We might avail ourselves of the faithful and patriotic dispositions of the immense majority of the inhabitants of Paris, to dispute the entrance of the rebels into it: but we shudder at the calamities of every description which a combat within its walls would bring upon the citizens.

"We retire with a few brave men whom intrigue and perfidy will not succeed in detaching from their duties; and since we cannot defend our capital, we will proceed to some distance to collect forces, and to seek at another point of the kingdom, not for subjects more loving and faithful than our good Parisians, but for Frenchmen more advantageously situated to declare themselves in favour of the good cause.

"The existing crisis will subside into a calm. We have the soothing presentiment, that those deluded soldiers, whose defection exposes our subjects to so many dangers, will soon discover their error, and will find in our indulgence, and in our affection, the recompence of their return to their duty.

"We will soon return into the midst of this good people, to whom we shall once more bring peace and happiness.

"For these causes we declare and ordain as follows:—

"Art. 1. In virtue of the 30th article of the constitutional charter, and the 4th article of the second title of the law of the 14th of August, 1814, the session of the chamber of peers, and that of the deputies, for 1814, are declared at an end. The peers and the deputies shall forthwith separate.

"2. We convoke a new session of the chamber of peers, and the session for 1815

of the deputies. The peers and the deputies of the departments shall meet at the soonest possible period, in the place which we shall point out as the provisional seat of our government. Any assembly of either chamber held elsewhere, without our authority, is from this moment declared null and illegal.

"3. Our chancellor and ministers are each, in what concerns him, charged with the execution of the present proclamation, which shall be communicated to both chambers, published and posted up in Paris, and in the departments, and forwarded to all the prefects, sub-prefects, courts, and tribunals of the kingdom.

"Given at Paris, the 19th of March, in the year of our Lord 1815, and the *twentieth* of our reign."

It must be observed, that Louis XVIII. dates his accession from the death of the Dauphin.

On perusing the journals of the 20th and 21st of March, we seem to read the history of two different nations. In the former 30,000 national guards, 3000 volunteers, and 10,000 students of all classes, join in uttering cries of rage and hatred towards the invader; in the latter they all rejoice at his appearance. The very individuals who, two days before, had professed to Louis the most fervent attachment, and unalterable fidelity, hastened from Paris to meet the emperor, to congratulate him on his arrival, and to form his escort. He declined their services with politeness, and continued his journey in the same vehicle, and with the same attendants, as had accompanied his route from Lyons. The day closed, and Napoleon had not yet appeared. He had lingered on the road to avoid the pressure and the familiarity of the multitude. At nine o'clock he entered the city in his travelling carriage, attended by an escort of twenty men, and was not recognized till he had reached the Thuilleries, where he was received by the populace with their accustomed enthusiasm. His companions forced a passage through the crowd, and bore him to the state apartments, where his sisters Julia and Hortensia, the officers of his household, and other adherents, were assembled to receive him. In the morning the newspapers, which on the preceding day had strenuously advocated the cause of Louis, were printed with the stamp of the eagle, and proclaimed in the most pompous style the entry of Napoleon into his capital. Tumult and disorder prevailed in the streets, which were soon filled with newly arrived troops, and the soldiers and populace were alike decorated with a bunch of violets.

Thus was accomplished a great and extraordinary revolution, which more resembled a theatrical illusion than the actual occurrence of real events. The journey of Buonaparte from Cannes to Paris is without parallel in history, and much beyond the limits of probable fiction. Every soldier sent against him joined his forces. Where resistance seemed for a moment to be threatened, it was disarmed by the sound of his voice. The ascendancy of a victorious leader over soldiers, the talent of moving armed multitudes by a word, the inextinguishable attachment of an army to him in whom its glory is concentrated and embodied, were never before so brilliantly and tremendously exemplified. Civilized society was never before so terribly warned of the force of the military virtues, which are the greatest civil vices. In twenty days he found himself quietly seated on the throne of France, without having spilled a drop of blood. The change had no resemblance to a revolution in other European countries, where great bodies of men are interested in the preservation of authority, and where every such body takes some interest for or against political changes. It was a bloodless and orderly military sedition. In the levity with which authority was transferred it bore some resemblance to an oriental revolution, but the total absence of those great characteristic features, the murder and imprisonment of princes, destroyed the likeness. It was, in fact, an event of which the scene could have been laid, even by the most fanciful romance writer, in no other time and country than France, at the commencement of the year 1815.

After arranging their respective shares in the partition of Europe, the confederate monarchs had declared their intention to depart from Vienna, and their time was intended to be passed, during the remainder of their re-

sidence, in superb entertainments and luxurious festivities. The capital of Austria reminded the spectator of a Venetian carnival, and the sovereigns, the ministers, and the plenipotentiaries, appeared to derive so much satisfaction from the result of the congress, that the usual reserve and austerity of diplomatic intercourse gave place to gaiety of manners and licentiousness of enjoyment. In the midst of their exultation and self-complacency they were at once awakened to a sense of the injustice they had committed, and the danger they had incurred, by the unexpected and appalling information that Buonaparte had landed in France, on his way to Paris. The Persian monarch when, in the moment of convivial luxury, he beheld the writing on the wall, "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin," was not affected by more acute emotions of alarm, astonishment, and perplexity, than marked the demeanour of the allied sovereigns on receiving this intelligence. All the forms and ceremonials of diplomacy were immediately re-assumed; Vienna presented, for the second time, the aspect of one large post-office, from which couriers, messengers, and confidential agents, were hourly dispatched; and the amusements and frivolities of the ball-room yielded to more serious objects of royal and ministerial attention. Their first declaration of hostility against Buonaparte indicated, by its early appearance, and by the tenor of its language, how deeply they felt the probability of danger, and how closely they were united by their common fears. The principle upon which this document was framed cannot, however, be disputed. Napoleon had broken the treaty of Fontainbleau, which they had pledged themselves to guarantee: at the head of an armed force he was seeking to regain the throne which they had compelled him to abdicate, and they had reason to fear that, successful in this enterprise, he would disregard the treaties by which Louis was bound, which had rendered France no longer an object of terror and suspicion, and that the result of all their deliberations would be endangered or destroyed. They were as yet unacquainted with his professions of regard to liberty, and his concessions to the people: he *might have been* corrected by adversity, but it was still more probable that he *had not*; it was not for them to balance the scale of possible contingencies, when the danger was evident and immediate; and when the decision of their conduct was the only security for its success.

In conformity with these impressions, they published on the 13th of March, two days after they had been informed of his landing at Frejus, the following declaration:—

"The powers who have signed the treaty of Paris, assembled at the congress of Vienna, being informed of the escape of Napoleon Buonaparte, and of his entrance into France with an armed force, owe it to their own dignity, and the interest of social order, to make a solemn declaration of the sentiments which this event has excited in them.

"By thus breaking the convention which had established him in the island of Elba, Buonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended; and, by appearing again in France, with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe that there can be neither peace nor truce with him.

"The powers consequently declare, That Napoleon Buonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; and that, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance.

"They declare at the same time, that, firmly resolved to maintain entire the treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, and those which they have resolved on, or shall hereafter resolve on, to complete and to consolidate it, they will employ all their means, and will unite all their efforts, that the general peace, the object of the wishes of Europe, and the constant purpose of their labours, may not again be troubled; and to provide against every attempt which shall threaten to replunge the world into the disorders and miseries of revolutions.

"And although entirely persuaded that all France, rallying round its legitimate sovereign, will immediately annihilate this last attempt of a criminal and impotent delirium,

all the sovereigns of Europe, animated by the same sentiments, and guided by the same principles, declare, that if, contrary to all calculations, there should result from this event any real danger, they will be ready to give to the king of France, and to the French nation, or to any other government that shall be attacked, as soon as they shall be called upon, all the assistance requisite to restore public tranquillity, and to make a common cause against all those who should undertake to compromise it.

"The present declaration, inserted in the register of the congress assembled at Vienna on the 13th of March, 1815, shall be made public.

"Done and attested by the plenipotentiaries of the high powers who signed the treaty of Paris, Vienna, March 13, 1815."

Here follow the signatures in the alphabetical order of the courts:—

Austria	Prince Metternich
	Baron Wissenberg
France	Prince Talleyrand
	The Duke of Dalberg
	Latour du Pin
Great Britain	Wellington
	Clancarty
	Cathcart
	Stewart
Portugal	Count Pamella Saldonha Lobe
Prussia	Prince Hardenberg
	Baron Humboldt
Russia	Count Rasumowsky
	Count Staeckelberg
	Count Nesselrode
Spain	P. Gomez Labrador
Sweden	Laemenhelm.

The language of this document deserves, for its violence and indecency, the most severe reprobation; but its justice, as an act of policy, is too evident to be denied. Buonaparte had annulled the rights which the treaty of Fontainbleau had given him, and had, by the violation of its conditions, again placed himself in a state of hostility with the confederate powers. It is not the duty of one political party to await the plea of the opponent, when he has evidently broken the stipulations of the contract. The future measures of the allies might be afterwards influenced by any justification he might in future prefer, but the actual and necessary mode of procedure was to complain of and denounce the breach of treaty. The rumours circulated throughout Europe, by the emissaries of Napoleon, had rendered such a declaration, on the part of the allies, a measure of self-defence. It was affirmed that Buonaparte was secretly favoured, in the isle of Elba, by friendly communications from more than one of the allied courts, that Austria was his friend, and that, should he venture to pass the limits of his exile, the empress and the king of Rome would be restored to his embraces. England, it was asserted, is jealous of Russia, and the latter power tired and exhausted by the war. Napoleon's return will be the harbinger of peace and freedom. It was necessary to efface these impressions by a decisive and unanimous expression of their sentiments, and of their determination to unite in the common cause of themselves and of Europe.

The finesse of Buonaparte was carried so far as to prepare, and send away, immediately on his return, several state carriages to receive, as he declared, the empress and the young Napoleon. At the same moment an attempt was actually made to carry off his son from the city of Vienna. Several persons arrived in the villages near the outskirt called Schoenbrunn, the residence of the little ex-king of Rome. Among them was count Montesquiou, a near relative of the governess of the child. He obtained access to the palace, and formed, with the domestics, a plan for carrying off the son of Napoleon. The scheme was defeated by the want of presence of mind in one of the conspirators, who being arrested by the police, on suspicion of some other offence, imprudently offered a handful of Napoleons to obtain his escape, a circumstance which excited the attention and suspicion of the officer. They discovered from his confession the nature of the plot, and suffered it to proceed to the moment of completion. Every thing was prepared. A maid had the little Napoleon in her arms, and, attended by one of the chief conspirators, was just stepping into the carriage, when the officers appeared, and the

whole band was arrested. Had the attempt succeeded, the restoration of the child would have been represented as the consequence of the favour of Austria towards its father.

The declarations of the allied powers soon removed the hopes of peace, by which those who were tranquilly disposed had been a short time flattered. A war, of a kind altogether new with respect to the military preparations, was fast approaching, and the address of Chatterton's sir Charles Baudin, to the English, might have been well applied to the people of France.

"Say, were ye tired of godly peace,
And godly Henry's reign,
That you would change your easy days
For those of blood and pain?

Ah! fickle people, ruin'd land,
Thou wilt know peace *noe moe*,
When Richard's sons exalt themselves,
Thy streets with blood shall flow.

On the 25th of March, before the arrival of Buonaparte in the French capital was known at Vienna, but after it became evident that no successful resistance would be opposed to his advance, the following treaty was entered into by the allied powers:—

"His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the king of Prussia, having taken into consideration the consequences which the invasion of France by Napoleon Buonaparte, and the actual situation of that kingdom may produce with respect to the safety of Europe, have resolved, in conjunction with their majesties the emperors of Russia and Austria, to apply to that important circumstance the principles consecrated by the treaty of Chaumont.

"They have consequently resolved to renew by a solemn treaty, signed separately by each of the four powers with each of the three others, the engagement to preserve against every attack the order of things so happily established in Europe, and to determine upon the most effectual means of fulfilling that engagement, as well as giving it all the extension which the present circumstances so imperiously call for.

"Art. 1. The high contracting parties above mentioned solemnly engage to unite the resources of their respective states, for the purpose of maintaining entire the conditions of the treaty of peace concluded at Paris, the 30th of May, 1814, as also the stipulations determined upon and signed at the congress of Vienna, with the view to complete the disposition of that treaty, to preserve them against all infringement, and particularly against the designs of Napoleon Buonaparte. For this purpose they engage, in the spirit of the declaration of the 13th March last, to direct, in common, and with one accord, should the case require it, all their efforts against him, and against all those who may already have joined his faction, or shall hereafter join it, in order to force him to desist from his projects, and to render him unable to disturb in future the tranquillity of Europe and the general peace, under the protection of which, the rights, the liberty, and the independence of nations, had been recently placed and secured.

"2. Although the means destined for the attainment of so great and salutary an object, ought not to be subjected to limitation, and although the high contracting parties are resolved to devote thereto all those means which in their respective situations they are enabled to dispose of; they have, nevertheless, agreed to keep constantly in the field each a force of one hundred and fifty thousand men complete, including cavalry in the proportion of at least one-tenth, and a just proportion of artillery, not reckoning garrisons, and to employ the same actively and conjointly against the common enemy.

"3. The high contracting parties reciprocally engage, not to lay down their arms but by common consent, nor before the object of the war, designated in the first article of the present treaty, shall have been attained, nor until Buonaparte shall have been rendered absolutely unable to create disturbance, and to renew his attempts to possess himself of the supreme power in France.

"4. The present treaty being principally applicable to the present circumstances, the stipulations of the treaty of Chaumont, and particularly those contained in the sixteenth article of the same, shall be again in force as soon as the object actually in view shall have been attained.

"5. Whatever relates to the command of the combined armies, to supplies, &c. shall be regulated by a particular convention.

"6. The high contracting parties shall be allowed respectively to accredit to the generals commanding their armies, officers who shall have the liberty of corresponding with their governments, for the purpose of giving information of military events, and of every thing relating to the operations of the armies.

"7. The engagements entered into by the present treaty having for their object the maintenance of the general peace, the high contracting parties agree to invite all the powers of Europe to accede to the same.

"8. The present treaty having no other end in view but to support France, or any other country which may be invaded, against the enterprises of Buonaparte and his adherents, his most christian majesty shall be specially invited to accede hereunto; and in the event of his majesty requiring the forces stipulated in the second article, to make known what assistance circumstances will allow him to bring forward in furtherance of the object of the present treaty.

"Separate article. As circumstances might prevent his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from keeping constantly in the field the number of troops specified in the second article, it is agreed that his Britannic majesty shall have the option, either of furnishing his contingent in men, or of paying at the rate of thirty pounds sterling per annum for each cavalry soldier, and twenty pounds per annum for each infantry soldier that may be wanting to complete the number stipulated in the second article.

"In testimony whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed and sealed the same."

The 8th article of the treaty, which invites the accession of the king of France, seemed to include a determination in the allies, not merely to attack the usurped power of Buonaparte, but to reinstate the Bourbons on the throne, thus interfering with or denying the right of the French to choose their own form of government.

To force any particular dynasty or form of government on a people is inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the British constitution, and the liberal policy on which it has been the pride of England ever to act: when, therefore, the ratification of the treaty by the prince regent was sent to Vienna, the following explanatory declaration accompanied it,—a declaration highly honourable to the British government:

"DECLARATION.

"The undersigned, on the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty of the 25th of March last, on the part of his court, is hereby commanded to declare, that the 8th article of the said treaty, wherein his most christian majesty is invited to accede under certain stipulations, is to be understood as binding the contracting parties upon principles of mutual security, to a common effort against the power of Napoleon Buonaparte, in pursuance of the 3d article of the said treaty, but is not to be understood as binding his Britannic majesty to prosecute the war, with a view of imposing upon France any particular government.

"However solicitous the prince regent must be to see his most christian majesty restored to the throne, and however anxious he is to contribute, in conjunction with his allies, to so auspicious an event, he nevertheless deems himself called upon to make this declaration on the exchange of the ratifications, as well in consideration of what is due to his most christian majesty's interest in France, as in conformity to the principles upon which the British government has invariably regulated its conduct."

The intelligence of Napoleon's escape from the isle of Elba, arrived at a moment of popular agitation; when the corn bill, so obnoxious to the people, was the subject of parliamentary discussion; and its clamorous opponents endeavoured to intimidate their representatives by illegal violence. The house of lord Castlereagh, in St. James's square, was assailed by the populace, and two attempts were made to destroy the residence of Mr. Robinson, the mover of the bill. In the second of these attacks fire arms

were discharged from the parlour window of Mr. Robinson, which proved fatal to two innocent persons, Mr. Edward Vyse, a midshipman, and a Mrs. Watson. Notwithstanding the tumultuous assemblies of the people, and the general opposition to the bill, it was passed by a large majority, and has equally falsified the prophecies of its advocates and its enemies, by producing no effect whatever on the price of corn. Its enactment, however, in defiance of the unanimous opinion of the nation at large, presented a melancholy proof that the house of commons no longer regards the instructions of its constituents as the guides of its decisions, and that any motion, however pernicious and absurd, if supported by the ministry, will be triumphantly carried by a majority of placemen and pensioners.

In the midst of these civil contentions a bulletin announced the landing of Napoleon on the coast of France. In a moment the internal storm was hushed: astonishment and mute suspense succeeded to the turbulence of popular resentment: the corn bill was forgotten; and the interest excited by the financial measures of the chancellor of the exchequer was absorbed in one universal feeling of alarm and anxiety. A message was immediately transmitted by the prince regent to the houses of parliament, requesting their assistance and advice in this momentous emergency. His appeal was not made in vain. The British ministry was determined on war, and the opposition were divided among themselves with respect to its expedience. A subsidy of five millions was immediately granted to the continental powers. On the 25th of May lord Castlereagh, in moving an address to the prince regent, spoke as follows:—

"No one," he said, "could entertain a more awful sense of the eventful magnitude of the question now brought before the house, or was more seriously impressed with the nature of that determination to which he considered it his duty to persuade the house itself to come. If, however, in performing this task, it was expected that he should enter into all the topics in any way connected with that at present, more immediately as it were in view, it certainly was not his intention so to consume the time, and weary the patience of the house. It was unhappily no longer a novel question, it involved a discussion of principles and a consideration of evils which had long since been in operation, and were unfortunately so still. He should, therefore, rather touch upon certain leading topics, than enter into more minute details; for though he apprehended the matter was important, as to the question in itself, yet, when stripped of all extraneous circumstances, it would be found not of the most complicated kind. He wished, in the first place, to separate from it the topic which had hitherto been admitted to embarrass it; and here he adverted to the objection of its being proper to enter into the merits of this subject, while one of our principal allies had not returned a quite definitive assent on her part. Although from his knowledge of the views of that power, and his confidence in her, this circumstance of a mere informality would have had no weight whatever in his mind, yet he was extremely glad to have it in his power to inform the house that he this morning had exchanged with the ambassador of his imperial majesty, the emperor of Austria, the ratification of the treaty of March 25, which he should have the honour to lay before the house to-morrow.—*(Loud cheers.)* It was accompanied by a note from Prince Metternich, who informed him that the declaration of the 8th, on the part of his Britannic majesty, in explanation of one of the articles of the treaty, met likewise with the perfect concurrence of his court; as, although the emperor of Austria was *irrevocably resolved to concentrate all his forces, for the purpose of putting down Napoleon Buonaparte*, yet he never had intended to wage a war with the design of imposing a form of government on France, however much he desired to see Louis XVIII. established on his hereditary throne. This exchange now having been made, and explanations accepted of, there was no longer the least difficulty on this point. Another and still remaining difficulty he apprehended was, the idea of an address or general assurance of support to the throne, would be a binding down the opinion of Parliament, before they could properly come to a conclusive

judgment. Now there never was an instance of parliament not proceeding to take into their consideration a message from the crown, immediately upon its communication, and giving an assurance of support to the throne. Such was the practice of the house in the case of the grand alliance during the reign of queen Anne; and it was always customary for parliament to act in this manner towards the crown, without at first going into all the stipulations, but acting on the propriety or expediency of the vote submitted to them. Treaties were at such times communicated to the house only to apprise it of the general policy adopted by the crown; and nothing could be more dangerous than for parliament then to go into the whole extent of the measures of the executive government, when it might be ruinous to the country if they were exposed. It was not his intention to deviate from the practice which experience had set before them; he begged in no degree to bring the merits of the treaty of Vienna to an issue now; the vote he should call upon the house to come to, this night, would be of a very different kind. Whatever he himself might feel regarding that treaty, he wished the house to remain master of its own judgment on that question. He trusted, at the same time, that after such a dislocation of Europe, rendering some remedy most necessary, he should not shrink from a justification of that measure, when the proper moment did arrive wherein to make it. It had remained for him only to follow up the plan of the late Mr. Pitt, disclosed in an abstract of the only diplomatic document he had devised, when he contemplated a powerful confederacy of Europe in opposition to the ambition of France, and the security for the future repose, by bringing Prussia in advance on the Rhine. Holland did not indeed form part of his plan; for in his fondest moments that truly great statesman could not imagine that Holland would have attained her present strength and pre-eminence. It was no small satisfaction to him to reflect that he had lived to see the principle of European security, laid down by that eminent man, embodied and executed in every point, even beyond his hopes. Wishing to narrow the question yet before them, the only proposition he should call upon the house to adopt was, whether they would support the executive government in the war in which we were engaged? There was no question as to going to war; we were actually at war, owing to the contravention of the treaty of Paris on the part of France, who had provoked the war; and the simple question was, whether, being at war, we should wage it conjointly with our allies, or separate ourselves from them? He never heard it denied that we had a right to go to war with Buonaparte; nor even with the French nation, if they chose to support him in contravention of the treaties they had assented to. But those treaties had provided that the government of that nation should be administered by other hands. What! were we compelled now to accept of Buonaparte as the conservator of the treaty of Paris, when, by that very treaty, he was excluded from France? Any question as relating to him, therefore, could only be as to the policy of opening a negociation with him. He admitted the dreadful necessity that might exist for involving nations in the punishment due only to those who ruled over them; but some cases were so extraordinary as not to admit of separating the two, and he considered the present to be such a case. Buonaparte had the army, in fact, united to him, and was wholly adverse to that pacific system which Louis XVIII. would have cultivated. If we watched him in prosperity, we should find him filled with gigantic plans of ambition; if we looked to him in his adversity, we should perceive that he remained the same. His greatest territorial acquisitions were continually made in time of peace; he was more conquering in peace than even in war. The whole system of his policy with regard to Holland, Switzerland, the Ligurian republic, Spain and Portugal, and the thirty-second military division, was consolidated in time of peace; and if a comparison of his policy was instituted in war and in peace, we should find it was always more profoundly pursued during an interval of nominal peace. Adversity and prosperity left his character still unrelentingly the same, so that he seemed to be destined for nothing but a course of activity both against the independence and hap-

piness of nations. When placed on the pinnacle of earthly power, and married into one of the most ancient and princely houses in Europe, his ambition knew no limits; and, again, at the moment of all his difficulties with Spain, he made his enormous effort to subjugate Russia, and annihilate the only barrier to his continental sway. The document on a former night communicated to the house, and of whose authenticity none can doubt, shewed, that at the moment of his greatest depression, he was active in diplomatic chicanery, in order to open by his reservations a fresh career for his arms. The noble lord then entered into a variety of statements, to shew that Buonaparte had not been sincere, even at the very time when he entered into his treaty with the allies; and then read a letter from the duke of Bassano to the duke of Vicenza, dated the 19th of March 1814, in which he stated it as the emperor's desire, that he should avoid explaining himself clearly; that his majesty's intention was, should the treaty be ratified, to rest his hopes on the army to the very last moment; and that he wished to be guided to the last moment by distant circumstances. This was a genuine letter; but he had no doubt of it being denied by the present government of France; for all their principles and conduct were founded on one continued system of falsehood. He trusted he had now clearly shewn that we had a just ground for going to war with the present ruler of France; but it was nothing to prove that point, unless he could also shew there were rational grounds to expect that it would be attended with success: he contended, then, that such grounds did exist. If we considered the question with a view to the prosperity of this country, and even on a principle of economy, it would evidently appear to be the wisest course to enter into the war immediately; for there could be no comparison between the expenses attending that state of constant preparation which we should be obliged to maintain during a peace with Buonaparte, and the expense of a short war, that must at once establish permanent security and happiness all over Europe. With respect to the sentiments of the continental powers on this subject, if he thought there had been any hesitation on their part as to what they conceived their real interests to be, he would himself pause and hesitate before he recommended to his majesty's government, or to that house, to enter into a war. But he could assure the house, that the policy of the whole confederacy rested on a fixed and unalterable conviction that the war was not only founded in necessity, but in sound policy and wisdom. The government of this country never goaded the allied powers to come to such a determination; they were left to their own discretion, and they acted in the manner he just stated; they were all determined to act in concert, and this determination was formed in the most deliberate sense of its being necessary for their own safety, and for the safety of the world. He had the most unqualified proofs to shew it to be their unanimous opinion, that security could be obtained only by resistance, and not by negociation. It would, indeed, be presumptuous and idle to say that the success of a war was not in the hands of providence; but he would maintain, that the probability of success was greatly increased by a general view of all the means which were in our possession. He was well aware of the efforts which a great nation like France was capable of making; he knew the vast and formidable power which such a population was capable of producing; but every thing connected with the situation of that country tended to shew that its military efforts would not now be the same they had been formerly. In the war which we were now about to make, every principle was distinct from the nature of that revolutionary war which had called forth the entire population of France about 23 years ago. Not long ago, the French nation had taken back its legitimate sovereign, and entered into the most solemn obligations and contracts with him; under this sovereign the nation was mildly governed, she had her liberties improved by him, and there was every reason to suppose that the people entertained very different sentiments respecting Buonaparte from those of the army. Besides, it was to be considered that France was now stripped of her external resources, and had her natural resources very much narrowed. There was no resemblance then between the

present resources of France, and those she possessed when she had many other nations under her subjection. He could also assert, that there was a great moral feeling throughout France, that the happiness of the French people depended on the destruction of the present ruler of that country; and he could declare that a similar moral feeling existed among all the allies, who never were, at any former period, more determined than the present to pursue this great contest. Besides, the military means of the allies were relatively greater at this time than ever they were before. They had kept up their military establishments, while the king of France, after the late treaty of peace, greatly reduced the military force of that country. The allied sovereigns had consolidated their armies to the highest pitch of strength, and increased all their other military resources, for the militia called the landsturm had been lately increased to an unexampled pitch of strength; and out of that resource a new army might be speedily formed. Therefore no one could pretend to say, that in point of military force, Europe was not more than equal to this great contest. It was clear, on the ground of military expediency, as well as of political necessity, we ought to enter on this war at once; for such was the power and unanimity which now existed, that if this opportunity were suffered to pass away, such another might never occur again. If Buonaparte should hereafter become formidable to us, we should never again be able to collect such a confederacy of power and unanimity. A great part of the expense would fall upon the allies, and they were not to receive any assistance from us that could operate as a temptation, either to enter into the war, or to continue for a moment beyond the time at which it might, by vigorous efforts, be put an end to. He had thus endeavoured to open the general grounds on which this great question rested, he only now wished to say, that, however painful it must be to him to be the organ of his public duty to speak in favour of war, yet it was a consolation to think that, compared to former difficulties, the country was now in a state of great prosperity and strength. There was a time when the country was considered as being in its last struggle, as expiring under its difficulties, as standing without allies, and with almost the whole of Europe against her. Notwithstanding all these calamitous circumstances, England proceeded with a perseverance that would immortalise her name, and throw a lustre round her in the annals of the world. This country had struggled through her difficulties, and it was most gratifying to know that she had risen above them. The other countries of Europe were also greatly improved. We now started with a combination of all those powers, and there was a probability that we should also have a virtuous combination within the interior of France, and that a great part of France would assist the combination which was directed against the other part. We had already laboured to establish the safety of Europe, and it was thought that this great work had been effected. We were now only making a farther effort to consolidate the system we had nearly established. The powers of Europe had already taken the capital of France—they went to Paris—they acted generously to that capital; and if they should go there again, he was sure they would not be actuated by any motive of ambition, but for the purpose of contending against a common enemy, and for restoring the quiet of the world. It was for all these reasons that he should move the address to the prince regent; and if it was intended to move any amendment to this address, recommending to his majesty's government to advise the powers of Europe to make a peace with France, it would be the same as advising them to pursue a course contrary to their own acts;—and he would ask, if it was possible for us to separate from the common confederacy consistently with our own safety or honour? The noble lord then concluded with moving the address to the prince regent, thanking his royal highness for his gracious message, and giving him every assurance of the support of the house.

The orations of Mr. Grattan and of Lord Grenville were calculated to enforce the opinion, that Napoleon, by his acts of unexampled treachery, had excluded himself from the pale of civil society. What reliance, said they, could be placed on his present professions? Not yet firmly seated on his throne, his

army disorganized, and his funds exhausted, there was every probability of crushing him by one simultaneous effort. But if he was permitted to mature his projects, and call into action the yet powerful resources of France, the attempt to destroy, or even to curb him, might be impracticable.

If they suffered him to remain unmolested, the peace, if peace it could be called, would be a feverish state of anxiety and suspicion, as expensive and burdensome as war. Until he had given satisfactory and unequivocal proof that his character was indeed changed, and many long years must have elapsed ere that could have been given, the powers of Europe must have remained in arms. Every measure would have been scrutinized with suspicion. Jealousy and mistrust would have rankled in the minds of either party, and whatever had been the wish of Buonaparte, the restless character of his army would have compelled him to some aggression, when he would have been better able to resist and to foil their attempts to subdue him.

It was futile to say that he had now allied himself to a party which had the real interests of France at heart, and which had both the will and the power to restrain his aggressions abroad and his tyranny at home. It was not the first time that he had connected himself with the well-wishers to France, and after he had used them as the means of attaining the summit of his wishes, had deluded, discarded, and destroyed them. He was, they continued, under the necessity of choosing as agents and ministers, men whom he inwardly detested. It was galling to his pride to be obliged to submit to those whom he had formerly compelled either to obey him or be silent. At the commencement of his consulate he was, in the same manner, obliged to feign sentiments to which his heart was a stranger: but he sapped by degrees the foundation of the edifice which he had raised. In proportion as his strength increased, he freed himself from some principles and some men. The tribunate was first purified and afterwards destroyed. He preserved only two political bodies, enslaved by terror, the one to deliver up to him the wealth of France, the other to lavish for him her blood.

He is now pursuing the same path. He embraces liberty, only to destroy it. What he desires above all things is the means of military success. When he shall have obtained these, he will throw off the mask, laugh at the constitution to which he had sworn, and again resume his character and his empire. Sparta is his model in the hour of danger, Constantinople in that of triumph!

On these grounds, therefore, the war which united Europe prepared to wage against him, was not only justifiable, but necessary. The disposition of the French army, nay, even of the French people, and the character of the individual at the head of the government, demonstrated that surrounding nations could not be at peace. The restless ambition and thirst of foreign conquest, and the disregard for the rights and independence of other states, which had characterised Napoleon and his army, exposed the whole of Europe to renewed scenes of devastation and blood.—His destruction, as a ruler, was therefore required, not only as an expiation of former crimes, but as a necessary measure of precaution and security. The unbounded influence which he had hitherto exerted over a people so vain-glorious, so volatile, and so demoralized as the French, and the calamities in which, by these means, he had involved every surrounding country, not only justified those countries in uniting, but imperiously called upon them to unite, and prohibit France from again placing herself at the disposal of a man in whose hands she must ever be an object of alarm and terror.

On the other hand, many enlightened men, who had the best opportunity for observing him, and who would not be easily imposed upon, were persuaded that the intentions of Napoleon were honest. They imagined that he had seen the folly of his conduct; that he wished to atone for his errors, and that he had determined to respect the liberties of France and the peace of Europe. His conduct in the trying scenes that succeeded the battle of Waterloo, when he stedfastly refused to assume the dictatorship, when no intreaties of his misguided friends, or even of his brothers, could induce him to violate the rights of the legislature, favours this supposition. It has already been stated that Carnot was of this opinion.

Others, with some degree of plausibility, reasoned thus:—The ruling passion of Napoleon is ambition. That passion is not, never can be extinct. To excite the admiration of his cotemporaries, and to become the hero of future annals, is the grand aim of all his actions, the only end for which he appears to live; for this he will commit crime without malignant intention, and practise virtue without merit.

The same passion which formerly suggested the romantic plan of universal empire, will now direct and constrain him to adopt an opposite course. Public opinion, on which he so much depends, and which is so necessary to his existence, repels with horror the chains of despotism, even though fabricated of gold, and the palms of victory, if stained with blood. Opinion, the mistress of the masters of the world, now exacts from him peace and liberty; peace, founded on justice and cemented by good faith, and liberty, protected and supported by the laws. At this price she promises him glory and immortality, and at this price he will purchase the objects of his most ardent wishes.

This reasoning, however plausible, however interesting, say the advocates of ministers, would not heal the yet bleeding wounds which Russia, Prussia, and Austria, had received at Friedland, Jena, and Austerlitz. The allies could not and ought not to trust him. He had no securities to give, and without sufficient pledges they were not justified in compromising the peace and security of Europe. Allowing that he was now sincere in his wish for peace, it was necessary that the world should receive in his punishment an awful and instructive example of the fatal consequences of crime. After long habits of depravity, no professed change of sentiment, no protestations of repentance, will or can be regarded. The snake was scotched, not killed; the tiger has escaped, and the interests of Europe demand that he shall be hunted down, and incarcerated in an iron cage!

CHAP. VIII.——1815.

Preparations of the allies.—Journey of the king to Ostend.—Imminent danger to which he was exposed.—Unsuccessful mission of the duke of Bourbon to La Vendee.—Character of the duke and duchess of Angouleme.—First acts of Napoleon.—Review of the troops.—Replies to various addresses.—Freedom of the press.—Institutions for national education.—Private feelings of Napoleon.—Answer to the declaration of the allies.—Remarks.

The exertions of the continental powers were commensurate to the imminence of their danger, the importance of the contest, and the liberality of England. Numerous bodies of veterans were collected in every province of the Austrian and Prussian states; the roads were covered with troops; formidable armies already advanced on the Sambre and the Rhine; and the Cossacks were preparing to return from the borders of the Vistula. The arrival of the king at Lille facilitated these arrangements. On the 20th of March he arrived at Abbeville, without any military escort. He proposed to wait at that place for the household troops, which followed, under the command of marshal Macdonald. The king attempted to address the inhabitants, from the windows of the house where he lodged, but was overcome by his feelings, pressed his hand on his heart, bowed, and withdrew. The military who lined the streets, from respect to the personal character of the monarch, maintained a deep silence, but when they returned to their barracks they enthusiastically shouted, "The Emperor for ever!" When Macdonald arrived he intimated the strongest suspicions of the treachery of the garrison, and urged him to

proceed upon his journey without delay. The king reluctantly ascended his carriage, though afflicted by a severe attack of the gout, and by mental distress. On the 22d he arrived at Lisle, where the scene of Abbeville was repeated in all its particulars. He was compelled, by the treachery or indiscretion of marshal Mortier, to escape from the very regiment which the latter had ordered a few days before to return to Lisle, a manœuvre which Buonaparte afterwards declared to have been effected by the marshal, to prevent the occupation of Lisle by the household troops. Previous to the departure of the king the declaration of the congress at Vienna was received. His majesty immediately ordered it to be placarded on the walls and distributed among the soldiers. A more injudicious and fatal measure could not have been adopted. A war with foreign nations was the object which, of all others, the troops most ardently desired, and the return of Napoleon, combined with the declaration of the allies, promised to realize their hopes in their full extent. Exasperated by the appearance of the royal placards, and yet exulting in their contents, as an evident indication of war with the allies, the soldiers formed the sudden and desperate resolution of seizing on the person of the king, and conveying him as a prisoner to the camp of Napoleon. Information now arrived that the duke de Berri approached with the household troops and the Swiss regiments. The intelligence hastened the preparations to execute their daring purpose, and by the activity of their movements Mortier was, according to his own declaration, induced to suspect their treacherous intentions. He therefore advised the monarch to depart with the same rapidity as that with which he fled from Abbeville, and in half an hour accompanied Louis a few yards on the road to Ostend. He then returned with the duke of Orleans, the only French prince who had conciliated the affections of the soldiers. But the troops were in a state of tumult and exasperation, that rendered them insensible to all former attachments, and had not the duke hastily retired beneath the protection of Mortier, he would have fallen an immediate sacrifice to their fury. The duke of Berri, who accompanied the household troops, when they arrived at Lisle, addressed the soldiers of the line, and reminded them of the oath of allegiance which they had sworn to his brother. They replied to his harangue by loud and general acclamations of the "The Emperor for ever!" An officer of the line was conspicuously active in deciding the conduct of the troops, and the duke de Berri struck him with the scabbard of his sword. The officer immediately advanced from the ranks and attempted to pull him from his horse, but the other officers interfered, and prevented his design.—No other means of safety remained to the royal party than proceeding with the utmost rapidity on their march. Having received intelligence of the events at Lisle, they directed their course towards the frontiers, but a considerable number, harassed and wearied by the celerity of their march, were left at Bethune, and the officers and men who continued to accompany the duke refused, but with many expressions of attachment, to pass the boundaries. They therefore returned to their comrades.

La Vendee was ripe for insurrection in favour of the king, and on the appearance of the duke of Orleans, in that quarter, he engaged the people to sanction a proclamation, requiring every man from 18 to fifty years of age to take up arms in the cause of royalty. An undisciplined and disorderly rabble crowded round his standard, and the general of Napoleon, despising an appeal to arms with these raw and hasty levies, addressed a letter to the duke, offering an amnesty to his followers, and passports to himself, if he would abandon the enterprise. The duke, convinced of the inutility of resistance, accepted safe conduct for himself and forty of his officers, and proceeded to Nantes, where he embarked. A similar and equally unfortunate result attended the exertions of the duke and duchess d'Angouleme. On the 2d of March they arrived at Bourdeaux, and were joyfully received. On the fifth a fete was given to the merchants, and in the midst of the festivities dispatches were brought to the duke d'Angouleme, which announced the escape and invasion of Napoleon. Unwilling to repress the public joy, by disclosing the intelligence, he concealed the purport of his letters, and

privately departed at midnight to arrange the defence of the southern provinces. The departure of his royal highness was deeply regretted by the loyalists. He had always been regarded as of a mild, inactive, and pliant disposition, and as entirely subservient to his consort and cousin, Maria Theresa, the daughter of Louis XVI. But his demeanour at Bourdeaux, and his subsequent conduct in the south, displayed a degree of prudence, spirit, and energy, which could not have been expected from a prince who had lived so passive a mode of life. He is one of those persons who rise to the level of the circumstances in which they are placed, and should he succeed to the throne of France, he will probably be distinguished by vigour, combined with moderation; neither oppressing the people by severity, nor incurring contempt and insult by ill-timed lenity. The duchess is eminently qualified, by nature and education, to become the partner of a throne. To the most exemplary piety, and the most diffusive charity, she unites the courage and presence of mind of an ancient heroine. Her early years were passed in misfortune and distress. Before the age of 14, she was imprisoned in the Temple at Paris, with that part of her family which remained in France: with her father, mother, brother, and her aunt, madame Elizabeth. After the execution of the king, the queen, and madame Elizabeth, the dauphin and his sister, Maria Theresa, remained in confinement, but in separate apartments. The former, who, on his father's death, became Louis XVII. did not long survive; but the manner and time of his death have never been publicly known, or authenticated by any satisfactory documents. Madame Royale (her title at that period) was liberated at the expiration of two years, and exchanged for the members of the assembly who had been betrayed by general Dumourier to the Austrian government.—She then proceeded to Vienna, from whence she joined her uncle the present king of France, then residing at Mittau, in Russia, the ancient capital of Courland. The exiled family of Louis were continually assailed by the distressed emigrants, but were without the means of affording them pecuniary aid, such as their necessities required. On all occasions Madame Royale displayed a sensibility honourable to her sex, and parted with her jewels, her trinkets, and her watch, to administer relief. The feeling, the heroic, and the admirable manner, in which this young lady attended the death-bed of the Abbé Edgeworth, the confessor of her father, and his companion in the last moments of that unfortunate monarch, will never be forgotten in the history of female excellence. The disease of the Abbé was of the most dangerous kind, and was supposed to be infectious to a high degree; his attendants declined administering to his relief; but no intreaties and remonstrances could prevent the princess from attending him as a nurse, and inspiring him with that consolation, in his last moments, which he had given to her father.—Soon after the occurrence of this melancholy event, she was married to her cousin the duke d'Angouleme, in compliance with the dying injunction of her father; but her health and youthful vigour had fallen a sacrifice to extreme grief and early adversity, and there are no hopes of any fruits arising from the marriage. Until the course of events called Louis the XVIIIth. to the throne of France (on which, had the Salic law been abolished, she would have sate as queen) the duchess remained in comparative obscurity, but the re-appearance of Buonaparte presented an opportunity of displaying all the excellencies of her character. Her heroism did not consist in merely assuming the appearance of personal courage. There was a decision of mind, and propriety of conduct, in all her efforts to support the interests of her family, rarely to be found in the females of a court, and she possessed a readiness of expedient, and a versatility of resource, unexampled in the history of her relatives.

On the morning after the departure of the duke d'Angouleme, she communicated the landing of Napoleon to the magistrates and the inhabitants. The intimation was received with enthusiastic professions of attachment, and the most solemn assurances of fidelity. The national guard were called out, and the officers of the troops of the line pledged their honour and their lives for the loyalty of the garrison. The population of the town demanded arms, and volunteers without num-

ber lined the streets. Ammunition, however, and the implements of war, were totally wanting on this sudden emergency, a circumstance which unhappily occurred at many of the towns which would otherwise have been defended in their favour. The superior officers of the line daily paid their respects to the princess, but she remarked that the governor of the fort of Blaye, an important out-post, had not waited on her levee for several days. Orders were sent to command his attendance, and no answer having been received, after the lapse of three days a general was dispatched to examine the state of the fortress, and report the disposition of the garrison. He returned, and reported that the fortress was in an excellent state of defence, and that the governor had evaded all enquiries, but would attend to-morrow. He offered, on his appearance, a slight apology for his disobedience, and the princess, while she discerned in his deportment the evident indications of treachery, received his excuse with an appearance of satisfaction. She immediately dispatched a body of national guards sufficient to occupy the fort, should they be received as friends, but too small in number to attempt the reduction of the place, should they be refused admittance.—This judicious and considerate measure prevented the effusion of blood, and probably preserved the city from plunder and conflagration. The national guards were denied an entrance to the fortress, on which the tricoloured flag was now hoisted, and they returned peaceably to Bourdeaux.

This event had scarcely occurred when Lainé, the mayor of Bourdeaux, arrived, and published the following proclamation:

"In the name of the French nation, and as president of the chamber of deputies, I enter my protest against the decrees by which the usurper of France pretends to pronounce the dissolution of the chambers. I declare, in consequence, that all the proprietors are released from the payment of contributions to the agents of Napoleon Buonaparte, and that every family is forbidden to assist him in raising an armed force, whether by means of conscription or enlistment.

"After so atrocious an attempt on the liberties of Frenchmen, it becomes the duty of all to maintain individually their rights. Long ago released from their oaths to Napoleon Buonaparte, and bound by their vows and their oaths to their country and king, they will render themselves opprobrious in the eyes of the nation and of posterity, if they use not every means in their power to oppose and to defeat the invader. History, by preserving the lasting memory of those who, in every country, have refused to bend to tyranny, covers with shame and disgrace the citizens who, forgetful of the dignity of human nature, submit to be the miserable agents of despotism.

"In the persuasion that the French are sufficiently impressed with the importance of their liberties and their rights, to impose on themselves the most sacred of all duties, I have published the present protestation, which, in the name of the honourable colleagues over whom I have presided, and France, whom they represent, will be deposited in the archives, to be produced when necessary to the confusion of the tyrant.

"P. S. Having read in the hall of sitting the proclamation of the king on the 20th of March, at the moment when the soldiers of Napoleon Buonaparte entered Paris, I am arrived at the department which deputed me. I am at my post, under the orders of the duchess of Angouleme, occupied in preserving the honour and liberty of one part of France, and anxiously waiting until the rest shall be delivered from the most odious tyranny which ever menaced a great nation. I will never submit to Napoleon Buonaparte; and he, who has been honoured with the situation of president of the representatives of France, aspires to the honour of being the first victim of the enemy of his king, his country, and liberty."

Encouraged by the spirited assistance of M. Lainé, the princess redoubled her efforts, and, mounted on horseback, rode every day through the ranks, and displayed a courage worthy of heroic times. But general Clausel, commanding the troops of Napoleon, was approaching, the piquets abandoned their posts, and the troops of the line, encouraged by the expected arrival of their companions, greeted her with shouts of "Long live the

Emperor." In this emergency she ordered a general to conduct her to the Chateau de Trompette, where the troops were assembled in their respective quarters. The general hesitated, assuring her that she would be in danger. "I do not ask you, sir," said she, "if their would be danger. I only order you to conduct me." She rode up to a circle of officers on the esplanade, whom she harangued, exhorting them to fidelity, and to the renewal of their oaths of allegiance, in presence of the enemy. Observing their coldness and hesitation, she exclaimed, "I see your fears. You are cowards. I absolve you from your oaths already taken." She then appealed to the troops. "Will you not fight," she exclaimed, "for the daughter of your king?" "No! No!" resounded from every rank. "Will you then remain neutral, if the national guards and the volunteers advance to repel the enemy?" "No," they again replied. The princess burst into tears. "Will you then betray me, and give me up to my enemies?" "No," said they, "but we do not wish for a civil war, and we desire you to quit France." She proceeded to the barracks of the other troops, but her eloquence was exerted without effect, and one officer alone obeyed the call of loyalty and of honour. "This is too much" said he, and sheathing his sword, he placed himself by the side of the duchess, exclaiming, "I'll follow you every where." Finding that resistance was unavailing, she turned her horse, and immediately embarked on board an English frigate. The inhabitants of Bourdeaux followed her to the sea shore with fond enthusiasm, with lamentations, and with tears. Every one wished to obtain some gift that might be preserved as a relic of her misfortunes and her virtues; she gave her shawl, her gloves, the feathers of her hat, which were cut to shreds, and distributed among her followers.

She left behind her the following proclamation:—

"Brave Bordelais!

"Your fidelity is well known to me. Your devotion unlimited does not permit you to foresee any danger; but my attachment for you and for every Frenchman directs me to foresee it. My stay in your city being prolonged might aggravate circumstances, and bring down upon you the weight of vengeance. I have not the courage to behold Frenchmen unhappy, and to be the cause of their misfortunes.

"I leave you, brave Bordelais! deeply penetrated with the sentiments you have expressed, and assure you that they shall be faithfully transmitted to the king. Soon, with God's assistance, and under happier auspices, you shall witness my gratitude and that of the prince whom you love.

(Signed) "MARIA THERESA."

General Clausel, who, with a moderation honourable to his character, had refrained from entering Bourdeaux, that the princess might have the opportunity to escape, now advanced into the city, amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of that very multitude which had loudly cheered the arrival of the duchess d'Angouleme, and had witnessed her departure with exclamations of regret, and tears of affected sensibility.

The operations of the duke of Angouleme, in the south of France, were for a while successful, and on every occasion he displayed the utmost judgment and intrepidity. But the loyalty of his troops was of that deceitful and fickle character which had distinguished every corps, except those of the national guard and the household troops, since the landing of Napoleon. Surrounded on every side, and no longer confiding in the fidelity of his soldiers, yet retaining a force sufficiently respectable to ensure honourable conditions, he surrendered to general Gilly, on condition that the lives and property of his followers should be secured, and the duke received safe convoy to Cette, where it was agreed that he should embark for Spain or England. Gilly had scarcely acceded to these conditions when general Grouchy arrived to assume the command, and refused to accede to them, alleging that the former officer had exceeded his powers. It was the object of Grouchy to grant those stipulations as a favour which the duke had demanded and obtained at the head of his troops as a matter of right, and whether he actually concealed the truth from his imperial master, or the views of the emperor and the general were

in unison, the following letter may enable the reader to determine:

"Count Grouchy—The ordinance of the king, dated March 6, and the declaration, signed by his ministers on the 13th at Vienna, might authorise me to treat the duke of Angouleme as that ordinance and that declaration proposed to treat me and my family; but adhering to the views which induced me to order that the members of the Bourbon family should be permitted to leave France freely, my intention is, that you should give orders for conducting the duke of Angouleme to Cette, where he shall be embarked, and that you watch over his safety, and protect him from all bad treatment. You will merely take care to recover the money which has been removed from the public chests, and to require the duke of Angouleme to bind himself to the restitution of the crown diamonds, which are the property of the nation. You will also make known to him the enactments of the laws of the national assemblies, which are renewed, and which apply to the members of the family of Bourbon who may enter the French territory. You will, in my name, thank the national guards for the patriotism and zeal which they have manifested, and the attachment which they have shewn to me in these important circumstances.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON.

"*Palace of the Thuilleries, April* 1."

The reports so industriously circulated by the partizans of Buonaparte were gradually refuted by the evidence of facts, and the assurances to the nation, that the confederate powers were the secret friends and supporters of his enterprize, were falsified by the declarations of the monarchs and their plenipotentiaries. It became necessary, therefore, to adapt his conduct to the change of events, and for the same reasons that induced him to ensure the attachment of the troops on his road to Paris, by the promise of immediate war, the prosecution of conquest, and the re-establishment of military force, he assumed, on his arrival at the capital, a tone of conciliation and humility uncongenial to his temper. He perceived the necessity of rallying round him the various political parties which divided France, and he selected as his confidential ministers those leaders of the republican party whose original violence had subsided into a rational preference for limited monarchy. The selection of these individuals, as his responsible counsellors, was an unequivocal pledge, so long as they might retain his confidence, of his attachment to peace, and his concessions to national freedom.

On the morning of his arrival, an interview took place between him and Carnot, the most independent and virtuous of his former advisers. Napoleon took his hand with an affectionate pressure, and exclaimed, "My dear Carnot, you are the only man who told me the truth before my reverses." "Sire!" replied Carnot, unable to suppress his emotion. "Sire!" interrupted Napoleon, "Let me entreat you to drop that distant and ceremonious word. Call me your old comrade, your friend." "Do you wish," continued Carnot, "that I should again speak the truth." "I require it." "Well then, France must and will have a constitution. I will give it her, I am determined she shall have it."

They now conversed on the former conduct of Napoleon, on the invasion of Russia, his obstinate refusal to treat with the allies after the battle of Leipsic, and his concurrence to the treaty of Fontainbleau. He deeply regretted his former ambition, and his propensity to conquest, and announced his resolution to abolish the military government and restore the tranquillity of the nation. He descanted on the advantages of a limited monarchy, and stipulated, as a condition of complying with the views of Carnot and his party, that they should agree to the retention of a titled aristocracy, and that he himself should accept the honour of nobility, as the pledge of a limited monarchy on a representative basis. After a consultation with his friends, Carnot acceded to the proposal, and by this means all the distinctions of constitutionalists, moderates, and jacobins, were united around the throne of Napoleon. Had the arrangements been formed beneath the sanction of any auspices but those of Carnot, they would have awakened the alarm and the suspicion of the people. But the birth, the education, the connections, and the conduct of the count, were above the reach of

calumny or distrust. He was the son of a respectable lawyer at Nolay, and early entered the artillery, and although he distinguished himself by several scientific publications, yet such, under the old *regime*, were the obstacles to rising merit, if unsupported by courtly patronage, that he had attained no higher rank than captain at the age of thirty-six. In 1791 he was chosen a member of the legislative assembly, and became a zealous and conscientious republican. In the following year he voted for the death of the unfortunate Louis, and although the injustice of the sentence cannot be doubted, no one ever accused the honest intentions of Carnot. In 1793 he was sent, as representative of the nation, to superintend the operations of the army of the north. He there displayed his characteristic decision, by cashiering one of the generals on the field of battle, for retiring before the enemy. He then rallied the troops, placed himself at their head, and, turning the fortune of the day, led them on to victory. He was afterwards appointed a member of the committee of public safety, and became a colleague of the execrable Robespierre.—He, however, confined himself to the duties of his own department, and directed the movements of the armies, without having the least concern or influence in the bloody scenes which were acting in the interior.—When he did interfere it was to soften the ferocious decrees of his colleagues, and rescue the prey from the destroyer. For this he incurred the deadly hatred of Robespierre, and was devoted to destruction as soon as the war should terminate, or any reverse attend the French arms.

It has been asked, why he did not renounce all connection with these monsters. The question is difficult to answer. It admits only of this solution, that by confining himself strictly to the war department, he was employing his unrivalled talents for the benefit of his country. No man possessed, to such an extent, the confidence of the generals, the soldiers, and the people. His administration was one uninterrupted career of brilliant victories. Had he resigned, a less able man would, probably, have filled his place, who would have aided rather than repressed the murderous purposes of his colleagues.

After the fall of Robespierre, he exposed himself to considerable obloquy, by defending many of the agents of that monster's cruelty. He advocated the cause of Billaud Vasennes, Collet d'Herbois, and others who were a disgrace to human nature. He did this, not because he approved of their conduct, as his enemies insinuated. He had often publicly and violently accused them. It had been his unceasing aim to unmask their characters, and hurl them from the stations which they abused. But he now saw that a spirit of re-action and revenge was abroad. If these men fell, thousands would follow. The bleeding wounds of his country would again be torn open, and the horrible scenes of the worst æra of the revolution would be re-acted. He saved them from the fate which they merited, and having identified himself with them, voluntarily shared their disgrace. He retired from public life until 1795, when he was again appointed director. In 1797 the party to which he belonged, and who would have limited the aggrandisement of France to those limits which nature pointed out, was vanquished. Rather than plunge his country in civil war, or sanction those measures of ambition which he foresaw must be ultimately fatal to France, he exiled himself to Switzerland, though he was offered the support of the army of his virtuous friend Moreau.

When Buonaparte returned from Egypt, he remembered the talents of Carnot, and the many obligations under which he lay to him, and recalled him to power. He was once more placed at the head of the war department, and the conquest of Italy and Germany were soon the proofs of his skilful arrangements. But the ambitious character of Napoleon then began to be displayed. Carnot remonstrated with him in vain, and disdaining to be the instrument of tyranny, again retired to the bosom of his family.

In 1802 he was chosen member of the tribunate. Here he distinguished himself as the fearless opponent of every arbitrary measure. He voted against the assumption of the consulate for life: and in 1804, after privately using every argument to dissuade Napoleon from his ambitious purpose, he stood alone in the tribunate, and opposed the mo-

tion to confer on Buonaparte the imperial dignity. "Shall we," said he, "because this man has restored the peace and prosperity of his country, reward him with the sacrifice of her best interests,—the very liberty which we are grateful to him for preserving? Shall we replace the pride and heroism of the masculine republican virtues, by ridiculous vanity and vile adulation? Shall freedom then be shewn to man that he may never enjoy it? Perpetually presented to him, is it a fruit which he may never reach? Has our common nature been so much a stepmother as to make the most pressing of all our wants, that one which we must never gratify.—No!—I will not consent to regard this greatest good, so universally prized above all others, except as one without which all others are mere illusions. My heart tells me that liberty is practicable, and that a free government is more easy, and more stable, than the gloomy stillness of despotism."

When the tribunate was suppressed in 1806, Carnot once more returned to private life, and all intercourse with Napoleon was at an end. Eight years were now spent in the pursuit of his favourite studies, and in the society of his family, and those friends who dared to brave the displeasure of the emperor by occasionally visiting him. But when the fortunes of Napoleon were on the wane, preferring even the government of the existing sovereign to the horrors of a new revolution, he again offered his services, and spoke to him in a language so firm and frank as to astonish the servile instruments of his ambition.

"SIRE!—So long as victory crowned your eagles, I kept myself to my studies in the closet, and employed myself in the education of my children. Now that she appears to abandon them, and that you have need of devotion, I hasten to offer my services. Do not disdain them, though they are those of an old soldier, above sixty years of age. He can rally round your eagles many Frenchmen, undecided as to the part which they ought to take. It is yet time, Sire! to obtain an honourable peace, and to regain the love of the people, *which you have lost.*

"CARNOT.

"*January*, 1814."

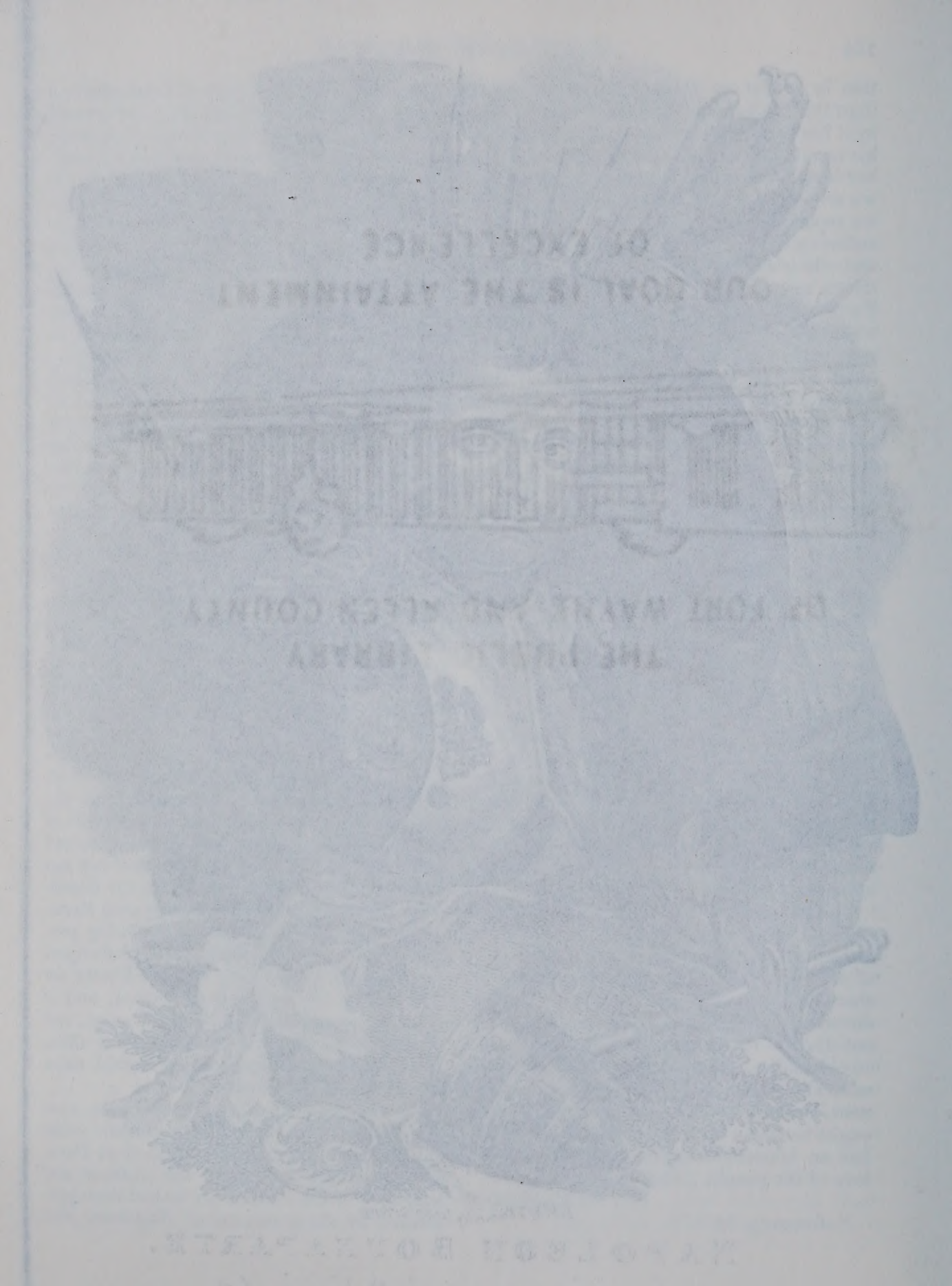
In forwarding this letter, Carnot said to a friend to whom he shewed it, that it would either send him to the *Chateau de Vincennes*, or give him a mark of the emperor's confidence which would be auspicious to the return of moderation and of freedom for France.

Napoleon was pleased with this noble sincerity, and, though he could not immediately bring himself to receive his former sturdy monitor as his confidential minister, intrusted him with the defence of Antwerp. Carnot soon rendered the town impregnable, and continued to hold it until the complete re-establishment of Louis, when he surrendered it to him and adhered to the constitutional charter. Louis offered him a place of honour and confidence, but perceiving, or fancying that he perceived, a determination in the court to break the conditions on which the royal family was restored, he declined all connexion with the Bourbons.

No sooner were the creation of Carnot to the rank of count, and the conditions on which that honour was accepted, known at Paris, than the enthusiasm of the inhabitants knew no bounds, and the hopes and expectations of the ministers were of the most sanguine description. Carnot himself was convinced of the emperor's sincerity, and few individuals existed in France whose sagacity was more generally respected. The Parisians, and the mass of the population, were as ardently desirous of tranquillity, as the soldiers were eager to resume the duties of their profession, and it was generally hoped and expected that Maria Louisa and her son would be irresistible pledges to the friendship of Austria. They congratulated themselves and their fellow citizens on the prospect which had at length arrived, of enjoying that permanent and rational liberty for which they had so long contended, and of chusing, unmolested by foreign powers, and in conformity with the promises of the allies, that government alone which should meet the wishes of the people

These reasonable impressions were converted into astonishment and despair when the declaration of the allies arrived at Paris. Its appearance awakened the distrust and suspicion of the ministers, who had been persuaded, by the assurances of Napoleon, that

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.



Austria and England were favourable to his cause. But to recede was impossible. They had proclaimed their acquiescence in the return of Buonaparte to the people, they had pledged themselves to prosecute his views, and were reduced to the distressing necessity of supporting his authority after they had discovered the falsehood of his declarations. At their second interview with the emperor, their resentment so far overcame their respect that they descended to the lowest epithets of reproof and abuse. He received their taunts and revilings with the utmost meekness, implored their advice, and besought them to adhere to his interests in so unfortunate an emergency. They listened to his appeal, and determined to defend his power to the utmost of their ability. Their own safety now depended on his possession of the throne, and it was unanimously agreed to publish a vindication of the conduct of Napoleon, to state to the world the moderation of his views, and his determination to adhere to the treaties already formed. While this document was preparing, he reviewed his troops in the Place de Carousal, mingled with the ranks, and, forming them into a square, thus addressed them:

"Soldiers! I arrived in France with six hundred men, because I calculated upon the love of the people, and on the remembrance of the veteran soldiers. I was not deceived in my expectation. Soldiers! I thank you. Glory like that which we are about to acquire is every thing to the people, and to you! My glory is, that I have known and valued you!

"Soldiers! the throne of the Bourbons was illegitimate, because it was built by the hands of strangers; because it was proscribed by the vow of the nation declared in all our national assemblies; because, in short, it offered a guarantee only to the interests of a few men, whose arrogant pretensions were opposed to our rights. Soldiers! the imperial throne can only secure the rights of the people, and above all, the first of our interests —our glory. Soldiers! we are now to march to hunt from our territories these princes, auxiliaries to strangers; the nation will not only second us in our protestations, but will follow our impulse. The French people and I calculate upon you. We will not interfere with the affairs of foreign nations, but woe to those who shall interfere with ours!"

That portion of this address which attributes his success to the love of the people, and represents his army merely as auxiliaries, presented a copious theme of declamation to the journalists. The Moniteur, a few days afterwards, was chiefly occupied by a *tirade*, of which the following is an extract:

"When he set foot on the territory of France, by whom was Napoleon followed? By a handful of faithful soldiers. His name alone was an army. To whom did he first present himself? To the old companions of his glory, to the regiments of the line, to armed bands? No! but to the cultivators of the land,—to the inhabitants, who ran from all parts to throw themselves on his march,—to the municipalities,—to the public functionaries,—to the united population of every age and sex, which pressed around him. This population was permitted to count his feeble band, to approach his person, to listen to his discourse, to know the object of his enterprise, and the means which he possessed; and it was from these people that the first cries of "The Emperor for ever!" proceeded. He was acknowledged by the people before he met a single soldier. The historian will record this truth. He will mark it as the distinctive character of the present revolution, and the true cause and explanation of a rapidity so astonishing, and a success without opposition."

At the conclusion of Napoleon's harangue, general Cambronne appeared with the ancient eagles of the guard. The emperor continued, and said to the soldiers,

"These are the officers of the battalion that have accompanied me in my misfortunes. Every man is my friend. They are dear to my heart!—Every time I beheld them they brought before my eyes the different regiments of the army, for among these six hundred brave fellows are men from every regiment. They have recalled to my memory those glorious days of which even the memory is so dear, for they are all covered with honourable scars gained in memorable battles. —In loving them it was you, soldiers! the whole French army that I loved. They

bring you back your eagles. Let them serve you as a rallying point. In giving them to the guards I give them to the whole army.

" Treason and unfortunate events had covered them with a melancholy veil, but, thanks to the French people, and to you! they now re-appear resplendent in all their glory. Swear that they shall always be present wherever the interests of the country shall require them, and that traitors, and those who would wish to invade our territory, shall never endure their sight."

" We swear it!" exclaimed all the soldiers with enthusiasm.

At the conclusion of the ceremony Napoleon informed M. D'Affry, commander of the Swiss guards, that he should, on the following day, review those troops. The colonel scarcely replied, and retired with evident feelings of dissatisfaction. He was then invited to an interview at the palace. On his arrival, two marshals, who stood at the vestibule, demanded his sword, but he placed himself in a posture of defence, exclaiming, " Let the bravest of you take it." He passed the officers without further insult, and was ushered to the presence of Napoleon, who expostulated with the colonel on his insubordination and disobedience. He replied, that he had sworn allegiance to the king. " You took," answered Buonaparte, " the same oath to me, five years ago." " You released me from that oath by your abdication." " I will reduce the cantons to submission." " You will not easily reduce 300,000 men, resolved to lose their lives rather than their liberty." " Yet you were subjected by the Austrians." —" And we were relieved by William Tell." " Enough," said Napoleon, who resumed the conversation with his ministers, and suffered the colonel to depart without any present or future molestation.

The constitutional, legislative, and municipal bodies, presented addresses, which were couched in language singularly contrasting their fulsome compliments to Napoleon, before his abdication, and to the Bourbon government. The address of the council of state, in particular, was drawn up in a style of good sense, moderation, and respect, with out servility, highly honourable to the influence and character of its author, Carnot.

" The council of state, in resuming their functions, conceived it a duty to make known the principles which form the rule of their opinions, and of their conduct.

" The sovereignty rests in the people.—The people are the only source of legitimate power.

" The emperor is called to guarantee anew, by fresh institutions, for which he has pledged himself in his proclamations to the army, and to the nation, all the liberal principles, individual liberty, and the equality of rights, the liberty of the press, the abolition of the censorship, the freedom of worship, the voting of taxes and laws by the representatives of the nation freely elected, the inviolability of national property of every origin, the independence and irremovability of the tribunals, the responsibility of the ministers, and of all the agents of power.

" For the better conservation of the rights and obligations of the people and of the monarch, the national institutions shall be viewed in a grand assembly of the representatives already announced by the emperor."

Napoleon answered, " Princes are the first citizens of the state. Their authority is more or less extended according to the interests of the nations whom they govern. The sovereignty itself is only hereditary because the welfare of the people requires it. Departing from this principle I know no legitimacy.

" I have renounced the idea of the grand empire, of which during fifteen years I had but founded the basis. Henceforth the happiness and the consolidation of the French empire shall be all my thoughts."

The president, Seguier, refused to go at the head of the court of cassation to present the address to Napoleon. He was sent for on the next day, to the Thuilleries, and the emperor in the public levée reproached him for his conduct.

" General," replied Seguier, " I cannot serve two masters. I belong to my king."

Napoleon was offended at the title of general, and required that he should be addressed as Sire; but to this Seguier could not be induced to consent.

" I dismiss you from the bench," at length exclaimed Napoleon in a rage, " and order you to leave Paris this very day."

"You only hasten my departure by 24 hours," replied the magistrate, "for I had made preparations for departing to-morrow to my estates.'

'In every direction the movements of the troops were favourable to Napoleon. The duke of Belluno (Victor) marched on Paris with the troops of the second division. When the regiments learned that the emperor approached the capital, they successively adopted the national colours. The duke of Belluno withdrew, and the whole division continued its march re-united under its ancient colours.'

'In the third and fourth divisions, notwithstanding the efforts of the prefect Vaublanc, and several generals, the officers and soldiers have all assumed the national cockade. Colonel Jacquelimot, aide-de-camp of the duke of Reggio (Oudinot), has this day brought the addresses of the different corps, and given them to the emperor during the parade.'

'The duke of Albufera (Suchet) and general Girard, did not wait the news of the progress of the emperor's march, and all the troops have united to the great joy of the whole of the inhabitants of Alsace. Thus the national standard waves in this province as in Burgundy and Franche-Compte.'

Lieutenant-general Pajol had planted at Orleans the tri-coloured cockade, when marshal St. Cyr, arriving in that town, ordered him to be put under arrest. The troops having unanimously declared that they would march towards their emperor, and that they participated in the general feelings of the army, the marshal ordered the gates to be shut. The cuirassiers burst them open, and marshal St. Cyr disappeared. Rouen, and the whole of Normandy, assumed the national colours. Britanny, and the town of Rennes, elevated the tri-coloured flag; and in Poitou the partizans of the Bourbons were dispersed. Intelligence at the same time arrived from Vienna, importing that Maria Louisa had formally renounced the title of empress, had laid aside the green livery of Napoleon's family, and had assumed the green and blue costume of Parma. It has since been ascertained that she was compelled to take these steps by the importunities of her relatives, that she still retained the most ardent affection for her husband, and had more than once attempted to escape from Vienna, to share his exile. On the intrusion of Talleyrand into her presence, she upbraided him with his treachery to her husband, in terms of the most animated eloquence, and with an energy of gesture that nearly approached to actual violence.

A decree for restoring the liberty of the press, and abolishing the censorship, was one of the first concessions of Napoleon to the wishes of the people. The utmost licence was given to political discussion, and even the memorial of the duke of Ragusa, containing the most vindictive remarks on the conduct and character of Buonaparte, was publicly sold at all the libraries. The satisfaction produced by these arrangements was unfortunately clouded by the occurrence of a circumstance creditable to the intrepidity of the complaining parties, and injurious to the interests of Napoleon. The editors of a publication intitled "Le Censeur," were brought before the tribunals, notwithstanding the recent decree, for having published the following libel on the French army:—"If a faction of the people could dispose of the crown, that would soon happen to us which happened to the Roman people, after the reign of the first emperor; we should have for chiefs none but soldiers, and the reigning family would be murdered, as soon as it ceased to be pleasing to the satellites by whom it was surrounded." So plain and expressive an imputation on the army was productive of considerable agitation through all its ranks, and Napoleon, whose influence over the soldiers was paramount to every other consideration, and was the chief security of his throne, found it necessary to violate his own decree, and arrest the editors. They were summoned before the tribunal, which was at the same time instructed to suffer the affair to drop. It may be reasonably doubted whether, in this instance, Napoleon displayed his usual judgment and sagacity. The seizure of the editors had all the effect of actual punishment, without its energy, and excited the alarm of the people, while it confessed the instability of government. The ministers of Napoleon added to this impression, by descending to the meanness of falsehood to jus-

tify their violation of the decree. They inserted in the Moniteur a statement, that the fifth volume of the Censor was allowed to be sold without making any change in the text. "By this wise measure of the government the author has lost the advantage of being thought a victim, a certain speculator the profit of a surreptitious edition, and the work of all the charms of a prohibited book." This malicious and unfounded statement was immediately contradicted in the following terms:

"Sir,—The journals have announced that the fifth volume of the Censor had been seized, but that on mature deliberation the authorities had permitted it to be exposed to sale. It is true that this volume has been seized by the police, but it is false that it has been restored. They will neither give it up, nor prosecute it before the tribunals, although the editors have begged to be replaced in the possession of their property, or to be brought to trial.

"You will be pleased to give no credit to what the journals may say either of the work or its authors, because the liberty of the press no longer exists.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"CH. COMPTE.

"P. S. We beg you to give this letter the greatest possible publicity."

They described the efforts which they had made to awaken the Bourbons to a perception of the false and ruinous policy by which they were gradually alienating the affections of every class of the people, and the zeal with which they had afterwards espoused the cause of the falling government, in opposition to the dreaded return of the domination of Buonaparte "As long," say they, "as the government had no enemy to combat we defended the laws which it had given us, and pointed out the rocks on which it might strike; but as soon as it was attacked, we supported it as much as was in our power." A few days after the entrance of Napoleon into Paris, they were summoned before the minister of police, from whom, instead of the reproaches, or threats, or punishment, which they expected, they received a most gracious reception, and were cordially thanked for the benefits which they had rendered their country, by their bold and independent writings. Fouché concluded by offering them the editorship of the Moniteur, a journal that had always been distinguished, and must have continued to be characterised by its servile flattery of the court. The minister had mistaken his men, and the offer was received with the indignation that it merited.

"I repaired," says M. Compte, "to the prefecture of the police at the appointed hour. At this conference the discourse chiefly turned upon some suppressions that were to be made in the new volume. I consented to sacrifice a few passages, upon the express condition that the public should be made acquainted with the seizure and the suppressions. This condition appeared to displease; but I persisted in demanding it, because we would not co-operate in deluding the public by falsely persuading them that they enjoyed the liberty of the press. As the prefect had directed the seizure of the volume by the order of the minister, and as he had not himself read it, it was settled that I should go next morning to M. P— with M. L—, to determine upon what passages should be suppressed. But, not being acquainted with M. P—, I thought, after a little reflection, that it would be better to forego this interview. All hope of conciliation being thus at an end, they hastened to announce in the journals that the volume which had been seized was restored to us. This declaration was contradicted, first of all by a hand-bill, and afterwards by a circular, *which the police did not seize*. At length they gave us our volume, when they saw that it was no longer possible to impose upon the public. I ought to add, that during our discussions, the prefect incessantly offered us an indemnity for the loss that we had sustained."

The abolition of the slave trade had been strenuously, yet timidly, opposed by the house of Bourbon, and it was reserved for Napoleon, whom they accused of impiety and atheism. It has frequently been alleged, in depreciation of this act, that the emperor might have accomplished the object in his former reign, a remark which would equally apply to all the European powers during a long series of years, and to the most able and virtuous of our national patriots. The popu

larity obtained by this act of justice and policy was augmented by several alleviating regulations relative to the excise duties, and the *droits reunis*, of which the Bourbons had promised the remission, but had forgot their pledge. At the same time, another measure, highly beneficial to the people, was recommended in a memorial from Carnot to the emperor: in which he urged the necessity of general education, and eulogised the the plans adopted in England of Bell and Lancaster. "I do not speak," says he, "of those forms of education which produce half philosophers, or men of the world, but such as will make good artizans and moral men, by affording the elements of indispensable knowledge, good habits, and respect for the laws."

Napoleon immediately issued a decree, in which he descanted on the importance of education, directed the establishment of experimental schools, and promised to enforce those measures which should prove, from actual trial, best calculated to effect the important objects in view. To what extent these acts of wisdom, humanity, and beneficence, were the result of virtue, or the dictates of expedience, is only known to that searcher of hearts, to whom the secret motives and springs of human action are alone disclosed. The frail discrimination of human nature can only judge of the intentions of the individual by the acts themselves, or by their obvious policy. In the present instance, no other course than that which he pursued was adapted to the situation of Napoleon. To conciliate every class and party of the state, by the moderation of his proceedings, and his demeanour, was absolutely necessary to the permanence of his crown, and to effectual resistance against the return of the invaders. His personal deportment was now more courteous and condescending; he no longer indulged in bursts of passion, and his conversation with his visitors was distinguished by politeness and affability. He rose early, and was secluded during many hours of the day, attended the parade in the afternoon, and dined at eight o'clock with his ministers and generals. Between ten and eleven he retired to rest. A French journalist, who had frequent opportunities of observing him, declares him to have been restless and unhappy. His behaviour at the council, though more condescending than formerly, was restrained. He often sighed deeply: his confidence and eloquence revived in the presence of his troops, and he was therefore partial to parades and reviews. As he passed along the ranks of his brave and faithful soldiers, he seemed to regain the power which was contested in the conferences of the councils.

He was often detected in shedding secret tears of shame, disappointment, and resentment. He contrasted the contempt with which he was now treated by the continental sovereigns with the affection which they had once expressed, and the humility with which others had thanked him for their forfeited crowns. Even the clemency and magnanimity with which he had treated the family and partizans of the Bourbon dynasty was repeated oft as an act of dangerous lenity, and he secretly formed a list of those who had most strenuously opposed his enterprise, or had insulted his calamities. It is creditable to the humanity and discretion of Fouché, that the proscriptions commanded in these intervals of passion, were suspended, by the forms of office, till the objects of punishment had intimation of their danger, and time to escape. To satisfy his master, the dead bodies of criminals, executed for atrocious crimes, were shewn to the agents of Napoleon as those of the intended victims: and, to the disgrace of human nature, the very persons whom he had thus preserved were the first, on the subsequent return of the Bourbons, to accuse him of treason, and to obtain his dismissal from the councils of the king.

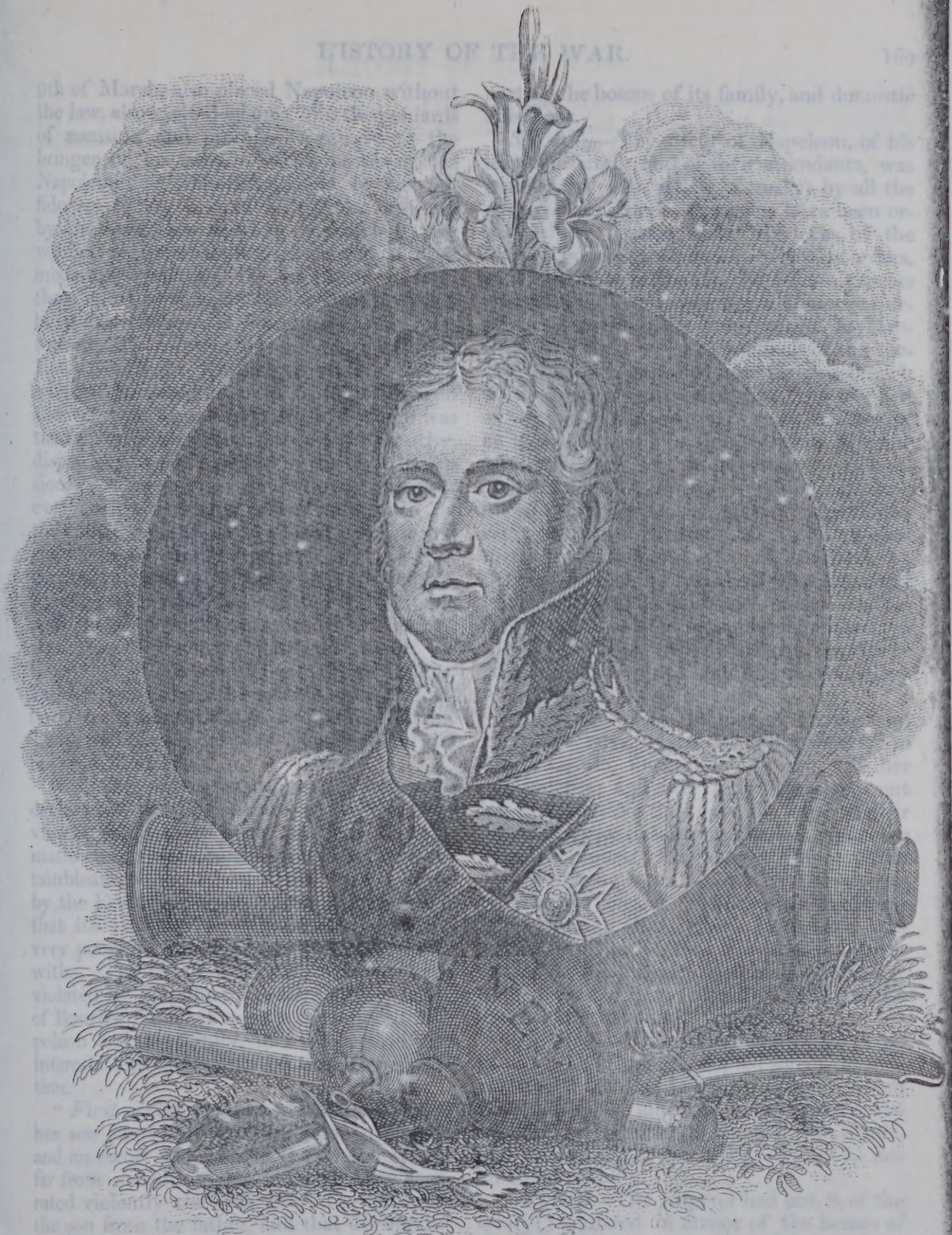
On the 2d of April appeared the justificatory manifesto of Napoleon, or

ANSWER OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT TO THE DECLARATION OF THE ALLIES.

"*Report of the committee of presidents of the council of state, April 2.*

"In consequence of the remit which has been made to it, the committee, composed of presidents of sections of the council of state, has examined the declaration of the 13th of March, the report of the minister of general police, and the documents thereto subjoined. The declaration is in a form so unusual, con-

ceived in terms so strange, expresses ideas so anti-social, that the committee was ready to consider it as one of those forgeries by which despicable men seek to mislead the people, and produce a change in public opinion, But the verification of legal minutes drawn up at Metz and of the examinations of couriers, has left no ground for doubt that the transmission of this declaration was made by the members of the French legation at Vienna, and it must, therefore, be regarded as adopted and signed by them. It was in this first point of view that the committee thought it their duty to examine, in the first instance, this production, which is without precedent in the annals of diplomacy, and in which Frenchmen, men invested with a public character the most respectable, begin by a sort of placing without the law, or, to speak more precisely, by an incitement to the assassination of the emperor Napoleon. We say with the minister of police that this declaration is the work of the French plenipotentiaries; because those of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England, could not have signed a deed which the sovereigns and the nations to which they belong will hasten to disavow. For in the first place these plenipotentiaries, most of whom co-operated in the treaty of Paris, know that Napoleon was there recognised as retaining the title of emperor, and as sovereign of the isle of Elba: they would have designated him by these titles, nor would have departed, either in substance or form, from the respectful notice which they impose. They would have felt that, according to the law of nations, the prince least powerful from the extent or population of his states, enjoys, in regard to his political and civil character, the rights belonging to every sovereign prince equally with the most powerful monarch; and Napoleon, recognised under the title of emperor, and as a sovereign prince by all the powers, was no more than any one triable by the congress of Vienna. An oblivion of those principles, which it is impossible to ascribe to plenipotentiaries who weigh the rights of nations with deliberation and prudence, has in it nothing astonishing when it is displayed by some French ministers, whose consciences reproach them with more than one act of treason, in whom fear has produced rage, and whom remorse deprives of reason. Such persons might have risked the fabrication, the publication of a document like the pretended declaration of the 13th of March, in the hope of stopping the progress of Napoleon, and misleading the French people as to the true principles of foreign powers. But such men are not qualified, like the latter, to judge of the merit of a nation which they have misconceived, betrayed, delivered up to the arms of foreigners. That nation, brave and generous, revolts against every thing bearing the character of baseness and oppression; its affections become enthusiastic when their object is threatened or attacked by a great injustice; and the assassination to which the declaration of the 13th of March incites, will find an arm for its execution neither among the 25 millions of Frenchmen, the majority of whom followed, guarded, protected Napoleon from the Mediterranean to the capital, nor among the 18 millions of Italians, the 6 millions of Belgians and Rhenish, nor the numerous nations of Germany, who, at this solemn crisis, have not pronounced his name but with respectful recollections; nor amidst the indignant English nation, whose honourable sentiments disavow the language which has been audaciously put into the mouths of sovereigns.—The nations of Europe are enlightened; they judge the rights of the allied princes, and those of the Bourbons. They know that the convention of Fontainbleau was a treaty among sovereigns; its violation, the entrance of Napoleon on the French territory, like every infraction of a diplomatic act, like every hostile invasion, could only lead to an ordinary war, the result of which can only be, in respect of persons, that of being conqueror or conquered, free, or a prisoner of war; in respect of possessions, that of being either preserved or lost, increased or diminished; and that every thought, every threat, every attempt against the life of a prince at war with another, is a thing unheard of in the history of nations and the cabinets of Europe. —In the violence, the rage, the oblivion of principles, which characterise the declaration of the 13th of March, we recognise the envoys of the same prince, the organs of the same councils, which, by the ordinance of the



MARSHAL NEY

9th of March, also placed Napoleon without the law, also invited against him the poniards of assassins, and promised a reward to the bringer of his head. What, however, did Napoleon do? He did honour, by his confidence, to the men of all nations, insulted by the infamous mission to which it was wished to invite them; he shewed himself moderate, generous, the protector even of those who had devoted him to death. When he spoke to general Excelmans, marching towards the column which closely followed Louis Stanislaus Xavier; to count d'Erlon, who had to receive him at Lille; to general Clausel, who went to Bourdeaux, where was the duchess d'Angouleme; to general Grouchy, dispatched to put a period to the civil dissensions excited by the duke d'Angouleme—every where, in short, orders were given by the emperor that persons should be protected and sheltered from every attack, every danger, every violence, while on the French territory, and when they quitted it. Nations and posterity will judge on which side, at this great conjuncture, has been respect for the rights of the people and of sovereigns, for the laws of war, the principles of civilization, the maxims of law, civil and religious. They will decide between Napoleon and the house of Bourbon.

"If, after having examined the pretended declaration of the congress under this first view, it is discussed in its relations to diplomatic conventions, and to the treaty of Fontainbleau of the 11th of April, 1814, ratified by the French government, it will be found that its violation is only imputable to the very persons who reproach Napoleon therewith. The treaty of Fontainbleau has been violated by the allied powers, and the house of Bourbon, in what regards the emperor Napoleon and his family, in what regards the interests and the rights of the French nation.

"*First*—The empress Maria Louisa and her son ought to have obtained passports, and an escort to repair to the emperor; and far from executing this promise, they separated violently the wife from the husband, the son from the father, and that during distressing circumstances, when the firmest soul has need of looking for consolation and support to the bosom of its family, and domestic affections.

Secondly—The safety of Napoleon, of his imperial family, and of their attendants, was guaranteed (14th article of treaty), by all the powers; and bands of assasins have been organised in France, under the eyes of the French government, and even by its orders, as will soon be proved by the solemn process against the Sieur Demontbreuil, for the purpose of attacking the emperor and his brothers, and their wives: in default of the success which was expected from this first branch of the plot, a commotion had been planned at Orgon, on the emperor's road, to attempt an attack on his life by the hands of some brigands: they sent as governor to Corsica an assassin of George's, the Sieur Brulart, raised purposely to the rank of marshal-de-camp, known in Brittany, in Anjou, in Normandy, in La Vendee, in all England, by the blood which he had shed, that he might prepare and make sure the crime: and in fact several isolated assassins attempted, in the isle of Elba, to gain by the murder of Napoleon the guilty and disgraceful salary which was promised to them.

"*Thirdly*—The duchies of Parma and Placentia were given in full property to Maria Louisa, for herself, her son, and her descendants; and after long refusals to put her in possession, they gave the finish to their injustice by an absolute spoliation, under the delusive pretext of a change without valuation, without proportion, without sovereignty, without consent: and documents existing in the foreign office, which have been submitted to us, prove that it was on the solicitations, at the instance, and by the intrigues of the prince of Benevente, that Maria Louisa and her son have been plundered.

"*Fourthly*—There should have been given to the prince Eugene, adopted son of the emperor, who has done honour to France, which gave him birth, and who has conquered the affection of Italy, which adopted him, a suitable establishment out of France, and he has obtained nothing.

"*Fifthly*—The emperor had (art. 9, of the treaty) stipulated in favour of the heroes of the army, for the preservation of their endowments on the *Monte Napoleone*: he had re-

served on the extraordinary domains, and on the funds of the civil list, means of recompensing his servants, of paying the soldiers who attached themselves to his destiny: all was carried away and kept back by the ministers of the Bourbons. An agent for the French military, M. Bresson, went in vain to Vienna, to claim for them the most sacred of properties—the price of their courage and their blood.

"*Sixthly*—The preservation of the goods, moveable and immoveable, of the family of the emperor, is stipulated by the same treaty (art. 6.): and they have been plundered of one and of the other; that is to say, by main force in France, by commissioned brigands; in Italy, by the violence of the military chiefs; in the two countries, by sequestrations, and by seizures solemnly decreed.

"*Seventhly*—The emperor Napoleon was to have received 2,000,000, and his family 2,500,000 francs per annum, according to the arrangement established in the 6th article of the treaty: and the French government has constantly refused to fulfil this engagement, and Napoleon would soon have been reduced to dismiss his faithful guard for want of means to secure their pay, if he had not found in the grateful recollections of the bankers, and merchants of Genoa and of Italy, the honourable resource of a loan of 12 millions which was offered to him.

"*Eighthly*—In short, it was not without a reason that they wished by all means to separate from Napoleon those companions of his glory, models of devotedness and constancy, the unshaken guarantees of his safety and of his life. The island of Elba was secured to him in full property (art. 3, of the treaty) and the resolution to spoil him of it, which was desired by the Bourbons, and solicited by their agents, had been taken at the congress.

"And if Providence had not in its justice provided for him, Europe would have seen an attack made on the person on the liberty of Napoleon, banished for the future to the mercy of his enemies, far from his family, and separated from his servants, either to St. Lucia, or St. Helena, which was intended for his prison. And when the allied powers, yielding to the imprudent wishes, to the cruel importunities of the house of Bourbon, had condescended to violate the solemn contract, on the faith of which Napoleon had released the French nation from its oaths: when himself and the members of his family saw themselves threatened, attacked in their persons, in their property, in their affections, in the rights stipulated in their favour, as princes, even in those rights secured by the laws to simple citizens, what could Napoleon do? Ought he, after having endured so many affronts, supported so many injuries, to have consented to the complete violation of the engagements made with him, and resigning himself personally to the lot which was prepared for him, abandon once more his wife, his son, his family, his faithful servants, to their frightful destiny? Such a resolution appears above human strength; and yet Napoleon would have taken it, if peace and the happiness of France had been the price of this new sacrifice. He would have devoted himself again for the French people, of whom, as he wishes to declare to Europe, he makes it his glory to hold every thing, to whom he wishes to ascribe every thing, to whom alone he wishes to answer for all his actions, and to devote his life. It was for France alone, and to avert from it the misfortune of civil war, that he abdicated the crown in 1814. He restored to the French people the rights which he held of them: he left it free to choose for itself a new monarch, and to establish its liberty and its happiness on institutions which might protect both. He hoped for the nation the preservation of all which he had acquired by 25 years of combats and of glory, the exercise of its sovereignty in the choice of a dynasty, and in the stipulation of the conditions on which it would be called upon to reign. He expected from the new government respect for the glory of the armies, the rights of the brave, the guarantee of all the new interests, of those interests which had arisen and been maintained for a quarter of a century, resulting from all the laws political and civil, observed, revered during this period, because they were identified with the manners, the habits, the wants of the nation. Far from that, all idea of the sovereignty of the people was discarded.—The principle on which all legislation, politi-

cal and civil, since the revolution, had rested, was equally discarded. France has been treated by the Bourbons like a revolted country, re-conquered by the arms of its ancient masters, and subjected anew to a feudal dominion. Louis Stanislaus Xavier did not recognise the treaty, which alone made the throne of France vacant, and the abdication which alone permitted him to ascend it. He pretended to have reigned 19 years, thus insulting both the governments which had been established in this period, and the people who had consecrated them by its suffrages, and the army which had defended them, and even the sovereigns who had recognised them in their numerous treaties. A charter digested by the senate, all imperfect as it was, was thrown into oblivion. There was imposed on France a pretended constitutional law, as easy to elude as to revoke, and in the form of simple royal decrees, without consulting the nation, without hearing even those bodies, become illegal—phantoms of the national representation. And as the Bourbons passed ordinances without right, and promised without guarantee, they eluded without good faith, and executed without fidelity. The violation of the pretended charter was restrained only by the timidity of their government; the extent of the abuses of power was only confined by its weakness. The dislocation of the army, the dispersion of its officers, the exile of many of them, the degradation of the soldiers, the suppression of their endowments, their deprivation of pay and half-pay, the reduction of the salaries of legionaries, their being stripped of their honours, the pre-eminence of the decorations of the feudal monarchy, the contempt of citizens, designated anew by the *Third Estate*, the prepared and already commenced spoliation of the purchasers of national property, the actual depreciation of that which they were obliged to sell, the return of feudality in its titles, its privileges, its lucrative rights, the re-establishment of ultramontane principles, the abolition of the liberties of the Gallican church, the annihilation of the concordat, the restoration of tithes, the intolerance arising from an exclusive religion, the domination of a handful of nobles over a people accustomed to equality,—such was what the Bourbons either did or wished to do for France. It was under such circumstances that the emperor Napoleon quitted the isle of Elba; such were the motives of the determination which he took, and not the consideration of his personal interests, so weak with him, compared with the interests of the nation to which he has consecrated his existence. He did not bring war into the bosom of France; on the contrary, he extinguished the war which the proprietors of national property, forming four-fifths of French landholders, would have been compelled to make on their spoilers; the war which the citizens, oppressed, degraded, humiliated by nobles, would have been compelled to declare against their oppressors; the war which Protestants, Jews, men of various religions, would have been compelled to sustain against their persecutors. He came to deliver France, and was received as a deliverer. He arrived almost alone; he traversed 220 leagues without opposition, without combats, and resumed without resistance, amidst the capital and the acclamations of an immense majority of the citizens, the throne deserted by the Bourbons, who, in the army, in their household, among the national guards, were unable to arm an individual to attempt to maintain them there. And yet, replaced at the head of the nation, which had already chosen him thrice, which has just designated him a fourth time by the reception it gave him in his rapid and triumphant march and arrival,—of that nation by which, and for the interest of which, he means to reign, what is the wish of Napoleon? That which the French people wish —the independence of France, internal peace, peace with all nations, the execution of the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814. What is there then changed in the state of Europe, and in the hope of repose it had promised itself? What voice is raised to demand that succour which, according to the declaration, should be only given when claimed? There has been nothing changed, —should the allied powers return, as we are bound to expect they will, to just and moderate sentiments, if they admit that the existence of France in a respectable and independent situation, as far removed from conquering as from being conquered, from domi-

nating as from being enslaved, is necessary to the balance of great kingdoms, and to the security of small states. There has been nothing changed,—if respecting the rights of a great nation which wishes to respect the rights of all others, which, proud and generous, has been lowered, but never debased, it be left to resume a monarch, and to give itself a constitution and laws suited to its manners, its interests, its habits, and its new wants. There is nothing changed,—if not attempting to compel France to resume a dynasty which it no longer wishes, or feudal chains which it has broken, and to submit to seignorial and ecclesiastical claims from which it has been liberated, it is not wished to impose upon it laws, to interfere with its internal affairs, to give it masters in conformity to the interests or the passions of its neighbours. There is nothing changed,—if, while France is occupied in preparing the new social compact which shall guarantee the liberty of its citizens, and the triumph of those generous ideas in Europe which can no longer be repressed, it be not forced to withdraw itself, in order to combat, from those pacific thoughts, and those means of internal prosperity to which the people and their head wish to devote themselves in happy accordance. There has been nothing changed,—if, when the French nation only demands to remain at peace with all Europe, an unjust coalition do not compel it, as it did in 1792, to defend its will, its rights, its independence, and the sovereign of its choice.

(Signed) "The Count DEFERMON,
"The Count REGNAUD ST. JEAN D'ANGELY,
"The Count BOULAY,
"The Count ANDREOSSI.
"The Duke de BASSANO."

Though the allies were justified, on the principle of self-defence, in their first declaration against the person and the designs of Buonaparte, the merits of the opposing parties was afterwards to be decided by an impartial examination of their respective statements. The facts recorded in the preceding manifesto completely prove the violation of the treaty of Fontainbleau by the allies; and the non-performance of its conditions gave the party injured an undisputed right to demand redress, or deny the obligations he had contracted. To have protested or complained against the want of faith in the confederates, would have only confirmed their previous intention to transport him to St. Helena.—His preparations and intrigues afford no proof that he would have returned to France, even had the allies conducted themselves towards him with honour and fidelity, since he might foresee the possible violation of the treaty, and prepare for that contingency. To obtain redress by the assumption of his abdicated power; to secure its peaceable execution by negotiating with the confederates on an equal footing; or to revenge his wrongs, and justify his rights, by the vigorous prosecution of hostilities, were the only measures which he could pursue, unless he had intended to remain an injured and miserable exile, removeable at the caprice of his enemies, and doomed to witness their injustice without the power of effectual complaint.

CHAP. IX.——1815.

Circular address.—Letter of Napoleon to the sovereigns of Europe.—Policy of the allies.—Opinions of Lord Grenville and his friends.—Justificatory paper of the confederate monarchs.—The French are promised a new constitution.—Napoleon escapes from the controul of his ministers to the palace of Elysee Bourbon, and publishes the articles of a constitution, under the title of "An Additional Act."—Life of Joachim Murat, king of Naples.—Interesting ancedote of Kosciusko, the Polish hero and patriot.

WITHIN a few days from the publication of the manifesto of the allies, the subjoined documents were issued from the emperor's bureau:

CIRCULAR ADDRESSED TO AMBASSADORS, MINISTERS, AND OTHER AGENTS OF FRANCE ABROAD.

"*Paris, March* 30, 1815.

"Sir,—The wishes of the French nation never ceased to recall the sovereign of its choice, the only prince who can guarantee to it the conservation of its liberty and independence. The emperor appeared, and the royal government no longer exists. At the sight of the universal movement, which carried both the people and the army towards their legitimate monarch, the family of the Bourbons perceived that there remained no other course for them but to take refuge in a foreign country. They have quitted the French soil, without a single musket having been fired, or a drop of blood shed in their defence. The military household which accompanied them has collected at Bethune, where it declared its submission to the orders of the emperor. It has given up its horses and arms: more than half of it has entered our ranks; the rest, few in number, are retiring to their homes, happy to find an asylum in the generosity of his imperial majesty. The most profound tranquillity reigns throughout the whole extent of the empire. Every where the same cry is heard; never did a nation present the spectacle of more complete unanimity in the expression of its happiness and joy. This great change has been only the work of a few days. It is the finest triumph of the confidence of a monarch in the love of his people; it is at the same time the most extraordinary act of the will of a nation which knows its rights and its true duties. The functions entrusted to you by the royal government have terminated; and I am about to take, without delay, the orders of his majesty the emperor, in order to accredit a new legation. You must immediately, sir, assume the tri-coloured cockade, and cause it to be taken by the Frenchmen who are about you. If, at the moment of quitting the court where you reside, you have occasion to see the minister for foreign affairs, you will inform him that the emperor has nothing more at heart than the maintenance of peace: that his majesty has renounced the plans of greatness which he might have anteriorly formed; and that the system of his cabinet, as well as the whole of the direction of affairs in France, is upon a totally different principle. I cannot doubt, sir, that you will consider it as a duty to make known to the Frenchmen about you, the new situation of France, and that in which, according to our laws, they find themselves placed.

(Signed) "Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza."

LETTER (THE ORIGINAL IN THE HANDWRITING OF NAPOLEON), ADDRESSED TO ALL THE SOVEREIGNS OF EUROPE.

"Sir, my Brother!—You will have learned in the course of the last month my return on the shores of France, my entrance into Paris, and the departure of the family of the Bourbons. The true nature of these events must now be known to your majesty. They are the work of an irresistable power, the work of the unanimous will of a great nation, which knows its duties and its rights. The dynasty, which force had imposed on the French people, was no longer made for it: the Bourbons would not accord with its sentiments or its manners: France has separated itself from them. Its voice called for a deliverer. The expectation which decided me to make the greatest of sacrifices was disappointed. I came, and from the point where I touched the shore the love of my people carried me even to the bosom of my capital. The first duty of my heart is to repay so much affection by the maintenance of an honourable tranquillity. The re-establishment of the imperial throne was necessary for the happiness of Frenchmen. My dearest thought is, at the same time, to make it useful to the securing of the repose of Europe. Sufficient glory has adorned by turns the flags of different nations. The vicissitudes of fortune have caused sufficient great reverses to succeed to great successes. A finer field is now open for sovereigns, and I am the first to enter it. After having presented to the world the spectacle of great combats, it will be more delightful in future, to know no other rivalry except that of the advantages of peace, no other struggle except the sacred struggle for the happiness of our people.—France is glad to proclaim with frankness this noble end of all its wishes. Jealous of

its independence, the invariable principle of its policy will be the most absolute respect for the independence of other nations: if such, as I have a happy confidence, shall be the personal sentiments of your majesty, the general tranquillity is secured for a long time; and justice, seated on the confines of different states, will alone suffice to guard their frontiers. I seize with eagerness, &c. &c."

(Signed) "NAPOLEON.

"*Paris, April* 4."

The messengers to whom these documents were intrusted were denied a formal reception at the respective courts, and returned to France with their dispatches. The confederate sovereigns unanimously declared their intention to reject every overture from Napoleon Buonaparte, and to receive them without notice or reply. A determination so unusual, which precluded the possibility of future conciliation under any circumstances, which reduced the emperor to a state of exclusion, in which the most exemplary conduct, and the most liberal concessions, would be equally ineffectual, was an outrage on the laws of justice and humanity probably unexampled in the history of human affairs. The language of the allies evidently amounted to a declaration, that though adversity might have instructed Napoleon in the lessons of government, though his return to the throne from which he had descended might be acceptable and beneficial to the people of France, though every ambitious view which he had formerly entertained should be abandoned, and the most satisfactory securities offered to their acceptance, they would wage a personal and interminable war against him and the French nation, so long as he should retain the sovereign authority. Their conduct, however, was strenuously supported, and warmly applauded, by their political dependents, and a laboured manifesto, intitled, "An extract from the minutes of the conferences of the powers who signed the treaty of Paris," was published by the congress, as a justification of their conduct. Forgetting, or choosing to forget, their own forgetfulness of the most sacred pledges, they asserted that by breaking the solemn articles entered into with the allies he had placed himself in the state of hostility with them which existed before the treaty. The truth is, that the allies, by first violating the treaty, had previously placed themselves in a state of hostility with him. The manifesto proceeds as follows:—"While the allies acknowledge the indubitable right of every people to choose their own form of government, this right, like every other, has its limits, and cannot be exercised to the injury or danger of every surrounding country: and as the return of Buonaparte has established in France a focus of disorders, and of subversions in every other state, it becomes the right and the duty of every surrounding government to prevent or destroy the source of inevitable calamity." The expedience of the general principle thus expressed cannot, I think, justly be disputed; and had not the allies been the first to violate the treaty, their reasoning would have been irresistible. It was evident that, with the best dispositions on the part of Buonaparte, he would probably yield to the warlike and revengeful feelings of the army, and its prowess and its numbers, when called once more into actual conflict beneath its adored and able leader, were too tremendous, even in a prospective view, not to be contemplated with anxiety and alarm. If the justice, therefore, of the sentiments adopted by the allies be more than equivocal, the policy of their measures is apparent. Having provoked the giant to escape from his enchanted castle, it was necessary for the puny mortals who stood before him in array to prepare, with an activity corresponding with their danger, for his tremendous assault. They had learned, from the recollection of Kosciusko's fate, Suwarrow's cruelties, the partition of Poland, and the subjugation of the Krimea, that monarchs and conquerors consult the means rather than the justice of their political designs. They themselves had corrected few of their former errors, and they therefore concluded that a sentiment of remorse and reformation may easily be stifled in the bosom of a military sovereign. The ministerial advocates on their side assert, that the war with Napoleon was not only justifiable but necessary. "If (said they) he is suffered to remain unmo-

lested, the peace would be a feverish state of anxiety and suspicion as expensive and burthensome as war. Until he had given satisfactory and unequivocal proof that his character was indeed changed, and many long years must elapse before that could be given, the powers of Europe must remain in arms. Every measure would be scrutinized with suspicion. Jealousy and distrust would rankle in the minds of every party, and whatever had been the wish of Buonaparte, he would have been the slave of a warlike faction. He was under the necessity (said these politicians) of choosing as agents and ministers men whom he inwardly detested. He was now pursuing the same path that had guided his progress in the first year of his consulate. The means of military success are the only objects of his wishes. When he shall have obtained these he will throw off the mask, laugh at the constitution to which he had sworn, and again resume his character and his foreign conquests. Sparta is his model in the hour of danger, Constantinople in that of triumph." The war might also be justified on another principle. The allies had granted much more favourable terms to France than they would have granted had Buonaparte remained on the throne. They granted these advantageous terms, in the full conviction and understanding that Buonaparte was for ever excluded from the government. By assuming the reigns of power he had violated the fundamental principles of the treaty, and enabled the allies to wage war with France, should they deem that measure expedient. The opinions thus expressed, and the conclusions inferred, were powerfully supported in the house of lords, by the impressive and perspicuous eloquence of lord Grenville, a nobleman whose views were occasionally erroneous, and whose notions of policy were more the result of education and connection than of profound investigation. He had incurred a considerable share of public obloquy by his propensity to family emolument, and to the possession of sinecures, but his frailties were the natural fruit of the atmosphere which he breathed. In his official capacity he had always displayed a degree of political moderation and personal candour which deserved and obtained the praise of good intention.

On the 25th of May, in the debate on the message of the prince regent, his lordship expressed his sentiments in a long and animated harangue. "By the violation (he observed) of the treaty of Paris, the allies are now actually at war with Buonaparte. It is not a question whether we shall make war, but whether we shall conclude a peace. No reasonable man can confide in the security to be found in a treaty with Buonaparte.—Security must be sought in other means. Speaking of the security or insecurity of treaties, his lordship declared, that he should not even attempt a statement of the violations of treaties committed by Buonaparte, but he would ask any one to shew him one country, during the last ten or twelve years, which had sought peace or safety by treaty with him, that had not found itself visited with the highest aggravations of the very evils it had attempted to ward off. Instead of enumerating violations, he would ask who would rest his security on Buonaparte, and who would point out a treaty with him that was not followed by the disadvantage of the other contracting party? His noble friend (earl Grey) in a laudable anxiety for peace, in which he fully shared with him, had indulged in expectations in which he could not indulge. Age certainly imposed limits on the activity and ambition of man; but that had not as yet occurred: little had occurred since his return which he could trace to the amendment of his disposition. God forbid he should suppose that no amendment could take place in any man: but in looking to the general safety of nations, and to the happiness and existence of his own country, he could not rest upon probabilities merely, where, especially, he saw no reasonable hopes, and when the very act of the man, which occasioned the present crisis, was one of the strongest examples of his faithlessness and ambition which his life had offered."

Afterwards, speaking of the fall of Louis, he says, "He was the victim of peace. He was the sacrifice of his good faith. It was because he was the friend of peace, and was desirous to keep peace with the other countries of Europe, that a soldiery accustomed to rapine, and raised by their former chief to principalities and powers carved out of the

just rights of other people, were discontented, and desired no monarch but a general prepared to renew the work of spoliation. Was it nothing to be desired to sanction a system under which Europe had so long groaned, with such an army, and such a chief at its head? If his disposition was said to have undergone some change, his situation was now again changed, and as the army was formerly upheld by spoliation and plunder, so now for the same objects he was recalled by his former instruments, who alone could maintain him in his recovered power. If any person would consider the present situation of Buonaparte in France, it must appear that judging by all human probabilities, it would be necessary for him, even supposing we were inclined to remain at peace with him, to keep his army in good humour by leading them on to unprovoked aggression against some foreign nation, which would force us into the contest however we might be disinclined to it. If we were to look at all his former policy we should see that he was under a sort of necessity to endeavour to maintain his power by the same means by which he had acquired it."

The remaining part of the justificatory paper of the allies is couched in the following language:

"The commmission thinks it unnecessary to enter at present into an exposition of the considerations which, under the last point of view, have directed the measures of cabinets. It will be sufficient to remind them, that the man, who now offers to sanction the treaty of Paris, and pretends to substitute his guarantee for that of a sovereign whose loyalty was unstained, and his benevolence unbounded, is the same who, for fifteen years, has ravaged and convulsed the earth to find food for his ambition; who has sacrificed millions of victims, and the happiness of a whole generation to a system of conquest, which truces, little entitled to the name of peace, have only served to render more oppressive and more odious; who, after having, by his senseless enterprises, tired even fortune, armed all Europe against him, and exhausted all the means of France, has been compelled to renounce his projects, and abdicate his power, in order to save some wrecks of his existence; who, at a time when the nations of Europe gave themselves up to the hope of enjoying lasting tranquillity, has meditated fresh catastrophes, and through an act of double treason, both towards the powers who had too generously spared him, and towards a government which he could only attack through the blackest treachery, has usurped a throne which he had renounced, and which he had only occupied to inflict misery on France, and on the world. This man had no other guarantee to propose to Europe but his word. After the cruel experience of fifteen years, who would be rash enough to accept that guarantee? And if the French nation has really embraced his cause, who would have more respect for the guarantee which she may offer?—Peace with a government placed in such hands, and composed of such elements, would only prove a perpetual state of uncertainty, anxiety, and danger.—No powers could really disarm; nations would not enjoy any of the advantages of a true pacification; they would be crushed by expense of all kinds. As confidence would no where revive, industry and commerce would every where languish: there would be no stability in political relations;—gloomy discontent would sit brooding on every country, and alarmed Europe would daily expect fresh explosions. The sovereigns have certainly not mistaken the interests of their subjects, when they have thought that open war, with all its inconveniencies, and all its sacrifices, preferable to such a state: and the measures which they have adopted have met with general approbation. The opinion of Europe has pronounced itself on this great occasion in a most positive and most solemn manner. Never has it been possible more clearly to ascertain the sentiments of nations, and more faithfully to interpret them, than at a moment when the representatives of all the powers were united to consolidate the peace of the world."

Every effort was now made by Napoleon to increase the regular army, and the following energetic proclamation was published:

"You earnestly wished for your emperor. He is arrived. You have supported him with all your efforts. Rally with all possible dispatch around your standards, that you

may be ready to defend your country against enemies who are desirous of regulating our national colours, imposing sovereigns upon us, and dictating constitutions. Under these circumstances, it is the duty of every Frenchman, already accustomed to war, to join the imperial standard. Let us present a frontier of brass to our enemies, and prove to them that we are always the same.

"Soldiers!—Whether you have obtained unlimited or limited furloughs, or whether you have received your discharge, if your wounds are healed, and you are in a state fit to serve, come and join the army! Honour, your country, your emperor invites you!

"With what reproaches would you not have cause to overwhelm me, were our fine country again to be ravaged by those soldiers whom you so often vanquished, and were the foreigner to invade and obliterate France from the map of Europe.

(Signed) "The Prince of ECHMUHL."

On his first landing in France, Napoleon had pledged his honour that he would grant to the people a constitution agreeable to their wishes, and favourable to their liberties. The difficulties opposing the performance of his promise were at this moment greatly encreased, by an utter discordance in the views and interests of the persons employed in its fabrication. Those ministers and members of the council who had been accustomed to repeated changes in the government, were of opinion that the French should be furnished with a free constitution; that the sovereignty of the people might be exercised on the present occasion, and that a convocation of electors to be assembled in the Field of May, as the immediate representatives of the people, should have the power of changing whatever articles might appear to them unfavourable, and of adopting such measures as they should judge expedient for the interest of their country. The *Champ de Mai*, or *Champ de Mars*, is a large area in the front of the *Ecole Militaire*, extending almost to the banks of the Seine. It was appropriated, like the Campus Martius at Rome, to the reviews of the troops, and to horse and foot races on public festivals. Various were the plans for the organization of the crowd of special representatives, amounting to about 25,000 electors. It was at length arranged that committees should be named by the electors, from their own body, who should propose and discuss such changes, and whose reports should be made to the collective members, so that the opinion of the whole might be almost individually obtained. Such was the nature of the scheme projected by the democratic members of the cabinet.

The danger arising from a deliberating mass of 25,000 citizens was too obvious to escape Buonaparte's penetration. But as it had been decreed that the assembly of the *Champ de Mars* should take place, it was impossible to countermand the meeting, and measures were therefore taken to neutralise its effects. The electors were to receive no pecuniary consideration for their expenses of travelling, or their residence in Paris; and it was known that no great number would undertake the journey at their own cost. It was intimated at the same time that the business of the electors was not to discuss the articles of any constitution that might be laid before them, but to verify the registers and count the votes. The operations of the electors were thus reduced to the service of clerks, since assent or disapprobation of the constitutional act was no longer their concern. The same decree enacted the mode of taking those votes, on registers opened at the town-houses, at the offices of government, and at notaries, where the votes were inscribed. It was even found that the agents of government in the departments would construe the title of active citizens in a sense too confined, and admit none to vote but such as could prove that they were members of the corporation in the towns where they resided. Several messengers were at the same time dispatched into each military division, to expel from office all mayors, municipal officers, members of general councils, and other individuals bearing authority, and to supply their places with his own partizans.

The most violent contests were maintained in the cabinet between the emperor and his advisers. Adherents to democracy, Carnot and his friends endeavoured to support the claims of liberty, and to frame a constitution which might unite the contending parties of

the nation in one unanimous submission to its laws, to whatever sovereign the executive power might be confided. They were inflamed by the spirit of freedom to a pitch of enthusiasm, unjustified by existing circumstances, and proposed that Napoleon should resign the title of emperor for that of generalissimo of the republic. Deeply offended, as he must have been, at so singular a proposal, he disguised his resentment till he had framed a constitution of his own, when he suddenly bade adieu to his counsellors, left the Thuilleries, and intrenched himself at the Palais Bourbon, surrounded by his guards.

Scarcely had he effected his escape from the importunities of the republican party, by which he had been so closely surrounded, before he published the following unexampled and important document:

"ACT ADDITIONAL TO THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE EMPIRE.

"Napoleon, by the grace of God and the constitutions, emperor of the French, to all present and to come, greeting.

"Since we were called, fifteen years ago, to the government of the state by the wishes of France, we endeavoured at various times to improve the constitutional forms, according to the wants and desires of the nation, and profiting by the lessons of experience. The constitutions of the empire were thus formed of a series of acts which were sanctioned by the acceptance of the people. It was then our objects to organize a grand federative European system, which we had adopted as conformable to the spirit of the age, and favourable to the progress of civilization. In order to attain its completion, and to give it all the extent and stability of which it was susceptible, we postponed the establishment of many internal institutions more particularly destined to protect the liberty of the citizens. Henceforward our only object is to increase the prosperity of France, by the confirmation of public liberty. From this results the necessity of various important modifications of the constitutions, the *senatus consulta*, and other acts which govern this empire. For these causes, wishing, on the one hand, to retain of the past what was good and salutary, and on the other, to render the constitutions of our empire in every thing conformable to the national wishes and wants, as well as to the state of peace which we desire to maintain with Europe, we have resolved to propose to the people a series of arrangements tending to modify and improve its constitutional acts, to strengthen the rights of citizens by every guarantee, to give the representative system its whole extension, to invest the intermediate bodies with the desirable respectability and power,—in one word, to combine the highest degree of political liberty and individual security, with the force and centralization necessary for causing the independence of the French people to be respected by foreigners, and necessary to the dignity of our crown. In consequence, the following articles, forming an act supplementary to the constitutions of the empire, shall be submitted to the free and solemn acceptance of all citizens throughout the whole extent of France.

"TITLE I.

"Art. 1. The constitutions of the empire, particularly the constitutional act of the 22d Frimaire, year 8; the *senatus consulta* of the 14 and 16 Thermidor, year 10; and of the 28 Floreal, year 12, shall be modified by the arrangements which follow. All other arrangements are confirmed and maintained.

"2. The legislative power is exercised by the emperor and two chambers.

"3. The first chamber, called the chamber of peers, is hereditary.

"4. The emperor appoints its members, who are irrevocable, they and their male descendants, from one eldest son to another. The number of peers is unlimited. Adoption does not transmit to him who is its object the dignity of the peerage. Peers take their seats at twenty-one years of age, but have no deliberate voice till twenty-five.

"5. The arch-chancellor of the empire is president of the chamber of peers, or, in certain cases, a member of the chamber specially designated by the emperor.

"6. The members of the imperial family, in hereditary order, are peers of right. They take their seats at eighteen years of age, but have no deliberate voice till twenty-one.

"7. The second chamber, called that of representatives, is elected by the people.

"8. Its members are six hundred and twenty-nine in number. They must be twenty-five years old at least.

"9. Their president is appointed by the chamber, at the opening of the first session. He retains his function till the renewal of the chamber. His nomination is submitted to the approbation of the emperor.

"10. This chamber verifies the powers of its members, and pronounces on the validity of contested elections.

"11. Its members receive for travelling expenses, and during the session, the pay decreed by the constituent assembly.

"12. They are indefinitely re-eligible.

"13. The chamber of representatives is wholly renewed every five years.

"14. No member of either chamber can be arrested, except for some capital crime; nor prosecuted in any criminal or correctional matter during a session, but in virtue of a resolution of the chamber of which he forms a part.

"15. None can be arrested or detained for debt, from the date or convocation of the session, or for forty days afterwards.

"16. In criminal or correctional matters, peers are judged by their chamber, according to prescribed forms.

"17. The office of peer and representative is compatible with all other public functions, except those of matters of account (comptables); prefects and sub-prefects, are, however, ineligible.

"18. The emperor sends to the chambers ministers and counsellors of state, who sit there to take part in the debates, but have no deliberative voice unless they are peers or elected by the people.

"19. Thus ministers, the members of either chamber, or sitting there by mission from government, give to the chambers such information as is deemed necessary, when its publicity does not compromise the interest of the state.

20. The sittings of the two chambers are public. They may, however, go into secret committee, the peers on the demand of ten, and the representatives on the demand of twenty-five members. Government may also require secret committees when it has communications to make. In all other cases deliberation and vote can only be in public sitting.

"21. The emperor may prorogue, adjourn, and dissolve the chamber of representatives. The proclamation which pronounces the dissolution convokes the electoral colleges for a new election; and fixes the meeting of representatives within six months at the furthest.

"22. During the recess of sessions of the chamber of representatives, or in case of its dissolution, the chamber of peers cannot meet.

"23. Government has the proposal of laws; the chambers can propose amendments; if these amendments are not adopted by government, the chambers are bound to vote on the law such as it was proposed.

"24. The chambers have the power of inviting government to propose a law on a determinate object, and to draw up what it appears to them proper to insert in the law.—This claim may be made by either chamber.

"25. When a bill is adopted in either chamber, it is carried to the other; and if there approved, it is carried to the emperor.

"26. No written discourse, excepting reports of committees, or of ministers on laws, and accounts, can be read in either chamber.

"TITLE II.—OF ELECTORAL COLLEGES, AND THE MODE OF ELECTION.

"27. The electoral colleges of departments and arrondissements are maintained, with the following modifications.

"28. The cantonal assemblies will yearly fill up by elections all the vacancies in electoral colleges.

"29. Dating from 1814, a member of the chamber of peers appointed by the emperor shall be president for life, and irremoveable, of every electoral college of department.

"30. Dating from the same period, the electoral college of every department shall appoint, among the members of each college of arrondissement, the president and two vice-presidents. For that purpose the meeting of the departmental college shall precede by a fortnight that of the college of arrondissement.

" 31. The colleges of department and arrondissement shall appoint the number of representatives fixed for each in the table adjoined.

" 32. The representatives may be chosen indiscriminately from the whole extent of France. Every college of department or arrondissement which shall choose a member out of its bounds, shall appoint a supplementary member, who must be taken from the department or arrondissement.

" 33. Manufacturing and commercial industry and property shall have special representatives. The election of commercial and manufacturing representatives shall be made by the electoral college of department, from a list of persons eligible, drawn up by the chambers of commerce and the consultative chambers united.

" TITLE III.—OF TAXATION.

" 34. The general direct tax, whether on land or moveables, is voted only for one year: indirect taxes may be voted for several years. In case of the dissolution of the chamber of representatives, the taxes voted in the preceding session are continued till the next meeting of the chamber.

" 35. No tax, direct or indirect, in money or kind, can be levied, no loan contracted, no inscription in the great book of the public debt can be made, no domain alienated or sold, no levy of men for the army ordered, no portion of territory exchanged, but in virtue of a law.

" 36. No proposition of tax, loan, or levy of men, can be made but to the chamber of representatives.

" 37. Before the same chamber must be laid, in the first instance, 1. The general budget of the state, containing a view of the receipts, and the proposal of the funds assigned for the year, to each department of service: 2. The account of the receipts and expenses of the year, or of preceding years.

" TITLE IV.—OF MINISTERS, AND OF RESPONSIBILITY.

" 38. All the acts of government must be countersigned by a minister in office.

" 39. The ministers are responsible for acts of government signed by them, as well as for the execution of the laws.

" 40. They may be accused by the chamber of representatives, and are tried by that of peers.

" 41. Every minister, every commandant of armed force by land or sea, may be accused by the chamber of representatives, and tried by that of peers, for having compromised the safety or honour of the nation.

" 42. The chamber of peers, in that case, exercises a discretional power either in classing the offence or mitigating the punishment.

" 43. Before placing a minister in accusation, the chamber of representatives must declare that there is ground for examining the charge.

" 44. This declaration can only be made on the report of a committee of sixty, drawn by lot. This committee must make its report in ten days, or sooner, after its nomination.

" 45. When the chamber declares there is ground for inquiry, it may call the minister before them to demand explanations, at least within ten days after the report of the committee.

" 46. In no other case can ministers in office be summoned or ordered by the chambers.

" 47. When the chamber of representatives has declared that there is ground for inquiry against a minister, a new committee of sixty drawn by lot is formed, who are to make a new report on the placing in accusation. This committee makes its report ten days after its appointment.

" 48. The placing in accusation is not to be decided till ten days after the report is read and distributed.

" 49. The accusation being pronounced, the chamber appoints five of its members to prosecute the charge before the peers.

" 50. The seventy-fifth article of the constitutional act of the 22 Frimaire, year 8, importing that the agents of government can only be prosecuted in virtue of a decision of the council of state, shall be modified by a law.

" TITLE V.—OF THE JUDICIAL POWER.

" 51. The emperor appoints all judges They are irremoveable, and for life, from the

moment of their appointment; but the nomination of justices of peace, and judges of commerce shall take place as formerly.

"The existing judges, appointed by the emperor, in terms of the *senatus consultum* of the 12th Oct. 1807, and whom he shall think proper to retain, shall receive provisions for life before the 1st of January next.

"52. The institution of juries is maintained.

"53. The discussions on criminal trials shall be public.

"54. Military offences alone shall be tried by military tribunals.

"55. All other offences, even those committed by military men, are within the jurisdiction of civil tribunals.

"56. All the crimes and offences which were appropriated for trial to the high imperial court, and of which this act does not reserve the trial to the chamber of peers, shall be brought before the ordinary tribunals.

"57. The emperor has the right of pardon, even in correctional cases, and of granting amnesties.

"58. Interpretations of laws demanded by the court of a cassation shall be given in the form of a law.

"TITLE VI.—RIGHTS OF CITIZENS.

"59. Frenchmen are equal, in the eye of the law, whether for contribution to taxes and public burdens, or for admission to civil or military employments.

"60. No one, under any pretext, can be withdrawn from the judges assigned to him by law.

"61. No one can be prosecuted, arrested, detained, or exiled, but in cases provided for by law, and according to the prescribed forms.

"62. Liberty of worship is guaranteed to all.

"63. All property possessed or acquired in virtue of the laws, and all debts of the state, are inviolable.

"64. Every citizen has a right to print and publish his thoughts, on signing them, without any previous censorship, liable at the same time, after publication, to legal responsibility, by trial by jury, even where there is ground only for the application of a correctional penalty.

"65. The right of petitioning is secured to all the citizens. Every petition is individual. Petitions may be addressed either to the government or to the two chambers; nevertheless, even the latter must also be intitled "To the Emperor." They shall be presented to the chambers under the guarantee of a member who recommends the petition. They are publicly read, and if the chambers take them into consideration, they are laid before the emperor by the president.

"66. No fortress, no portion of territory, can be declared in a state of siege, but in case of invasion by a foreign force, or of civil broils. In the former case the declaration is made by an act of the government. In the latter it can only be done by the law. However, should the two chambers not then be sitting, the act of the government declaring the state of siege must be converted into a plan of law within a fortnight after the meeting of the chambers.

"67. The French people moreover declares, that in the delegation which it has made and makes of its powers, it has not meant, and does not mean to give a right to propose the reinstatement of the Bourbons, or any prince of that family on the throne, even in case of the extinction of the imperial dynasty; nor the right of re-establishing either the ancient feudal nobility, or the feudal or seignorial rights or titles, or any privileged or predominant religion; nor the power to alter the irrevocability of the sale of the national domains; it formally interdicts to the government, the chambers, and the citizens, all propositions on that subject.

"Given at Paris, April 22, 1815.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON.

"By the emperor,

"The minister secretary of state,

(Signed) "The duke of BASSANO."

The last of these articles was intended as a retort to the declaration of the allies, who had excluded Napoleon from the pale of civil society. The chief objections to the additional act, related more directly to the manner in which it was framed and promulgated than to the nature of its stipulations. By issuing a document so important as his personal act and deed, he appeared to assume an

authority independent of the representatives of the people, and awakened a jealousy and suspicion which no future appeal to the nation could entirely obliterate. A spectacle, however, is an irresistible attraction to the Parisians, and the field of Mars (or March) was endeared to the citizens, as the scene appropriated in former times to the general assemblies which met in the month of March. In the reign of Pepin, the month of convocation was changed to a more convenient and agreeable season, and the place of their meeting sometimes retained its former appellation, but was more frequently called the Field of May. The first suggestion of this ceremony proceeded from Napoleon's brother, Lucien Buonaparte, who had described in his elegant but feeble poem of Charlemagne, an assembly held by that monarch of the estates of France, in the Champ de Mars. The dreams of the poet now supplied the contemplations of the statesmen, and the spectacle described in the verses of Lucien was about to be presented in all the splendour of actual performance. While the preparations were prosecuted with rapidity, the time of Napoleon was employed in vain attempts to establish a friendly correspondence with the allied powers. He proposed to the court of Austria to abdicate the throne in favour of his son, and that the empress should be appointed regent. On the rejection of these proposals, other offers and assurances were made. He pledged himself to abandon, and even to unite in discomfiting Murat, who had penetrated through the papal territories of Austria, and threatened to wrest the whole of Italy from its yoke. The overtures, tempting as they were, only conduced to flatter the pride and confirm the confidence of the emperor Francis; and the misfortunes of Murat, during the last eventful months of his earthly career, presented a striking and awful contrast to his sudden elevation from indigence and obscurity to eminence. His father was a water carrier at Paris, who, for some offence within the jurisdiction of the police, fled into the mountains of Dauphiny, where he joined a party of smugglers, and where the subject of this memoir was born, in 1764. His father was condemned at Valence, in 1769, for the crime of smuggling, and broken upon the wheel. Young Murat was sent to the orphan house at Lyons, and on his removal from that receptacle, entered the service of an actor, who taught him the elements of reading, writing, and elocution. In 1780 he was enabled, through the interest of an actress with whom he had formed an amatory connection, to appear in the lower department of comedy, but with indifferent success. He remained, however, in the theatre at Lyons till the year 1786, when he was hooted from the stage, in consequence of appearing overpowered by intoxication, forgetting his part, and threatening the audience by the violence of his gestures. He was obliged to quit Lyons by stealth, in order to avoid the demands of his creditors, and enlisted in the regiment of cavalry called *Royal Allemagne*, which was, with other corps, ordered to the neighbourhood of Paris, when, in 1789, the duke of Orleans, La Fayette, and other members of the constituent assembly, declared against the king, and for a free constitution: he was among the few men of that loyal regiment whom the emissaries of the republican faction seduced, and he deserted it when it was encamped in the Elysian fields on the 12th of July.

After the capture of the Bastile had completed the revolution, and several companies of the king's guard had joined the Parisians in arms, a national guard, under the command of La Fayette, was decreed, in which Murat was made a corporal. In all the commotions of those times, and in the struggles of the different factions, Murat always sided with the terrorists; and, in return, Santerre the brewer promoted him to a lieutenancy in the battalion of St. Antoine, of which he had then the command.

On the 20th of June 1792, he accompanied Santerre, and the deputies of the national convention, to Louis XVI. at the castle of the Thuilleries, where he was heard to repeat—"Louis, thou art a traitor; we must have thy head." And when the courageous Madame Elizabeth said, "Are you not ashamed to insult the most patriotic of kings with such language," he insultingly answered —"Hold thy tongue, wretch, otherwise I will cut thee in two." The next day, Santerre advanced him to be his aide-de-camp; and

he was employed on the 10th of August, in the attack of that dreadful day, which terminated so disastrously to the king and royal family.

In the massacres of the 2d, 3d, and 4th of September, Murat guarded the prison called *La Force*, where, with other innocent persons, the beautiful princess Lamballe was butchered, and a refinement of savage barbarity was exercised on her person even when a corpse, almost incredible, if it were not authenticated. For these infamous and ferocious services, he was promoted by Marat to a colonelcy; he did not, however, repair to the frontiers to combat the enemies of his country, who now threatened France with extinction, but remained at Paris, declaiming at the clubs, and plotting in the committees.

On the 11th of December, when the unfortunate monarch, Louis XVI. was carried to the bar of the national convention for trial, and on the 21st of January, the day on which he was led to the scaffold, Murat commanded *gens-d'armes* of the escort, who had done the duty of the temple the night preceding. In March, during the pillage of the grocers' shops, he was a secretary in the jacobin club, and signed with Marat the proclamation of the 10th, addressed to the citizens *sans-culottes* at Paris, inviting them to do themselves justice for the aristocracy of the bankers, merchants, and shop-keepers. In May, he was president of the club of the cordeliers; and in a speech, printed in Marat's paper, *L'Ami du Peuple*, of the 25th of the same month, *he demands the heads of sixty-nine politicians of Brissot's and Roland's factions*, as the sole promoters of the defeats of the French armies, and of the troubles at Lyons, Bourdeaux, and Marseilles; accomplices with Pitt, and the prince of Saxe Cobourg, as well as with general Dumourier.

After the revolution of the 31st of May, and the two following days, in which the mountain party, or the jacobins, gained a complete victory over the Girondists and federalists, or the moderate party, Santerre obtained the command of an army of 14,000 men, with whom he marched against the royalists of La Vendée; and Murat, who was then advanced to a general of brigade, commanded the cavalry; but, either from misfortune, or from some other cause, for we cannot attribute it to incapacity, he was continually routed, and two-thirds of the troops were killed in less than three weeks. This caused great discontent at Paris, both in the jacobin club, and in the national convention. Santerre was recalled in disgrace, and, being accused by Murat of drunkenness, ignorance, and cowardice, he was sent to prison.

When, after the death of Marat, an emulation took place between the factions of those days, who should bestow the greatest praise on this apostle of French liberty and equality, the most extravagant motions were made by the jacobins, the most violent speeches and addresses were published and circulated throughout France. On this occasion Murat sent to the jacobin club, in the street St. Honoré, at Paris, the following letter, printed in *Le Journal des Jacobins*, of July 28th, 1793.

"BROTHERS AND FRIENDS—Chance made my name nearly the same with that of the ever-regretted martyr of equality, Marat: fellow-feeling made me his admirer, before conviction made me his worshipper, or patriotism his follower, defender, and mourner. Others have offered perfumes upon the altar of this their country's god of liberty; others have composed hymns to the glory of this the *best* and *first* of French republicans: others again have placed his bust by the side of the immortal Gracchus, Publicola, and Brutus. A soldier, who possesses nothing but his love of liberty, and his valour, his enthusiasm, *sans-culottism*, and his sword, can neither build altars, nor carve statues, neither sing apotheoses, nor write deifications, but he can do more—he can *immolate himself*. If an hecatomb of the carcasses of Marat's friends had been decreed, upon its summit, before this day, should have been placed my corpse. It is neither ambition to shine with borrowed colours, nor presumption to think that millions of *sans-culottes* are not as good patriots as myself; it is neither meant as a reproach to the lukewarm zeal of others, nor as a praise of that ardour which almost consumes me, and forces me to desire to eternalize the name of Marat. No! I am much above those petty and selfish considerations. I am a *sans-culotte* by birth, as well as Ma-

rat; my father died a victim to the tyranny of kings, as he did to the treachery of kingly aristocracy. I am now married to a *sans-culotte* woman, now in a situation to give citizens to the republic. Let my progeny immortalize the memory of Marat, by permitting me to change only one letter in my name. I promise you, brothers and friends, upon the faith of a jacobin mountaineer, that, should I observe any aristocratical inclination in my children, another Brutus, I shall be their executioner! Accept, therefore, this patriotic offer from your devoted fellow *sans-culotte*. The jacobins for ever! The mountain for ever! The guillotine for ever!—Health and fraternity.

(Signed) "MARAT, *ci-devant* MURAT."

This offer, however, was declined, upon the observation of citizen Felix Pelletier de St. Forgeaux, "that were every *sans-culotte* patriot permitted to follow his inclination, *twenty millions of Marats* would already have been registered at the municipalities of the French republic. Besides, the constitutional equality of the French commonwealth could never allow any distinction that would place one citizen above another; and a person, who now should be suffered to call himself Marat, would be as much above other citizens, in the public opinion, as Louis Capet was, from the imbecility or weakness of his subjects, regarded ten years ago." Murat's letter forms a most striking contrast between his subsequent fortune and conduct, and his early opinions; for who, after reading this letter, and judging from it the apparent rooted principles of liberty and republicanism, could imagine that he would not only have supported Napoleon in all his projects for obtaining supreme authority, but that he should actually himself aspire to the renown and glory of filling a throne, and that his whole mind and faculties should be exerted in transmitting it to his posterity.

In the winter of 1793, Murat commanded, at Lyons, a brigade of the horse *chasseurs* of the revolutionary army, with the 9th regiment of dragoons. These corps were chiefly employed to arrest those inhabitants, whom the vengeance and ferocity of the proconsuls Collot d'Herbois, Dubois Creance, Fouché, and others, proscribed; to escort them, after their mock-trials, to be executed; or to execute them, by shooting, or cutting them down with their swords.

In the spring of 1794, he was ordered to join the army of the Alps, where he continued without particularly distinguishing himself, until 1796, when Napoleon assumed the command over that army; where, hearing of Murat's local knowledge and military intelligence, he appointed him first aide-de-camp, and the second officer in the staff, next to general Berthier. From this time he begun rapidly to distinguish himself, and develope his talents. At the battle of Mondovi, he displayed a courage and ability which surprised every one; so much so, that when the king of Sardinia, in the latter end of the same month, made overtures for a pacification with the French republic, Napoleon sent him to Turin with full powers to negotiate, and afterwards gave him, together with general Junot, the honourable commission to carry to Paris, and to present to the directory, the 21 colours and standards conquered in the several engagements with the combined armies of Austria and Sardinia. On the 24th of May, he came again to Turin with dispatches from Paris, concerning the negotiations then carrying on between France and Sardinia; but, after a stay of some few days only, Napoleon ordered him back again to the army, where he daily advanced in the good graces of his chief.

In June, he accompanied the French minister at Genoa, Taypoult, to the Doge, with a summons in the name of Napoleon, to order the imperial ambassador to leave the territory of the republic of Genoa in forty-eight hours. In the execution of this mission, republican pride and arrogance, backed with victory, was carried to the highest pitch; and it was with difficulty that the Doge, who had been so wantonly insulted, could prevent the people from executing their vengeance upon him, which, had it taken place, would have involved the city in inevitable destruction. No sooner had the Genoese territory been invaded and plundered, than Napoleon gave orders for one division of his army, under the command of generals Vaubois and Murat, to advance by forced marches towards Leg-

horn, and to seize upon that city, the rich depôt of English merchandise; and, on the 28th of June, his orders were executed by these generals, who, on that day, occupied all the forts, and, in a proclamation, declared all British property in this neutral place to be confiscated to the French republic. In a few days after, fines, imprisonment, and even death, were inflicted on all persons who failed to make fair declarations. The consequence was, that in twelve days, or before the 11th of July, Murat carried away from Leghorn 300,000 sequins, or 250,000*l.*, a sum of money of which, no doubt, he received a considerable share.

On the 18th of July, Murat commanded the attack on the left of the entrenched camp of the Austrians, near Mantua; and he succeeded in carrying it. For several weeks he gained almost daily advantages over the imperial general Wurmser, who commanded an harassed, defeated, dispirited, and inferior army. In the retreat which that general was forced to make on the 9th of September, Murat pursued him at the head of a corps of chasseurs: and, on the 11th, he endeavoured to cut off his retreat towards Ceva. But, after having routed several divisions of the Austrian army, he was repulsed in his turn, though superior in number. Rallying, however, and continuing the attack, he was wounded in an engagement on the 15th, where general Wurmser himself charged at the head of the light troops of his army. This wound forced him to demand leave of absence; and he resided at Milan until December, when he re-assumed his former station in the blockading corps round Mantua.

During the campaign of 1797, Murat displayed an equal degree of activity. On the 14th of January, at the head of a demi-brigade of light infantry, he advanced by Monte-Baldo, forced the Austrians, who occupied La Corona, routed them, after a very obstinate resistance, and obliged their cavalry to cross the Adige by swimming; and he contributed not a little, by his indefatigable vigilance, to the surrender of Mantua. Notwithstanding the astonishing courage and frequent sorties of general Wurmser, this city was forced by famine and disease to open its gates to the French republicans, by a capitulation signed on the 2d of February the same year. The defence of this place, which excited the admiration of the enemy, and the praise of Buonaparte himself, cost the Austrians 24,000 men; and 22,000 Frenchmen perished in the different engagements, during the siege and blockades, of whom 9000 are calculated, by the author of the campaigns in Italy of 1796 and 1797, to have been killed in fighting under Murat.

After the reduction of Mantua, Buonaparte ordered some divisions of his army to invade the defenceless papal territory; but, upon the unexpected approach of the Archduke Charles towards Italy, with a small but well-affected and well-disciplined body of troops, the French commander postponed his intention of dethroning the sovereign pontiff, whom he obliged, however, to sign an humiliating and ruinous peace. On the 24th of February, Murat was ordered to attack the enemy, strongly fortified near Foy; where, after being repulsed twice, and having two horses killed under him, he finally succeeded; though he, on this occasion, had more men killed than the number of Austrians whom he combated and vanquished; but he, like most other republican generals, has justly been reprobated for the profusion with which they squandered away, often unnecessarily, the lives of their soldiers. Had he, after being repulsed once, waited half an hour only before he renewed the assault, 700 Frenchmen less had perished on that day; as the Austrians were preparing to evacuate the entrenchments, when they were attacked a second and third time.

Upon the determination of Napoleon to penetrate into Carinthia, many petty skirmishes took place between the advanced posts of the imperialists, and the French under the generals Murat, Belliard, and Kellerman.—The archduke, already under the necessity of acting on the defensive, in continuing, however, to retreat, avoided as much as possible any serious engagements; and therefore, in crossing the Tagliamento, cut down the bridges behind him, and threw up entrenchments, which extended from the passes of the mountains to the neighbourhood of Belgrado. In this position the young prince halted for some days, determined to dispute

the passage of that river, which, though naturally impetuous and rapid, might then be forded, the stream being greatly diminished in consequence of the severity of the frost in the mountainous regions. Taking advantage of this fortunate circumstance, Buonaparte, on the 16th of March, ordered Murat at the head of one division, and Duphot heading another, to cross the ford, so as to advance against the right of the enemy's entrenchments, while the troops under general Guieux executed the same operation in a different quarter. Murat and Duphot precipitated themselves nearly at the same time into the water, and gained the opposite bank, where the French infantry was repeatedly, but ineffectually, charged by the Austrian horse, whom they received, without flinching, on the points of their bayonets; but it was principally to the murderous fire of their artillery, that the republicans were indebted for this day's victory, as the cannon were stationed so as to shower down such terrible and incessant discharges of grape shot on the foe, that all opposition soon became ineffectual. The Austrians, however, still presented an undaunted front, fearless of danger and of death. But Murat and Guieux having penetrated to the village of Cainin, where the archduke had established his head-quarters, they fell into some disorder, and retreated towards the mountains. On the 19th, in pursuit of the vanquished enemy, Murat distinguished himself again at the passage of Lizonzo, where he had a horse killed under him, and his clothes pierced with bullets.

After the preliminaries of Leoben had been signed, Buonaparte overturned the republic of Venice: and, while the definitive treaty was negotiating at Campo Formio, he first intrigued to change this form of government, and afterwards openly attacked the independent and neutral republic of the Grisons and of the Valteline. Murat was ordered by him, in September 1797, to march with a column towards the frontiers of the Valteline, and to *settle* the differences between these two states. After some previous plunder and requisitions, Murat published a declaration, "That, considering the many wrongs of the Grisons towards their ally, and the *unanimous* desire of the citizens of the Valteline, this latter country was incorporated with the Cisalpine republic." Such, however, was the *unanimity*, that the very day (September 26th) when this declaration appeared, Murat ordered twenty-two of the most respectable citizens, who formerly had occupied places as magistrates, to be tried as conspirators, by a military commission, for protesting against this union with the Cisalpine Republic; and they were all shot the next day.

In November, when Napoleon left Italy, and according to the treaty of Campo Formio, a congress for the pacification, or rather partition, of the German empire, was assembled at Rastadt, he went by way of Switzerland, where he sent Murat to prepare for his reception, and to gain information of the public spirit, previous to executing the plans of destruction which he had formed against this once prosperous republic. This mission was delicate and difficult, because Buonaparte was disliked and suspected by the Swiss democrats, and despised, if not abhorred, by the Swiss aristocrats. Murat, however, by intimidating some by threats, deceiving others by specious promises, and buying over others with a small part of the plunder of Italy, procured his chief to be received with the same honours as are paid to sovereigns. Deputations flattered, guns were fired, and cities illuminated; and the deluded Helvetians entertained, treated, feasted, complimented, and extolled this warrior; to whom, from the scenes of horror that he had just left, their innocence, quiet, and happiness, were not only reproaches, but incitements so much the sooner to bury their independence and riches in the rubbish of Italy and Germany.

Murat was now so far advanced in the good graces of his commander, that, when Napoleon chose his officers for his Egyptian expedition, he was the fourth upon the list of generals which he presented for the approbation of the French directory. In Egypt he was always in close attendance upon the commander-in-chief, and generally dined with him every day. He attended the expedition into Syria in the spring of 1799, and commanded one of the divisions of the army, consisting of cavalry, during the memorable

siege of St. Jean d'Acre; whilst the other four divisions of the French army were headed by generals Kleber, Regnier, Lannes, and Bon. At the battle of Mount Tabor, on the 16th of April of that year, whilst Buonaparte was burning the Naplousian village, and making examples of such of the inhabitants as he suspected of having appeared in arms against him, Murat chased the Turks from Jacob's Bridge, and surprised the son of the governor of Damascus. At the battle of Aboukir, on the 25th of July following, the right wing of the French army, consisting of 4000 cavalry, and nine battalions of infantry, with some artillery, was commanded by Murat, who, after their defeat, cut off the retreat of the Turks, who, according to Berthier's report, struck with a sudden terror at being surrounded on every side, precipitated themselves into the sea, where no less than 10,000 perished by musquetry, grape shot, and the waves.

When Napoleon, finding that no laurels could be gained in Egypt, and having in view the overthrow of the directory, deserted the French army, Murat was one of the four generals whom he selected to accompany him in his flight.

On the overthrow of that constitution, which Napoleon had so often sworn to defend and obey, Murat was entrusted with the command over the posts near the council of five hundred; when the revolution was accomplished, and Buonaparte seated on the consular throne, he had the command of the consular guard; and, to bind him more firmly to his interest, Napoleon gave him in marriage his sister Caroline Buonaparte, who had, in 1797, been betrothed to general Duphot, who was murdered at Rome, in an insurrection, on the 27th of December of that year. What had become of his former wife does not appear. In a pamphlet called "*La Sainte Famille*," it is said, that she had been divorced in 1795; and in another pamphlet, it is affirmed that she died of hard drinking.

In the spring of 1800, an army of reserve was collecting near Dijon, which afterwards performed such important services for the republic in Italy. This army was under the command of Berthier, and Murat was appointed one of his lieutenant-generals. After this army, led on by Napoleon, had crossed the Alps and entered Italy, the Austrians were defeated at Montebello on the 10th of June; and the next day, general Murat, who commanded the advanced guard, succeeded in driving them across the Bormida. At the great and decisive battle of Marengo, on the 14th, he led on the cavalry; and though, at the first onset, he was routed, he succeeded in rallying his troops: and when the heroic general Desaix took advantage of the weakness and imbecility of the Austrian general, he, with generals Marmont and Bessieres, pierced the third and last line of the Austrian infantry; in consequence of which a defeat ensued, and the horse, infantry, and artillery, fled promiscuously towards one of the bridges laid across the Bormida. But such was the undaunted courage of the imperialists, who deserved a better commander-in-chief, that the rear-guard presented a regular front, though Murat cut many of them to pieces in the act of protecting, most valorously, the retreat of the main body.

On his return to Paris, in August, after this short campaign, he found the scandalous boasting of his brother-in-law, Lucien Buonaparte, concerning an incestuous intrigue carried on with madame Murat, the common topic of conversation. Three duels, within two months, was the consequence; and, had not the first consul interfered, and for this and for some other offences removed Lucien from the ministry of the interior, and sent him, in disgrace, as ambassador to Spain, Murat would either have been divorced from his wife, perished himself, or killed his brother-in-law. Twelve months absence of Lucien, and even an apology on his arrival from Madrid in 1801, did not produce a reconciliation with Murat, who challenged, fought, and wounded him again. To put an end to these *family quarrels*, Napoleon promoted Murat to the command-in-chief over the French army in Italy, or, which is the same, made him viceroy over the Italian and Ligurian republics, and over the revolutionary kingdom of Etruria. His wife accompanied him; and when he was recalled to Paris, Lucien was first sent off to Naples, and afterwards ordered to visit his *senatories* on the Rhine, and to travel in Germany.

During his command in Italy, Murat's manner of living was more expensive and more sumptuous, his retinue more brilliant, his staff more showy, his palaces more magnificent, and his guards more numerous, than those of any lawful European sovereign, and hardly surpassed by Napoleon himself at Paris. He introduced at Milan nearly the same etiquette that prevailed at the Thuilleries and St. Cloud. Madam Murat had her maids of *honour*, her routs, her assemblies, her *petite* and *grande entrée*, her *petits soupérs*, and her *grand circles;* as her husband had his pages, his prefects of palace, his aides-de-camp, his military reviews, his diplomatic audiences, his presentations, his official dinners, &c. &c.

In 1803, Murat was recalled from Italy to be the governor of Paris, and commander of the army of the interior. In this post Murat continued the same pageantry, ostentation, profusion, and pomp, as in that he had resigned in Italy. He had 150,000 livres (6000*l.*) in the month for appointments, as the governor of Paris, besides hotels, furnished at the expense of the republic, for himself, his wife, and his aides-de-camp. Thirty thousand livres (1250*l.*) were allowed him for the open table that he kept for officers in business, or on leave of absence in the capital. Murat was present at the execution of the unfortunate duke d'Enghien, being ordered by Napoleon to proceed from Paris to Vincennes under an escort of Mamelukes, attended by four aides-de-camp; he was accompanied on this occasion by Mortier, Duroc, Rufin, and Louis Buonaparte. When Napoleon was proclaimed emperor of France, Murat shared in the honours of his brother-in-law, being created a marshal of the French empire on that occasion.

When hostilities again broke out between France and Austria, in the year 1805, Murat had the command of the cavalry, and he was ordered to push on for the defiles of the Black Forest, in order to impress the Austrians with the idea that it was Napoleon's intention to take that route in his line of march. On the 8th of October he completely defeated an Austrian detachment opposed to him, taking general Auffenberg prisoner, with 2000 men, together with the whole of his baggage and artillery: and, on the 19th of the same month, he compelled the Austrian general Werneck to capitulate at Trochtelfingen, with 15,000 men, only two days after the treachery of Mack had given up Ulm to Napoleon; so that, between treason and misfortunes, the capital of the Austrian monarchy was entirely exposed to the invading army. On Napoleon's advance to Vienna, Murat continued successfully to command the cavalry. On the 28th he crossed the Inn, and on the 30th he attacked the Austrian rear-guard, who were posted on the heights of Ried; they were instantly broke, but, endeavouring to rally, in order to secure their baggage, he again attacked them, and, after a smart action, took above 400 prisoners. The Russian division of the allied army having taken up a position on the heights of Amstettin, the advance of the French army here attacked them, where a most tremendous conflict ensued, in which the cavalry, under Murat, greatly distinguished itself.—The Russians would not withstand the attack, but gave way, with the loss of 400 killed, and upwards of 1000 taken prisoners.

After Vienna had been surrendered, the cabinet of Vienna having refused to accede to the terms which Napoleon offered to it, Murat was ordered to push through that city with the advance of the French army. He there practised a stratagem upon the Austrian general who commanded at the bridge thrown over the Danube, which was not very honourable, even among those stratagems which are allowable in war. Prince Aversburg, who was the officer in command, having received orders to break down the bridge in order to stop the rapid progress of the French army, Murat, aware of this, rode up at full speed to the prince, and assured him, "*upon his word of honour*," that an armistice had been concluded. The prince, naturally believing he had a man of honour to deal with, neglected taking the necessary steps to destroy the bridge, and the French troops rapidly arriving, it was too late, when he discovered the trick that had been played upon him, to repair his error, and the whole French army crossed the Danube, in full pursuit of the Austrians, into Moravia. So active was the

pursuit of the French army, and particularly of the advanced guard, under Murat, that there was every probability of the Russians being forced to surrender; but Kutusoff, who commanded them, was determined to gain time by playing off a military stratagem. He accordingly sent general Winzingerode to Murat, offering to capitulate with the Russian forces, provided the Austrians were unmolested. Murat instantly acceded to the proposal; but Napoleon, suspecting the object was to gain time, refused any suspension of arms, unless ratified by the emperor. Kutusoff, however, did gain time, which was all he intended.

At the great battle of Austerlitz, Murat, with the French cavalry, was posted in the rear, close behind the centre division of the French army, commanded by Bernadotte.—In this battle he greatly distinguished himself, and very much contributed to its glorious result. The battle of Austerlitz was soon after followed by an armistice between France and Austria; and, afterwards, the peace of Presburg put an end to hostilities between those two powers.

As a reward for his great services, Napoleon gave Murat the duchy of Cleves and Berg. This step gave great offence to the cabinet of Berlin; but its resentment was disregarded by Napoleon. Berg had belonged to the king of Bavaria, as count palatine of the Rhine; and been ceded to France in exchange for the Prussian provinces of Anspach and Bayreuth, in Franconia. Cleves, which had already been dismembered by the extension of the French empire to the banks of the Rhine, was one of the three provinces given up by Prussia for Hanover. Various speculations had been formed with regard to the destination of these provinces when they thus fell into the hands of France, and were put under the controul of Buonaparte; but the general sentiment in Germany was that of surprise and indignation, when they were given to Murat, a foreigner, a soldier of fortune, and the brother-in-law of Napoleon. There seemed to be no end to the encroachments of France, nor reliance on her most solemn and reiterated declarations, that the Rhine should be the boundary of her empire. Prussia, in particular, viewed the establishment of Murat, in the midst of her Westphalian provinces, with great jealousy; and she very soon began to experience the danger and inconvenience of such a neighbour. Murat insisted upon taking possession of the abbeys of Werder, Essen, and Elten, pretending that they belonged to the duchy of Cleves, although Prussia had certainly prior claims to them.

The encroachments of Napoleon having irritated Prussia to take up arms, the French army passed the Rhine, on the first of October 1806, and advanced on the 8th in three divisions: the cavalry, which formed part of the centre, being commanded by Murat.—His services in the two ensuing campaigns, his cruelties at Madrid, and his participation in the intrigues which led to the imprisonment of Ferdinand, are too amply and faithfully recorded, in the narrative of those events, to require additional elucidation. When Napoleon had raised his brother Joseph to the crown of Spain, Murat was appointed to succeed him on the throne of Naples; though Sicily, a constituent part of that kingdom, was withheld from his grasp by the protection of Great Britain. Murat was declared king of the two Sicilies on the 23d of July 1808, under the title of Joachim Napoleon. He immediately commenced extensive and formidable preparations for expelling the English from Sicily, but in attempting to land, on the 18th of September 1810, he was compelled to abandon his enterprise, with the loss of 3500 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. After this he made no fresh attempts.

When Napoleon made his grand attack upon the Russian empire, Murat, as usual, commanded the cavalry; and, in the proud march of the French army to Moscow, he formed the advance, and was present, and much distinguished himself, at the battles of Smolensko and Borodino; at the latter, in particular, he contributed to the doubtful successes of the French. In the disastrous termination and retreat of this formidable expedition, Murat, from some misunderstanding, deserted the fortunes of his brother-in-law; and, long before the fall of Napoleon, he had quitted his army and returned to Naples: from which time he was sedulously

employed in cultivating the good offices of the European cabinets, whose countenance was necessary to the existence of his power and rank as a sovereign. But his duplicity was too well known; and the congress at Vienna determined to depose Murat, and again place the lawful sovereign upon his throne. Considerable blame has been thrown upon this determination; and England, in particular, has been charged with a breach of treaty, for not guaranteeing Murat's possessions: but lord Castlereagh's exposition of his conduct and duplicity is so satisfactory, that the best answer to those charges is the statement in the house of commons upon Mr. Horner's motion for "copies of the correspondence which took place between Murat and the agents of the British government, previous to his co-operation with the allies in 1814, and also of any communication with him since that period."

When this motion was brought forward, Lord Castlereagh defended ministers on the ground of disingenuity on the part of marshal Murat. He contended that Murat had never performed any of his engagements towards the allies; and, therefore, the allies were not bound by any engagement with him. His lordship then stated, that he had applied to prince Talleyrand to supply him with the best evidence he could procure of the perfidy of the king of Naples; and, strict search being made in the public bureaus of Paris, a variety of correspondence was discovered, which fully developed the case, although many of the documents had been designedly burnt before the entrance of the allies into the French capital. The letters he had obtained were between the viceroy of Italy, the queen of Naples, Buonaparte, Murat, Fouché, and the princess Borghese. He would read extracts from them to the house, in order to shew the true light in which Joachim was to be viewed. In a letter to the queen of Naples, dated 17th February, Buonaparte said—"Your husband is a very brave man in the field of battle, but more cowardly than a woman or a monk in the council: let him watch the moment to shew that he is not as ungrateful as pusillanimous." Another, from Fouché to Buonaparte, dated from Lucca, 18th February, spoke of the conduct of Murat, and of his heart being decidedly French, lamenting at the same time his want of firmness; and a third, from the viceroy, dated the 20th of February, confirmed the assertions. A report of the consul of Ancona, without date, gave the particulars of a conversation between him and Murat; in which the latter said, that he had been compelled by circumstances to join the allies, but that his heart remained sincerely French, and that he would never forget what he owed to his illustrious brother-in-law. A note from Buonaparte to Murat, without date, expressed the high displeasure of the emperor at his conduct, which had been diametrically opposite to his duty, and belonged to the weakness of his nature. The writer relied on Murat's contrition, or he might hereafter have severe reason to repent of his adherence to the allies. It contained also the following remarkable passage, a part of which his lordship felt obliged to give in the original. "You are not one of those, I hope, who imagine that the lion is dead, *et qu'on peut pisser dessus.*" The same letter went on to assert, that the title of king seemed to have turned the head of Murat. And another, of the 5th of March (to which late date the correspondence had been maintained), accused the king of Naples of calling round him men who would be his ruin; that what he wrote was at variance with his actions: it concluded with these words—"I wrote to the war-minister, in order to set him at ease in regard to your conduct. It is needless to send me an answer, unless you have something important. Remember, I made you a king solely for the interest of my system; if you cease to be a Frenchman you will be nothing to me. Continue to correspond with the viceroy, taking care that your letters are not intercepted." After the perusal of such evidence, it was not necessary to say more to prove the sort of ally the Austrians had obtained. His lordship then entered into the question as to what ought to be the policy of this country, maintaining, that one only course was left; and that government was rather blameable for inactivity in supporting an ancient ally, the king of the Two Sicilies, than for hasty measures that would have hurried on hostilities. He afterwards

referred to the negociations carried on at Naples, and to the conduct of Murat shortly previous to, and at the time of the landing of Buonaparte in France. It was true that, in council, on the arrival of the first intelligence of the escape of Buonaparte from Elba, Murat had declared his intention of acting with the allies; but how did his movements correspond. About the time of the flight of Napoleon, it was singular, that Murat had ordered his ministers, the duke of Campochiaro and prince Cariati, to demand from Austria permission to march through the north of Italy eighty thousand men, under the pretence of taking revenge upon France for her conduct to Naples. Of course a refusal was given; but Murat continued hostile preparations, on a scale far exceeding his population; and, on the 15th of March, he proceeded to Ancona, where he fixed his head-quarters. As Buonaparte advanced, Murat became less concealed; and, soon after Ney had joined his former master, Joachim added Napoleon to his name, and circulated in his army the proclamations of Buonaparte.

The letters which lord Castlereagh quoted in his speech are so curious, that we cannot refrain from giving them.

LETTER FROM ELIZA BUONAPARTE TO BUONAPARTE.

"*Lucca, Feb.* 14, 1814.

"SIRE—I have had the honour of informing your majesty, by my reports of the 5th and 8th of this month, of the concentrating movement operated by the prince of Lucca upon Pisa, in consequence of the circumstances which induced me to quit Florence, to order the evacuation of that city, and to re-assemble all the troops of that division on a point of greater security. The prince has maintained himself at Pisa until now, but having received advices of an English expedition, amounting by all accounts to at least 6000 men, and which appears to be undoubtedly directed from Sicily against Leghorn, Spezia, or Genoa, I have determined to order the prince to continue his movement upon Genoa, in order that his retreat may not be cut off by the only road which still remains open.

"I have been confirmed in this plan by having ascertained that some Neapolitan troops, superior in numbers, are already at Pistoia, and have forced our advanced posts to abandon the passage of Sarravalle.

"I also know that the enemy intends to cut off our communication, by seizing the road which conducts from Pontremole to Spezia and the Rivera di Genoa.

"I have thought proper to give him notice to keep some troops upon which the viceroy must have reckoned, and which cannot render any very decisive purposes elsewhere.

"The projects of the English and Austrians do away all the doubt which the personal conduct of the king of Naples might create. I ought not to conceal from your majesty, that I have received from him several letters, much at variance with the operations of his troops.

"The king is in a state of great agitation. He is astonished that the viceroy should have retired from the Adige, and that I have quitted Tuscany, upon the notion that he could be the enemy of your majesty and of France. He loudly expresses his devotion and his gratitude for your person, and even said to the Tuscan deputies, that he would prefer receiving the first blow to drawing his sword against a Frenchman.

"I know not how to reconcile this language, of which I do not suspect the sincerity, with all the arbitrary measures which have endangered my authority, and those which oblige me even now to provide for the safety of the French troops assembled at Pisa. Your majesty will appreciate these contradictions, which seem to me to proceed from a resolution deemed by the king conformable to his interests, but into which he has been dragged contrary to his own affections. I am assured that the language and conduct of the king are similar in his communications with the viceroy.

"It is, nevertheless, certain, that a proclamation of general Bellegarde's, which recalls the nations of Italy to their former state, has been reprinted at Bologna under the eyes of the king.

"This proclamation, drawn up with much art, has produced the greatest effect in Tus-

cany, where it is extensively circulated. I am, with profound respect, Sire, &c.

(Signed) "ELIZA."

LETTER FROM BUONAPARTE TO THE QUEEN OF NAPLES.

"*Nangis, Feb.* 17.

"Your husband is a very brave man in the field of battle, but he is more cowardly than a woman or a monk when not in presence of the enemy. He has no moral courage. He has been frightened, and he has not hazarded losing for a moment that which he cannot hold but by me and with me.—Make him fully sensible of his absurdity. When he quitted the army without my order, I foresaw all the evil counsels which would be given him. I am, however, better satisfied with the message he has sent me through you. If he be sincerely sorry, let him watch the moment for proving to me that he has not been so ungrateful as he is pusillanimous. I may yet pardon him the injury which he has done me."

LETTER FROM BUONAPARTE TO THE KING OF NAPLES.

"I say nothing to you of my displeasure at your conduct, which has been diametrically opposite to your duty. That, however, belongs to the weakness of your nature.—You are a good soldier on the field of battle, but, excepting there, you have no vigour, and no character. Take advantage of an act of treachery, which I only attribute to fear, in order to serve me by good intelligence.—I rely upon you, upon your contrition, upon your *promises*. If it were otherwise, recollect that you would have to repent it. I suppose that you are not one of those who imagine that the lion is dead, and that he may be p—d upon *(et qu'on peut lui pisser dessus)*. If such are your calculations, they are false. I defeated the Austrians yesterday, and I am in pursuit of the remnants of their columns. Another such victory, and you will see that my affairs are not so desperate as you have been led to believe.

"You have done me all the harm that you could since your departure from Wilna, but we shall say no more about it. The title of king has turned your brain. If you wish to preserve it, behave well, and *keep your word*."

LETTER FROM BUONAPARTE TO THE KING OF NAPLES.

"*March* 5.

"SIR, MY BROTHER,—I have already communicated to you my opinion of your conduct. Your situation had set you beside yourself; my reverses have completely turned your brain. You have called around you men who hate France, and who desire to ruin you. I formerly gave you useful warnings. What you write to me is at variance with your actions. I shall, however, see by your manner of acting at Ancona, if your heart is still French, and if it is to necessity alone that you yield. I write to my war minister, in order to set him at ease with regard to your conduct. Recollect that your kingdom, which has cost so much blood and trouble to France, *is your's only for the benefit of those who gave it you*. It is needless to send me an answer unless you have something important to communicate. *Remember, that I made you a king for the interest of my system*. Do not deceive yourself. If you should cease to be a Frenchman, you would be nothing to me. Continue to correspond with the viceroy, taking care that your letters be not intercepted."

LETTER FROM THE VICEROY TO BUONAPARTE.

"*Volta, Feb.* 20, 1814.

"SIRE—I have the honour to address to your majesty a return of your army of Italy up to the 18th of this month.

"The king of Naples, who appeared inclined to march against us, and to yield to the solicitations of the Austrians, paused as soon as he became acquainted with your majesty's late victories of the 10th, 11th, and 12th. He had not yet received the ratification of his treaty the evening before last. I therefore hope that he will not add to the wrongs of which he has been guilty towards your majesty, by firing upon your troops. I am, with respect, Sire, &c.

(Signed) "EUGENE NAPOLEON."

The history of the Neapolitan war is as

briefly told as its events were insignificant. Murat advanced with an army of 20,000 men into the heart of Italy, under the pretext of invading the papal states, but was received by the Italians with cool indifference, or active enmity. The Austrians advanced against him, and ultimately compelled him (in April 1815) to abandon his dominions and take refuge in France. The circumstances attending his unfortunate fate, and an impartial estimate of his political character, must be deferred till we arrive at the close of the campaign. It may be observed, in the mean time, that if the *will* of the *people*, and affection for their sovereign, be the foundations of all legitimate governments, the pretensions of Murat to the throne of Naples were of a higher character than the mere hereditary claims of the present monarch. The conduct of Murat to the citizens of the capital, and to all his subjects, had been marked by the utmost benignity, and by the love of justice: the Neapolitans contrasted the humanity and the discretion of his conduct with the licentious cruelty of their former sovereigns, and regarded his misfortunes with a feeling of affectionate regret, equally honourable to Joachim and to themselves.

The loss or gain of a crown excites, in this age of vicissitudes, but little interest, except with the losing or gaining parties. The downfall of Murat was not, however, unimportant to Europe, since it left unoccupied a formidable force of Austrians, who joined the allied armies. The hopes of external alliance entertained by Napoleon were now vanished, and he was left to his own resources, and the devotion of the military. The people, with their usual fickleness, had already ceased to testify their enthusiasm on his public appearance. As all commerce was at an end, all workshops were shut up, and the idle and the distressed wandered through the streets, in silent melancholy. A few of the labouring manufacturers and mechanics were engaged by the government to work at the fortifications round Paris, and others were enlisted as members of the *Corps Francs*, to guard the country round the metropolis.—The *Corps Francs* were organized bands of volunteers, hired by some chief commissioned by the police. They had been instituted in the last campaign, to protect the rural communes of the departments round Paris from pillage by the scattered Russian cossacks. The daily papers were filled with lamentable accounts of depredation and violence committed by these northern barbarians. It was asserted that all the horrors of war were poured on the inhabitants, and files of certificates from the magistrates were published, with the intention of awakening the citizens of Paris to resistance, lest they should sustain a similar fate. It was afterwards proved that no Russian cossacks had entered these departments, and that all these horrors had been committed by the *Corps Francs* themselves, who had assumed the costume of the Russian troops. In a village on the Marne, near Meaux, in the direction of which the allied armies were expected, a Russian general had given orders to his little advanced guard of cossacks to levy contributions, and take with them the furniture of the houses in which he had fixed his quarters. Intelligence of this circumstance was conveyed to the proprietor of a villa, who was also a colonel, and stationed with his regiment of regular troops at Meaux. He advanced privately to reconnoitre the enemy: he admired the dexterity with which he saw his property packed up and placed on Russian conveyances. He brought up his regiment, surrounded his house, and made the supposed Russian general and all his troops prisoners of war.—The astonishment of the colonel may easily be conceived when he discovered that these imaginary Russians were his own upholsterer and thirty workmen, from Paris, who had assumed the disguise of cossacks for the purpose of depredation. Amidst the turbulence and agitation of the present crisis, an observance of the forms of law could not be expected, and the impostors were strung up by the neck on the trees which formed the avenue leading to the colonel's house.

A Polish regiment, forming part of the advanced guard of the Russian army, after expelling the French from Troyes in the year 1814, exhibited an instance of forbearance and humanity which deserves to be recorded. The troops were foraging in a village adjacent to Fontainbleau, and were employed in wantonly piercing the banks, or

forcing the sluices, of some fish-ponds.—While they were thus employed they were astonished to hear the word of command, bidding them to cease, pronounced in their own language by a person in the dress of the upper class of peasants. They relinquished their attempt at further spoliation and drew near the stranger. He represented to the troops the useless mischief they were about to commit, and ordered them to withdraw. The officers coming up were lectured in their turn, and heard with the same astonishment the laws of predatory warfare explained to them. To be thus tutored by a French farmer, in their own language, was almost past endurance. They beheld the peasants, at the same time, taking off their hats and surrounding the speaker, as if to protect him in case of violence, while the older among their own soldiers, anxiously gazing on the features of the stranger, were seized with involuntary trembling. Conjured more peremptorily, though respectfully, to disclose his quality and his name, he exclaimed, with an half stifled voice, "I am Kosciusko!" The movement was electric, the soldiers threw down their arms, and falling prostrate on the ground, according to the custom of their country, covered their heads with sand. On Kosciusko's return to his house, he found that a guard of honour had been sent by the emperor Alexander to protect his dwelling against outrage and contribution.

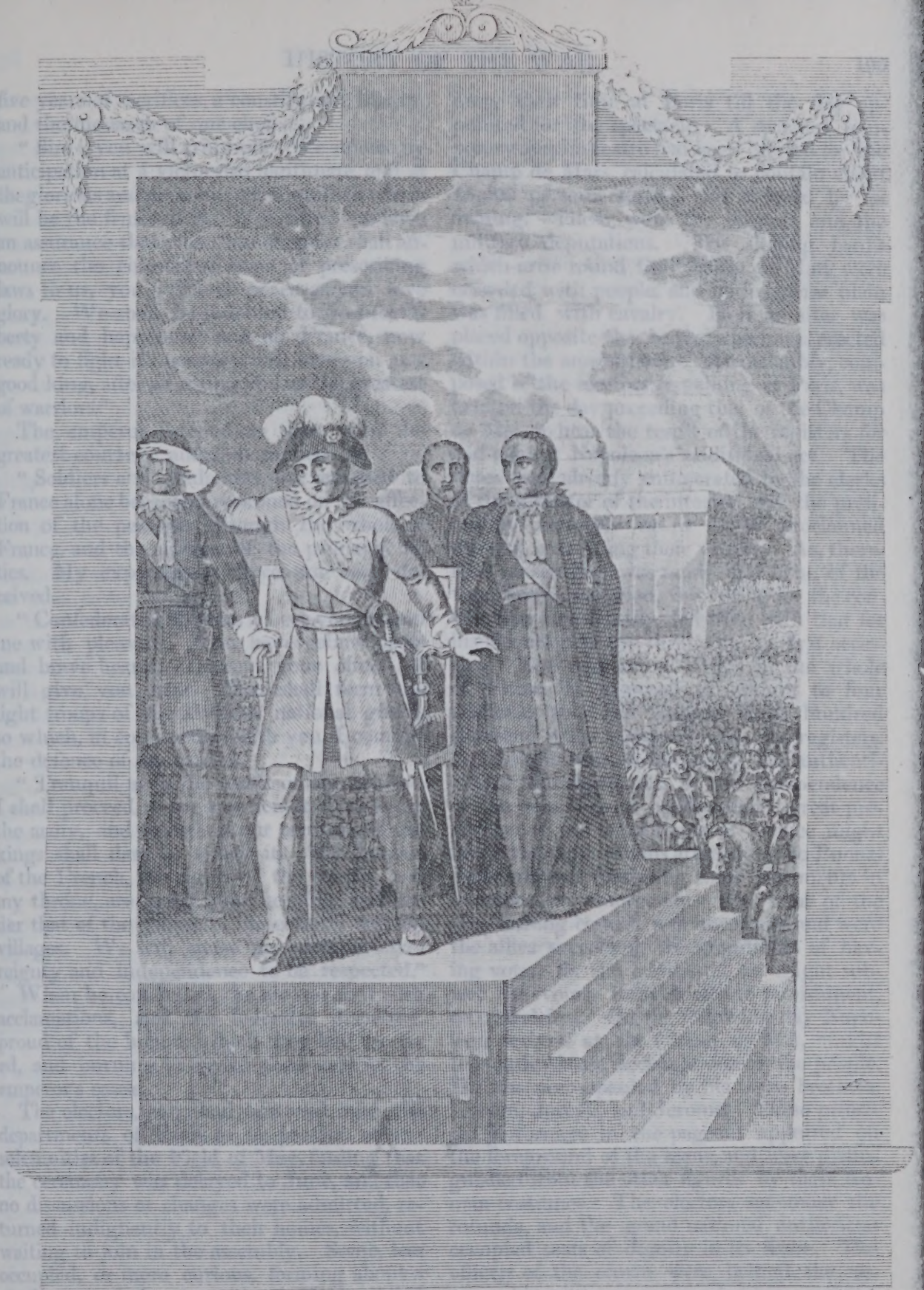
CHAP. X.——1815

Napoleon reviews the Corps de Francs.—Celebration of the Field of May.—Installation of the legislature.—Memoirs of Languinais.—Seizure of a maniac, suspected of a design to assassinate Napoleon.—Proclamations of the allies.—Energy and activity of Buonaparte.—His formidable preparations.—Declaration of Louis to the French people.—Address of Buonaparte to his soldiers.—He departs for the frontiers, and enters Belgium.

EMBARRASSED and agitated by the partial successes of the royalists in Languedoc, Bretagne, and Anjou, Napoleon had proposed to his council a domiciliary visit through Paris, to search for papers and suspected persons: and to the opposition of his advisers on this proposal must be chiefly ascribed his sudden flight to the palace of Elysée Bourbon. On the 14th of May he assembled the *Corps Francs*, and the other troops in Paris, in the courts of the palace of the Thuilleries. When the emperor appeared in front of the line, an orator, deputed from their body, addressed him in the subjoined harangue.

"SIRE!—We received the Bourbons with indifference and apathy, because we love not kings imposed upon us by the enemy. We received you with enthusiasm, because you are the man of the nation, the defender of the country, and because we expect from you a glorious independence and judicious freedom. We come to make a tender of our arms, our courage, and our blood, for the safety of the capital.

"The most part of us have combated under your orders. We are almost all old defenders of our country. Our country may with confidence place arms in the hands of those who have shed their blood in her cause. Give to us, Sire! arms in her name. We swear, in your presence, to fight only in our country's cause and in yours. We are not the tools of any party, nor the agents of any faction. We desire only to preserve the national honour, and to render the entrance of the enemy into this capital impracticable, in the event of its being threatened with a new insult. Conquerors by our own courage and your genius, we shall resume our toils with joy and alacrity; and we shall be better able to appreciate the blessings of peace when we shall obtain, as the price of twenty-



BUONAPARTE AT THE FIELD OF MAY.

five years of sacrifices, a constitution, liberty, and the monarch of our choice.

"Sire! you will triumph. We rejoice by anticipation at a victory so legitimate, and at the glorious and permanent tranquillity which will be the fruits of it. Yes, Sire! we have an assurance that when our enemies shall announce the chimerical hope of prescribing laws to us, you will love peace as you love glory. We shall be indebted to you for liberty and happiness; and all France, now ready to fight if necessary, will love you as a good king, after admiring you as the greatest of warriors."

The emperor listened to them with the greatest courtesy, and thus replied:—

"Soldiers and Federates!—I returned to France alone because I reckoned on the affection of the peasants through the whole of France, and the artisans of the principal cities. My expectations have not been deceived.

"Confederated Soldiers! I see you around me with pleasure. You have robust arms and brave hearts. I accept your offers. I will give you arms. You shall form the light troops of the Parisian national guard, to which, in conjunction with you, I commit the defence of my capital.

"Tranquil as to the result of the contest, I shall proceed to the frontiers to manœuvre the army, and to defend our territory if the kings shall dare to attack it. The honour of the French, the rights of the people, and my throne, are under your keeping, and under that of the people of the country and the villages. We will cause the national sovereignty and independence to be respected."

When he concluded, the air was rent with acclamations, and the federates dispersed, proud of the honour which they had received, and burning to prove their zeal in the emperor's cause.

The electors, who had hastened from the departments of Paris to be present at the solemnities of the Field of May, finding that the ceremony was delayed to June, and that no discussions or changes were admitted, returned indignantly to their homes, without waiting to join in the assembly. Some, less occupied, or more curious, forming about a tenth part of the electors convoked, whiled away their time at Paris till the day appointed for the spectacle. A spacious temporary amphitheatre had been erected for the Champ de Mars, calculated to contain about 15,000 persons, seated, and covered by an awning. These were the electors and the military deputations. The sloping banks which arise round the Champ de Mars were crowded with people, and its immense plain was filled with cavalry. Here an altar was placed opposite the throne, which was erected within the amphitheatre. An assembly, composed of the electors remaining at Paris, was held on the day preceding that of the Champ de Mai, to hear the result of the registers for and against Napoleon's additional act. The votes were already enumerated by the clerks of the minister of the interior, and the preliminary assembly heard them proclaimed without examining their validity. As, therefore, no scrutiny was made, and none of the votes were examined, the voting for the constitution was equally defective with that for his elevation to the throne on his first accession. The number of voters in the whole of France is supposed to amount to four millions, and one million three hundred thousand votes appeared upon the registers. Even those who do not admit the authenticity of the signatures, or the independence of the voters, must confess that a great proportion of the inhabitants of France might retain the most zealous attachment to Buonaparte without disclosing their sentiments in so critical an emergency. The issue of the approaching contest was uncertain, and were the allies successful, the imputation of having voted for the additional act might subject the voters individually to punishment, or oppression. On the following day Napoleon arrived at the Champ de Mai, amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of the people. He was accompanied by his three brothers, Lucien, Joseph, and Jerome. These principal performers in the pageant appeared on the foreground of the scene, and were distinguished from the other figures by their Roman costumes. The electors sat under the rotunda, and the grand national authorities occupied seats of dignity in its front. The officers of the crown were behind the emperor, his ministers surrounded him, and the

generals stood at his side. Three hundred thousand spectators occupied the remaining part of the field, or surrounded the enclosure. The ceremony began with high mass, and the members of the central deputation of the electoral colleges, amounting to five hundred, were then presented to Napoleon by the arch-chancellor. The following speech was then delivered by the deputy appointed to harangue the emperor, and which he pronounced standing on the steps of the throne:

"The French people have decreed you the crown. You resigned it without their consent. Their suffrages have just imposed upon you the duty of resuming it.

"What does the confederacy of the allied kings require? By what act have we afforded a pretext for their aggression?

"They dare to proscribe you personally,—you who have so often been master of their capitals, and have generously confirmed them on their tottering thrones. But this hatred on the part of your enemies only adds to our love for you. If they proscribed the least known of our citizens, it would be our duty to defend him with the same energy; he would, like you, be under the ægis of the law, and of the power of France.

"Do they ask guarantees? They are in all our institutions. Do they dread to recal other times? Let them beware how they reproduce them. It would not be the first time that we have conquered all Europe in arms against us.

"Expect from us, Sire! all that an heroic leader has a right to expect from a nation faithful, energetic, generous, unshaken in its principles, invariable in the objects of its efforts—independence of foreign powers, and liberty at home.

"Sire! nothing is impossible for us—nothing shall be omitted to secure our honour and independence, treasures dearer to us than life. We say to the nations—may their chiefs attend to us!—If they accept your offers of peace, the French people will expect from your strong, liberal, and paternal administration, the means of consolation for the sacrifices that peace has cost; but if they leave us only the choice between war and disgrace, the entire nation will rise up for war. It is ready to disengage you from the offers, perhaps too moderate, which you have made to spare Europe a new convulsion? Every Frenchman is a soldier. Victory will follow our eagles, and our enemies, who reckoned on divisions among us, will soon regret having provoked us."

The energy of the speaker communicated itself to the whole assembly, and the field resounded with the shouts of "The Nation for ever! The Emperor for ever!"

The arch-chancellor now pronounced the result of the votes, by which it appeared that the additional act was almost unanimously accepted.

The herald-at-arms then proclaimed, "In the name of the emperor, I declare that the additional act to the constitutions of the empire has been accepted by the French people!"

Fresh acclamations were heard on every side.

A table was then brought in front of the throne, on which was placed the additional act, and the emperor sanctioned it with his signature.

The table being withdrawn, Napoleon again seated himself on the throne, and uncovering himself for a moment spoke as follows:

"Gentlemen, electors of colleges, of departments, and arrondissements!—

"Gentlemen, deputies from the army and navy to the Champ de Mai!

"Emperor, consul, soldier! I hold every thing from the people. In prosperity, in adversity, in the field of battle, in council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the rule and constant object of my thoughts and actions.

"Like the king of Athens I sacrificed myself for my people, in the hope of witnessing the realization of the promise given to guarantee to France her national integrity, her honours, and her rights.

"Indignation on beholding those sacred rights, acquired by twenty-five years of victory, slighted and lost for ever; the cry of insulted French honour, and the wishes of the nation, have brought me back to that throne which is dear to me, because it is the *palladium* of the independence, of the honour, and the rights of the people.

"Frenchmen! in my progress amidst the

public joy, through the different provinces of the empire to my capital, I had every reason to reckon upon a long peace. Nations are bound by the treaties concluded by their governments, whatever they may be.

" My thoughts were then wholly engaged with the means of founding our liberty on a constitution conformable to the wishes and the interests of the people. I convoked the *Champ de Mai.*

" I was soon apprized that the princes who have violated all principles, who have shocked the public opinion, and the dearest interests of so many nations, design to make war upon us. They meditate the increase of the kingdom of the Netherlands; they would give it for barriers all our northern frontier fortresses, and would make up the quarrels which still divide them, by sharing among themselves Lorraine and Alsace.

" It was necessary to prepare for war.

" However, before personally exposing myself to the risks of battles, my first care was to give without delay a constitution to the nation. The people has accepted the act which I presented to it.

" Frenchmen! when we shall have repelled these unjust aggressions, and Europe shall be convinced of what is due to the rights and independence of twenty-eight millions of Frenchmen, a solemn law, enacted according to the forms prescribed by the constitutional act, shall combine the different provisions of our constitutions that are now scattered.

" Frenchmen! you are about to return into your departments. Tell the citizens that circumstances are momentous!!!—that with union, energy, and perseverance, we shall come off victorious from this struggle of a great people against its oppressors; that future generations will severely scrutinize our conduct; and that a nation has lost all when it has lost its independence. Tell them, that the foreign kings whom I either raised to the throne, or who are indebted to me for the preservation of their crowns, who all, in the time of my prosperity, courted my alliance and the protection of the French people, are now aiming their blows at my person. If I did not see that it is against the country that they are really directed, I would place at their mercy this life, against which they manifest so much animosity.—But tell the citizens also, that while the French shall retain for me the sentiments of attachment of which they have given so many proofs, the rage of our enemies will be impotent. Frenchmen! my will is that of the people: my rights are their rights: my honour, my glory, my happiness, can never be distinct from the honour, the glory, and the happiness of France!"

To this harangue succeeded the declaration of the arch-chancellor, that the new charter was accepted by a vast majority of votes, and this was followed by a second appeal of the emperor to the electors, after which he signed the additional act, to which he swore, on the holy evangelists, to adhere. He then laid aside the imperial mantle, and rising from the throne, addressed the soldiers, confiding to their care the imperial and national eagles, as a proof of unlimited confidence in their fidelity. This oration was received with the most enthusiastic plaudits, the sound of the drum was drowned in the delirious shouts of the multitude, and crowds of soldiers and citizens pressed on to surround his person. Having extricated himself from the pressure of the electors, the troops were ordered to defile before him, and during two hours, which were occupied in the long procession of the battalions, the acclamations were incessant.

Thus ended the assembly of the Field of May, which contributed but little to the establishment of Napoleon's authority. His most upright advisers had whispered in his ear that he might convert the pageantry of the Field of May into a scene of real glory; that he had a noble act of magnanimity to perform, and might secure a permanent influence on the minds of the people, by voluntarily declaring, in the presence of the assembled empire, his own abdication. He was reminded that all Europe was assembling on his frontiers, that its tremendous coalition might be at first resisted, but must eventually subdue; and that his crown and person would be the price of peace. He was called upon by every motive that could be urged, to do what, in truth, was only an act of prudent foresight, but which all future times

would applaud, as the generous resolve of a great and lofty spirit. He had but to declare that, seeing he was made the pretext of the cruel invasion with which France was menaced, he relinquished the empire he had regained, and withdrew in the hope of meriting the national gratitude. But a sacrifice of ambition to the cause of liberty, and the happiness of mankind, would be a phenomenon in the history of ancient or modern warriors.

On the Sunday which followed the ceremony of the Field of May, the emperor went in his state carriage, attended by his female relatives, and preceded and followed by his numerous guards, in high military pomp, to instal the legislature. The chamber of representatives was composed of men who have been unjustly calumniated as the refuse of the revolution, and the friends of Buonaparte. Among the deputies were the names of Rochefoucault, Liancourt, D'Argenson, and De La Tour Mauburg, the opulent bankers Lafitte and Lafeete, many peers and members of the late house of representatives; Constant and La Fayette. The latter individual had resisted, in the course of his political career, every temptation that might have been expected to seduce a political character from the path of virtue, patriotism, and integrity. Among the many extraordinary patriots of the time in which we live, no man has undergone greater vicissitudes of fortune than La Fayette. At one time we behold him tearing himself from the fascinations of the most licentious court in Europe, and combating for the cause of liberty under the banners of Washington: at another, sowing the seeds of strife and dissaffection in his native country; then proscribed and hunted by his associates; afterwards a fugitive in a foreign and hostile land; and lastly, seized as a traitor and delivered up to the emperor of Germany, who immediately consigned him as a prisoner to the castle of Olmutz.

On his final liberation, and after his return to France, La Fayette was earnestly solicited to accept the dignity of a peerage; but he would receive nothing from the hands of Buonaparte that could be construed into a pledge of political subservience, and his time was passed in the solitude of literary retirement till he was elected a member of the house of representatives for his own department. The first act of the chamber of representatives was the nomination of M. Lanjuinais as president. He was well known for his unshaken attachment to rational and constitutional liberty, and for his uniform opposition to every despotic act of Buonaparte. An expression of his, uttered many years before, had shewn the sentiments which he entertained of Napoleon, and exposed him to the unrelenting fury of the tyrant;—"What!" said he, in the debate on the proposition of conferring on Buonaparte the title of emperor, "are you so degraded as to give your country a master taken from a race of men so ignominious that the Romans disdained to use them even as slaves?"

Lanjuinais was before the revolution an advocate and professor of canon-law. He was a deputy of the *tiers-état* to the states-general, and one of the founders of the jacobin club, though never disgraced by the atrocities of that execrable society. In August 1789, he shewed that though he was an ardent friend to liberty, he was not disposed to league himself with the disciples of anarchy, for he warmly opposed the sequestration of the property of the clergy, yet he was the person who proposed the abolition of all titles, and objected to that of prince being still conferred on the members of the reigning family. When the reign of terror commenced, he closely allied himself with the moderate party. On the 15th of December, 1792, he spoke in favour of Louis XVI. and demanded that counsel and the means of defence should be granted to him. On the 26th of the same month he again appeared as the advocate of that unfortunate monarch. He exposed the injustice and atrocity of a trial in which the enemies of Louis were at once accusers, witnesses, jurymen, and judges; nor would he move from the tribune, although he was assailed with the most furious outcries, and his voice repeatedly drowned by the most diabolical outcries and threats of revenge. On the nominal appeal, he declared that Louis XVI. was guilty, and voted that he should be imprisoned until a peace, and then banished.

He now distinguished himself by his fearless opposition to all the deeds of injustice and blood which disgraced this period of the revolution. On one occasion, he kept possession of the tribune, though several of the demoniacs of the mountain party attempted to drag him thence with violence. They yelled in his ears that he was suspected, and called on him to resign. "I have, I believe," said he, "hitherto shewn some courage, some energy; expect then from me neither resignation nor suspension. Know that a victim which, adorned with flowers, is dragged to the altar, is not insulted by the sacrificing priest. You talk of sacrificing my power? What an abuse of words! Sacrifices ought to be free, and you are not so." He was condemned to imprisonment at this very meeting, but eluding the vigilance of the *gend'arme* who guarded him, he escaped the fate in which all his colleagues were soon involved. He was now out-lawed, and remained a fugitive and proscribed until 1795, when he was recalled to the legislative assembly. In June, 1795, he was appointed president of the assembly, and continued to display equal love to his country, and determination to avoid the extremes of anarchy and despotism. He opposed every law against the relations of emigrants, and every decree which seemed unnecessarily severe. In 1800 he became one of the conservative senate, and strenuously opposed the arbitrary measures of Buonaparte. In 1802, before Buonaparte was made first consul for life, a project was entertained by his partisans to raise him to the imperial dignity at once. Rœderer made a speech to sound the conservative senate on the point. Lanjuinais replied to him, and exclaimed that "Whoever he was that would take upon himself the title of emperor, he would consider him as an enemy to his country, and a usurper." Marshal Kellerman immediately drew his sword, and asked, "whom he meant to stigmatise as an usurper?" adding, "that if he meant the first consul, he would run him through the body!" The senate interposed, but Lanjuinais was resolute, and persisted in his declaration without naming any person. His firmness and eloquence produced so much effect on the senate that it was deemed prudent to drop the plan for the present. When Buonaparte was made emperor, Lanjuinais violently opposed it, and uttered the strong expression which I have quoted. On this account he incurred the hatred of Napoleon.

When the allies entered Paris in 1814, he drew up the celebrated *proces-verbal*, which pronounced the dethronement of Buonaparte and the causes of it. The paper is curious as an historical document, and as contrasted with some of the speeches of Lanjuinais to the emperor on the resumption of his power. There will, however, appear no disgraceful inconsistency in the conduct of Lanjuinais, no servile adulation; he is still the rational, enlightened, and determined friend of the liberties and welfare of his country.

The choice of Lanjuinais, on the present occasion, was peculiarly displeasing to Napoleon, but his interest led him at this moment to preserve the appearance of friendship with the legislature, and the nomination was confirmed. It was expected that on the following day the sessions would have been formally opened, and the hall of representatives was crowded by citizens and strangers. A Saxon gentleman of distinction, named Sahla, was present to witness the ceremony, but was informed that the emperor would not open the sessions till the following day. He immediately departed, but at a short distance from the hall his foot slipped, and he fell prostrate on the ground. A quantity of fulminating silver exploded in his pocket, and he was immediately taken before the police. He was then recognised as the same individual who had been apprehended five years before for an attempt on the life of the emperor. His answers to the questions put by the magistrates were violent and incoherent; he was sent to an hospital for maniacs, but escaped, and on the following morning threw himself from the bridge of Louis XVI. into the Seine, and was drowned.

On the 7th of June, the emperor proceeded in state to the hall of the representatives, and opened the session with the following speech:—

"Messieurs of the chamber of peers, and messieurs of the chamber of representatives:

"For three months past, circumstances

and the confidence of the people have invested me with unlimited power. At this moment the most anxious wish of my heart is accomplished. I have commenced a constitutional monarchy.

"Men are too feeble to secure the future; legal institutions alone fix the destinies of nations. Monarchy is necessary to France, to guarantee the liberty, the independence, and the rights of the people.

"Our constitutions are scattered; one of our most important occupations will be to consolidate them into one body, and arrange them in one simple system. This labour will recommend the present epoch to the gratitude of future generations.

"I am anxious that France should enjoy all possible liberty; I say possible, because anarchy always resolves itself into absolute government.

"A formidable coalition of kings threatens our independence; their armies are approaching our frontiers.

"The Melpomene frigate has been attacked and taken in the Mediterranean, after a sanguinary action with an English vessel of 74 guns. Blood has been shed in the time of peace.

"Our enemies rely upon our internal divisions. They excite and foment civil war. Risings have taken place. Communications are held with Ghent, as with Coblentz in 1792. Legislative measures are indispensable. I place unreserved confidence in your patriotism, your wisdom, and your attachment to my person.

"The liberty of the press is inherent in the existing constitution. No change can be made in that respect without altering the whole of our political system; but some restrictions are necessary, more especially in the actual state of the nation. I recommend this important subject to your serious consideration.

"My ministers will acquaint you with the situation of our affairs.

"The finances would be in a satisfactory state but for the increased expenditure rendered requisite by existing circumstances.

"Nevertheless, all might be met, if the receipts comprised in the budget could all be realized within the year; my minister will direct your attention to the means of arriving at this result.

"It is possible that the first duty of a prince may soon call me at the head of the children of the nation to combat for the country. The army and myself will do our duty.

"Do you, peers and representatives! give the nation an example of confidence, energy, and patriotism; and, like the senate of the great people of antiquity, resolve to die rather than survive the dishonour and degradation of France. The sacred cause of the country shall triumph!!!"

"The chief basis of the monarchy," replied the representatives, "the protectress of liberty, equality, and the happiness of the people, has been recognized by your majesty, who, rising above all scruples, as anticipating all wishes, have declared that the care of collecting our scattered constitutions, and of arranging them, was one of the most important occupations reserved for the legislature. Faithful to its mission, it will perform the task thus devolved upon it. It requests that, to satisfy the public wish, as well as the wishes of your majesty, national deliberation should rectify, as speedily as possible, any thing defective or imperfect that the urgency of our situation may have produced, or left to exist in our constitutions, considered as a whole.

"To attack the monarch of its choice is to attack the independence of the nation. It is armed as one man to defend that independence, and to repel without exception, every family and every prince whom men shall dare to wish to impose upon it. No ambitious project enters the thoughts of the French people. *The will even of a victorious prince would be insufficient to draw on the nation, beyond the limits of its own defence*; but to guard its territory, to maintain its liberty, its honour, its dignity, it is ready for any sacrifice."

These sentiments gave great offence to Napoleon, and he could not refrain from reading them one of the lectures to which the former assemblies were accustomed to listen with astonishment and stifled indignation.

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ing point. It must be our pole-star, in these stormy moments. All public discussion tending to diminish, directly or indirectly, the confidence which should be placed in its enactments, will be a misfortune to the state. We should then find ourselves without a compass, and without a rudder. The crisis in which we are placed is great. Let us not imitate the conduct of the lower empire, which, pressed on all sides by barbarians, made itself the laughing stock of posterity, by occupying itself with abstract discussions at the moment when the battering ram was shaking the gates of the city. Assist me to save our country. First representative of the people, I have contracted the engagement, which I renew, of employing in more tranquil times all the prerogatives of the crown, and the little experience I have acquired in aiding you to ameliorate our constitution."

The exertions of the allies to inspire their subjects and their armies with confidence and enthusiasm were commensurate with the importance of the crisis. On the 5th of April the emperor Alexander reviewed a considerable body of Russian troops, and addressed them in the following terms:—

"Brave warriors, the honour and glory of the great empire with which Providence has entrusted me! Your emperor comes once more to place himself at your head. He summons you a second time to the defence of humanity and the common rights of Europe, which Napoleon, the vile and criminal artificer of fraud, has dared again to threaten. Abusing our clemency, and violating those treaties which ensured to him a sacred asylum, the perjurer has succeeded in deceiving anew the hopes of those nations who had forgotten his atrocious cruelties and his insatiable ambition. Let us hasten to join the invincible phalanxes of our allies, and deliver France from the eternal scourge of the human race, who once more governs it contrary to the wishes of every reasonable and peaceable inhabitant of that country.

"Soldiers! the sacred league which at present unites all the people of Europe, and which ought to guarantee them from all oppression, we know how to defend, and we will defend it, if necessary, to the last drop of our blood.

"Alexander is among you. You will always see him choose the path of true honour, that which leads to the happiness of mankind. This will entitle him to your confidence and love."

Scarcely had the monarch ceased speaking, when the shouts of 'Long live Alexander the Great,' and 'Death to the tyrant,' spread from rank to rank.

This appropriate and animated speech was succeeded by the following letter to Louis the eighteenth, which was written by Alexander himself, and is inserted here as a curious specimen of royal correspondence. The frank acknowledgment of the grand error of the former campaign is honourable to the candour of the writer. This letter is likewise important, as containing a developement of the real intentions of the allies again to force the Bourbons on the French.

"My dear brother and worthy ally,

"Providence, who sports with the designs of men, has permitted the peace of Europe, for which, a few months ago, we made so many sacrifices, to be again disturbed by Napoleon Buonaparte, who owes his political existence to our generosity, and his life to our clemency. Because we were unwilling to accustom the people to see the blood even of those who had governed illegitimately flow, we determined to observe scrupulously the articles of the treaty of Fontainbleau.—But I reproach myself with having been the involuntary cause of all the evils which threaten to overwhelm your unhappy kingdom. Had I not listened to the suggestions of a false delicacy, you would not have been compelled to abandon your people and your capital, and the league, which we have renewed by a solemn oath, would not have been necessary.

"Unhappy monarch! will your people be always blinded by the delusions of a revolution which has cost them so much blood and so many tears? Will Frenchmen refuse to render homage to the king of France?

"That people so enlightened, and once so generous and magnanimous, can it prefer the government of Napoleon Buonaparte to the legitimate authority of a father, and the

sincere love of a descendant of the Great Henry?

"No! Every good Frenchman laments your absence, and sighs for the return of its sovereign, that affectionate parent who alone can restore to it peace and prosperity, and reconcile it with every civilized nation.

"My arms, and those of coalesced Europe, are ready to enter into your kingdom under your immediate command. We shall all combat under one and the same standard, that of the lilies. That banner without spot will not be dishonoured by us. In France we shall feel and act like Frenchmen. Your people will be regarded by us as brothers.—We will soften as much as may be in our power the inconveniences and sufferings which an army of eight hundred thousand men must necessarily bring in its train. It is important for us not to alienate the hearts of your subjects, and not to restore to you a crown which has cost them many sacrifices. But if Frenchmen should be found sufficiently blind to oppose our progress, we have determined no longer to listen to the voice of clemency, but once for all to purge France from those ambitious men, who wish to perpetuate the troubles of Europe.

Our cause is that of heaven, because it is that of justice. To render to the world the repose after which it sighs, and to render that repose solid and durable,—to restore to all sovereigns their rights and prerogatives,—and to you, my respected brother, your crown and your dominions, this is the object of our enterprise, and we have sworn that we will not lay down our arms till that object be attained.

(Signed) "ALEXANDER.

"Dated Schoenbrunn, April 10, 1815."

The next of these documents was a proclamation of the king of Prussia, which breathes a noble spirit.

"When in the hour of danger I called my people to arms to combat for the freedom and independence of their country, the whole mass of the youth, glowing with emulation, thronged round my standards to bear with joyful self-denial unusual hardships, and resolved to brave death itself. Then the best strength of the people intrepidly joined the ranks of my brave soldiers, and my generals led with me into battle a host of heroes, who have shewn themselves worthy of the names of their fathers, and heirs of their glory.—Thus we and our allies, attended by victory, conquered the capital of our enemy. Our banners waved in Paris. Napoleon abandoned his authority. Liberty was restored to Germany, security to thrones, and to the world the hope of a durable peace. This hope is vanished. We must again march to the combat. A perfidious conspiracy has brought back to France the man who for ten successive years inflicted on the world unutterable misery. The people confounded have not been able to oppose his armed adherents. Though he, while still at the head of a considerable armed force, declared his abdication to be a voluntary sacrifice to the happiness and repose of France, he now regards this, like every other convention, as nothing. He commands a horde of perjured soldiers who wish to render war eternal.

"Europe is again threatened. It cannot suffer the man to remain on the throne of France, who loudly proclaimed universal empire to be the object of his continually renewed wars; who confounded all moral principles by his unceasing breach of faith, and who can therefore give the world no security for his peaceable intentions.

"Again therefore arise to the combat.—France itself needs our aid, and all Europe is allied with us. United with your ancient companions in victory, and reinforced by the accession of new brethren in arms, you go, brave Prussians! to a just war with me, with the princes of my family, and with the generals who have always led you to victory.

"The justice of the cause we defend will ensure our success. Arise then, with God for your support, for the repose of the world, for order, for morality, for your king and your country."

No part of Napoleon's political life, marked as it has always been by the most rapid and extraordinary promptitude in military preparation, affords such a display of activity, as the brief interval which occurred between his resumption of the imperial sceptre and resigning it, as it may be presumed, for ever. Al-

though the conciliation of the royalists and the liberalists required some time, and although it was necessary to sacrifice several days to the Champ de Mai and similar spectacles, he was never for an instant diverted from his purpose. While he seemed to be fully occupied with the political discussions of the various parties, with shews and processions, and reviews of children not more than ten years old, his more serious preparations for the awful struggle, which he expected to encounter, were as gigantic in their character as incessant in their progress.—Every effort was employed to excite the population to take up arms, and to move forward corps of national guards to relieve in garrison the troops of the line, now called into more active service. Cannon, muskets, arms of every description, were forged and issued from the manufactories and arsenals with incredible alacrity. The old corps were recruited from the conscripts of 1814; retired veterans were again called forth to their banners, new levies were instituted under the various names of free-corps, federés, and volunteers; the martial spirit of France was again roused to hope and energy, and the whole kingdom was at once transformed into an immense camp, of which Napoleon was the leader and the soul. One large army defiled towards Belgium, where the vicinity of the English and Prussian troops excited alarm; other armies were assembled in Alsace, in Lorraine, in Franche Comte, at the foot of the Alps, and on the verge of the Pyremees. The French grand army, already in the highest order, was still further augmented in numbers and equipments. It now became obvious that Flanders, or the adjoining French frontier, must be the scene of action. The general head-quarters were fixed at Laon, a very strong position, where some preparations were made for forming an army of reserve in case of a disaster. The first corps occupied Valenciennes, and the second Maubeuge, communicating by their right wing with the armies assembled in the Ardennes, and on the Moselle, and resting their left upon the strong fortifications of Lisle. Here they waited the numerous reinforcements of every kind which Buonaparte poured towards their position.

The deficiency of artillery was chiefly apprehended. The allies had, in 1814, carried off most of the French field trains. But by indefatigable exertions the loss was more than supplied: for, besides the usual train attaching to separate corps, each division of the army had a park of reserve, and the imperial guard in particular had a superb train of guns, consisting almost entirely of new pieces. It is remarkable that, in casting these engines of war, the old republican moulds had been generally employed, and many of the guns taken at Waterloo had engraved upon them, "Liberté, Equalité, Fraternité," or bore the names of Rousseau, Voltaire, and other writers of deistical eminence. The army, in all, possessed more than three hundred guns; a quantity of artillery rather beyond the proportion of its numbers.

Cavalry was another species of force in which Buonaparte was supposed to be peculiarly weak. But the very reverse proved to be the case. The care of Louis XVIII. had mounted several of the regiments which had suffered in the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, and the exertions of Napoleon and his officers completed their equipment, as well as the levy of others, so that a finer body of cavalry never took the field. They were upwards of twenty thousand in number: of whom, the lancers were distinguished by their address, activity, and ferocity, and the nine regiments of cuirassiers, by the excellence of their appointments, and the superior power of their horses. This last corps was composed of soldiers selected for their bravery and experience, and gave the most decisive proofs of both, in the dreadful battle of Waterloo. Their cuirasses consisted of a breastplate and back, joined together by clasps, like the ancient plate armour. Those of the soldiers were of iron—those of the officers of brass, inlaid with steel. They are proof against a musket ball, unless it comes in a perfectly straight direction. To these arms was added a helmet, with cheek pieces, and their weapons of offence were a long broadsword, with pistols. They carried no carabines. The horses of the cuirassiers, although on trial they proved inferior to those of our heavy cavalry, were probably superior to

those of any other corps in Europe. They were selected with great care, and many of the carriage and saddle horses, which Buonaparte had pressed for the equipment of the army, were assigned to mount these formidable regiments.

Of the infantry of the French it is impossible to speak too highly. The flower of the army consisted of the imperial guards, who were at least 20,000 strong. These chosen cohorts had submitted, with the most sullen reluctance, to the change of sovereigns in 1814; and no indulgence or flattery which the members of the Bourbon family could bestow had weakened their affection to their former master, which often displayed itself at times, and in a manner offensive to their temporary and nominal commanders. The imperial guards were pledged, therefore, as deeply as men could be, to maintain the new revolution which their partiality had accomplished. The other corps of infantry, all of whom participated in the same confidence in themselves and their general, might amount to 110,000 men, which, with the guards and cavalry, formed a gross total of 150,000 soldiers, completely armed and equipped, and supplied even to profusion with every kind of ammunition. So fascinated was this brilliant army with the recollection of former victories, that, notwithstanding they were perfectly acquainted with the mighty preparations of the allies, they complained of the delay, which did not lead them to instant battle. They were subservient to a general who knew well how to avail himself of these feelings of confidence and ardour.

The emissaries of Buonaparte were actively employed in every part of Europe, transmitting intelligence respecting the state of public opinion, and preparations of the allies, which were of the most extensive and formidable kind. Before the middle of June, the British force amounted to 60,000 men, and the king of the Netherlands had half that number. One hundred and fifty thousand Austrians were ready to penetrate by the Alps from Italy; the same number reached the Rhine; two hundred and thirty thousand Russians had almost advanced to the frontiers of France, and six corps of Prussians, consisting of two hundred and thirty-six thousand men, were ready to penetrate the French territory at various points. The additional contingents from the various states of Germany amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand men; and nearly a million of soldiers therefore were under arms, and about to invade the "sacred territory."

At the head of these formidable armies were the most renowned generals of the age. Some among them had already fought successfully against Napoleon, and others had vanquished his most able marshals. Prince Schwartzenburg was commander in chief of the Austrians, having under his orders field-marshal Bellegarde, and generals Frimont, Bianchi, and Vincent. The Russians were commanded by the grand duke Constantine, seconded by Barclay de Tolly, Sacken, and Langeron. Prince Blucher headed the Prussians, with generals Kliest, York, and Bulow; and the duke of Wellington commanded the British and Belgians, assisted by the prince of Orange, the duke of Brunswick, generals Picton, Beresford, Clinton, and a long list of heroes. The continental sovereigns took the field in person, and followed the movements of the armies.

Louis XVIII. had in the mean time retired from Lisle to Ghent, and on the 12th of April he published the subjoined declaration, which avows the determination of the allies to re-seat the Bourbons on the throne:

"*Ghent, April* 12, 1815.

"At the moment when we are about to place ourselves amid our people, we consider that we owe them, in the face of Europe, a formal declaration of our intentions.

"When heaven and the nation recalled us to the throne, we made before God the solemn promise, very soothing to our heart, to forget injuries, and to labour without relaxation for the happiness of our subjects. The sons of St. Lewis have never betrayed either heaven or their country.

"Already had our people recovered, through our care, plenty at home, peace abroad, and the esteem of all nations; already the throne, weakened by so many shocks, had begun to be firmly established, when treason forced us to quit our capital, and to seek refuge on the confines of our states. However, Europe

has taken up arms. Europe, faithful to its treaties, will know no other king of France except ourselves. Twelve hundred thousand men are about to march, to assure the repose of the world, and, a second time, to deliver our fine country.

"In this state of things, a man, whose whole strength is at present made up of artifice and delusion, endeavours to lead astray the spirit of the nation by his fallacious promises, to raise it against its king, and to drag it along with him into the abyss, as if to accomplish his frightful prophecy of 1814:—"If I fall, it shall be known how much the overthrow of a great man costs."

"Amid the alarms which the present danger of France has revived in our hearts, the crown, which we have never looked upon but as the power of doing good, would to our eyes have lost all its charms, and we should have returned with pride to the exile in which twenty years of our life were spent in dreaming of the happiness of the French people, if our country was not menaced for the future with all the calamities which our restoration had terminated,—and if we were not the guarantees for France to the other sovereigns. The sovereigns who now afford so strong a mark of their affection cannot be abused by the cabinet of Buonaparte, with the machiavelism of which they are acquainted. United by the friendship and interests of their people, they march without hesitation to the glorious end where Heaven has placed the general peace and happiness of nations.

"Thoroughly convinced, in spite of all the tricks of a policy now at its last extremity, that the French nation has not made itself an accomplice in the attempts of the army, and that the small number of Frenchmen who have been led astray must soon be sensible of their error, they regard France as their ally. Wherever they shall find the French people faithful, the fields will be respected, the labourer protected, and the poor succoured. They will reserve the weight of the war to let it fall on those provinces, who, at their approach, refuse to return to their duty.

"This restriction, directed by prudence, would sensibly afflict us if our people were less known to us; but whatever the fears may be with which it is endeavoured to inspire them with respect to our intentions, since our allies make war only against rebels, our people have nothing to dread: and we rejoice to think that their love for us shall not have been altered by a short absence, nor by the calumnies of libellers, nor by the promises of the chief of a faction, too much convinced of his weakness not to caress those who burn to destroy him.

"On our return to our capital, a return which we consider to be near at hand, our first care shall be to recompense virtuous citizens, who have devoted themselves to the good cause, and to labour to banish even the very appearance of those disasters which may have withdrawn from us some of the French people.

(Signed) "LEWIS."

It had been supposed, as well in France and in the army, as in other parts of Europe, that Buonaparte meant to suffer the allies to commit the first hostile act, by entering the French territory. And although the reputation of being the actual aggressor was of little consequence, when both parties had so fully announced their hostile intentions, it was still supposed that a defensive war, in which he could avail himself of the natural and artificial strength of French Flanders, might have worn out, as in the early part of the revolution, the armies and spirits of the allies, and exposed them to all those privations and calamities peculiar to an invading army in a country which is resolutely defended. But the temper of Buonaparte, ardent and impetuous, always aiming at attack rather than defence, combined with the circumstances of his present situation to dictate a more daring system of operations.

His power was not yet so fully established as to ensure him the national support during a protracted war of various chances, and he needed now more than ever the dazzling blaze of decisive victory, to renew the charm once attached to his name and fortunes.—Considerations peculiar to the approaching campaign, united with those which were personal to himself. The forces now approaching France greatly exceeded in num-

bers those which that exhausted kingdom could levy to oppose them; and it seemed almost impossible to protect her frontiers at every vulnerable point. If the emperor had attempted to make head against the British and Prussians in French Flanders, he must have left open to the armies of Russia and Austria the very road by which they had last year advanced to Paris. On the other hand, if, trusting to the strength of the garrison towns and fortresses on the Flanders frontiers, Napoleon had conducted his principal army against those of the emperors of Russia and Austria, the numerous forces of the duke of Wellington and Blucher might have enabled them to mask these places by a covering army, and either operate on the flank of Napoleon's forces, or strike directly at the root of his power, by a rapid march upon the capital. Such were the obvious disadvantages of a defensive system.

A sudden irruption into Belgium, as it was more suited to the daring genius of Napoleon, and better calculated to encourage the ardour of his troops, afforded him also a more reasonable prospect of success. He might, by a rapid movement, direct his whole force against the army of England or Prussia, before its strength could be concentrated and united to that of its ally. He might thus defeat his foes, the one after the other, as he had done on similar occasions, with the important certainty that one great and splendid victory would enable him to assemble a levy *en masse*, and thus bring into the field almost every man in France capable of bearing arms. Such an advantage, and the imposing attitude in which it would place him, might have affected the very elements of the coalition, and secured to Buonaparte time, means, and opportunity, to intimidate the weak and seduce the stronger members of the confederacy. In Belgium, also, if he were successful, he might hope to extend and recruit his army by new levies, drawn from a country which had been so lately a part of his own kingdom, and which had not yet been formally attached to the powers to whom it was assigned. The proposed advance into Belgium would relieve the people of France from the presence of an army which, even upon its native soil, was a scourge of no ordinary severity. The superiority which protracted war, and a train of success, had given to the military profession in France, over every other class of society, totally reversed in that country the wholesome and pacific maxim, "*Cedant arma togæ.*" In the public walks, the coffee-houses, and the theatres of Paris, the conduct of the officers towards a *Pekin* (or peaceful citizen) was, in the highest degree, insolent and overbearing. The late events had greatly contributed to influence the self-importance of the soldiery. Like the prætorian bands of Rome, the Janizaries of Constantinople, or the Strelitzes of Moscow, the army of France possessed all the real power of the state. They had altered the government of their country, deposed one monarch, and restored another to the throne which he had abdicated. This gave them a consciousness of power and importance, neither favourable to moderation of conduct nor to military discipline. Even while yet in France, they did not hesitate to inflict on their fellow subjects many of those severities which soldiers in general confine to the country of an enemy. These excesses were rarely checked by the officers, some of whom indulged their own rapacity under cover of that of the soldiers, and the looseness of discipline was naturally followed by dissensions and quarrels among the troops themselves. The guards, proud of their fame in arms, and of their title and privileges, were objects of the jealousy of the other corps of the army, and this they repaid with contumely and arrogance, which led in many cases to bloody affairs. The cavalry and infantry remembered their former quarrels, and the recollection occasioned mutiny and confusion.—Above all, the licence of pillage led to perpetual animosities, and one regiment or body of troops who were employed in plundering a village or a district, was frequently interrupted by another who desired to share in the spoils obtained by the aggression.—These abuses may be traced to Buonaparte's total disuse in this, as in more fortunate campaigns, of the ordinary precautions for maintaining an army by the previous institution of magazines. The evils, however, arising from the presence of his army, were now to

be removed into the territories of an enemy. In the same day, and almost at the same hour, three large armies: that from Laon, commanded by the emperor himself; that of Ardennes, headed by Vandamme; and that of the Moselle, commanded by general Gerard. The good order and combination with which these grand and complicated movements were arranged, so as to secure the conjunction of the troops on the frontiers of Belgium, were received by the French officers as the certain augury of future success.

Buonaparte having expedited all his civil affairs, such as the installation of his chambers of commons and of peers, informed them that his first duty called him to meet the formidable coalition of emperors and kings that threatened their independence, and that the army and himself would requite themselves well: recommending to their protection the destinies of France, his own personal safety, and, above all, the liberty of the press. On the 14th of June, the anniversary of the victories of Marengo and Friedland, he issued a proclamation, assuring his troops that he had fallen during former wars into the generous error of using his conquests with too much lenity. He reminded his soldiers of the victory over Prussia at Jena, and expatiated on the inhumanity with which the French prisoners had been treated during their confinement in England. He expressed his conviction that they possessed the private good wishes of the Belgians, Hanoverians, and soldiers of the confederation of the Rhine, although for the present forcibly united with the enemy's ranks; and concluded by asserting that the moment was arrived for every courageous Frenchman to conquer or to die. These representations were repeated in the speeches addressed to the troops on his journey from Paris to the frontiers; and on the morning of the 5th of June, his collected army was in motion to enter Belgium.

CHAP. XI.——1815.

First advantages of the French.—They are defeated at Quatre Bras.—The 42d regiment.—Gallantry of the 92d.—Arrival of the guards, &c.—Retreat of the French.—Death of the duke of Brunswick.—Battle of Ligny.—Repulse of the Prussians.—Danger of Blucher.—Retreat of the duke of Wellington.—Affair at Genappe.—Letter of Lord Anglesea.—Dreadful night before the battle of Waterloo.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fertility of Belgium, the maintenance of the numerous troops which were marched into that country from Prussia, and transported thither from England, was attended with great burthens to the inhabitants. They were therefore considerably dispersed, in order to secure their being properly supplied with provisions. The British cavalry, in particular, were encamped upon the Dender, for the convenience of forage. The Prussians held the line upon the Sambre, which might be considered as the advanced posts of the united armies.

Another obvious motive contributed to the division and extension of the allied force. The enemy having to chuse his point of attack along an extended frontier, it was impossible to concentrate their army on any one point, leaving the other parts of the boundary exposed to the inroads of the enemy: and this is an advantage which an assailant must always possess over his antagonist who holds a defensive position. Yet the British and Prussian divisions were so posted, with reference to each other, as to present the means of sudden combination and mutual support. Without such an arrangement they could not have ultimately sustained the attack of the French, and Buonaparte's scheme of invasion must have been successful at all points.

But though these precautions were taken

it was generally imagined that they would not be necessary. A strong belief prevailed among the British officers that the campaign was to be conducted defensively on the part of the French, and when the certain tidings of the concentration of the enemy's forces upon the extreme frontier of Belgium threatened an immediate irruption into that kingdom, it was generally supposed that, as on former occasions, the road adopted by the invaders would be that of Namur, which, celebrated for the sieges it had formerly undergone, had been dismantled, like the other fortified places in Flanders, by the impolicy of Joseph II. It has been maintained by officers of judgment and experience, that Buonaparte would have gained considerable advantages by adopting that line of march in preference to crossing at Charleroi. It is probable, however, that these were compensated by the superior advantage of appearing on the point where he was least expected, and thus effecting a surprise.

The duke of Wellington had not neglected, upon this important occasion, the necessary means to procure intelligence. But, either the persons who were employed as his sources of intelligence were seduced by Buonaparte, or false information was conveyed to the English general, which induced him to distrust his own spies. A person bearing to Lord Wellington's head-quarters an authentic and detailed account of Buonaparte's plan for the campaign, was actually dispatched from Paris in time to have reached Brussels before the commencement of hostilities. This communication was entrusted to a female, who was furnished with a pass from Fouché himself, and who travelled with due dispatch in order to accomplish her mission. But having been stopped for two days on the frontiers of France, in consequence of her passport being suspected, she did not arrive till after the battle of the 16th, and the appearance of the French upon the Sambre was an unexpected piece of intelligence.

The advance of Buonaparte was as bold as it was sudden. The second corps of the French attacked the out-posts of the Prussians, drove them in, and continued the pursuit to Marchienne de Pont, carried that village, secured the bridge, and there crossing the bridge, advanced towards a large village called Gosselies, in order to intercept the Prussian garrison of Charleroi, should it retreat in that direction. The light cavalry of the French, following the movements of the second corps as far as Marchienne, turned to their right after crossing that river, and swept its left bank as far as Charleroi, which they occupied without giving the Prussians time to destroy the bridge. The third corps d'armée occupied the road to Namur, and the rest of the troops were quartered between Charleroi and Gosselies, in the numerous villages which every where occur in that rich and populous country. The Prussian garrison of Charleroi, with the other troops who had sustained this sudden attack, retired in good order upon Fleurus, on which point the army of Blucher was now concentrating. The advantages which the French acquired by this first success were some magazines, taken at Charleroi, and a few prisoners; but, above all, it contributed to raise the spirits and confirm the confidence of their armies. Upon the 16th, at three in the morning, the troops which had hitherto remained on the right of the Sambre had crossed that river, and now Buonaparte began to develope the daring plan of attacking on the same day two opponents worthy of himself—Wellington and Blucher.

The left wing of the French army, consisting of the first and second corps, and of four divisions of cavalry, was entrusted to Ney, who had been suddenly called to receive this mark of the emperor's confidence. He was commanded to move upon Brussels, by Gosselies and Frasnes, overpowering such obstacles as might be opposed to his progress by the Belgian troops, and by the British who might advance to their support.

The centre and right wing of the army, with the imperial guards (who were kept in reserve), marched to the right, in the direction of Fleurus, against Blucher and the Prussians, the French being under the immediate command of Napoleon.

On the evening of the 15th of June, a courier arrived at Brussels, from Marshal Blucher, announcing that hostilities had commenced The duke of Wellington was sit

ting, after dinner, over the desert and wine, when he received the dispatches containing this important news. Marshal Blucher represented the late conflict as an affair of outposts, likely to lead to no important result, and it was the opinion of the military men stationed at Brussels that the enemy was endeavouring, by a false alarm, to induce the allies to concentrate their chief force in the neighbourhood of Ligny, while his real intention was to menace Brussels, and hasten a decisive conflict with the English army. Orders were issued that the troops should be in readiness at a moment's notice, and the arrival of another courier was anxiously expected. It was past midnight, and profound repose seemed to reign over Brussels, when suddenly the drums beat to arms, and the peal of the trumpet was heard from every part of the city. It is impossible to describe the effect of these sounds when heard in the silence of the night. A second courier had arrived from Blucher—the attack had become serious—the enemy were in considerable force—they had taken Charleroi, and had gained some advantages over the Prussians. Our troops were ordered to march immediately to support them, and every place resounded with martial preparations. In less than three hours every regiment was on the road to Charleroi. Many of the officers were yet in their ball dresses, which neither the hurry of their march, nor their anxiety to occupy their respective posts, had given them time to change. The town of Brussels was one universal scene of confusion. The soldiers were seen assembling from all parts, in the Place Royale, with knapsacks on their backs; some taking leave of their wives and children; others sitting down unconcernedly on the sharp pavement, waiting for their comrades; others sleeping on packs of straw, surrounded by all the din of war, while draught horses and baggage waggons were loading, artillery and commissariat trains harnessing, officers riding in all directions, carts clattering, chargers neighing, bugles sounding, drums beating, and colours flying.

Those distinguished Highland corps, the 42d and 92d, were among the first to muster. They had laid in garrison in Brussels during the winter and the spring, and their good behaviour had attracted the affection of the inhabitants in an unusual degree. The *little Scotch*, as they were called, were the theme of affectionate praise among the Flemings. They were so much domesticated in the houses where they were quartered, that it was not unusual to see the Highlander taking care of the children, or keeping the shop of his host. They were now to exhibit themselves in a different character. They assembled with the utmost alacrity to the tune of the pibroch, "Come to me and I will give *you flesh*," an invitation to the wolf and the raven, which on the next day was too amply gratified, at the mutual expence of these brave men and of their enemies. They composed part of Sir Thomas Picton's division, and early in the morning of the 16th marched out, together with the other troops, under the command of that distinguished and lamented officer. The duke of Brunswick marched out at the head of his "Black Brunswickers," so termed from the mourning which they wore for his father, and which at this moment they continue to wear for the gallant prince who then led them. The individuals whose fate it was to see so many brave men take their departure on this eventful day, will not easily forget the sensations which the spectacle excited at the moment, and which were rendered permanent by the slaughter which awaited them.

Fears for their own safety, mingled with anxiety for their brave defenders, and the agony of suspense sustained by those who remained in Brussels to await the issue of the day, was felt in the most lively manner by those whose lot it was to sustain such various emotions. The anxiety of the inhabitants of Brussels was increased by the frightful reports of the intended vengeance of Napoleon. The friends whom he had in the city were few, and of little influence.—Reports, however, of treachery were in circulation, and tended to augment the horrors of this agonizing period. There was afterwards found, in Buonaparte's fort-folio, a list containing the names of 20 citizens who, as friends of France, were to be exempted from the general pillage. But whatever might be the case with some individuals, by far the

majority of the inhabitants regarded the success of the French as the most dreadful misfortune which could befal their city, and listened to the distant cannonade as to sounds upon which the crisis of their fate depended. They were doomed to remain for some time in uncertainty, for a struggle on which the fate of Europe depended was not to be decided in a single day. A striking contrast to the gloom, the sorrow, and the anxiety of the inhabitants, was presented, by a long procession of carts coming quietly in as usual from the country to market, filled with old Flemish women, who looked irresistibly comic, seated as they were among their piles of ramages, baskets of green peas, potatoes, and strawberries. Totally ignorant of the cause of warlike preparations, they gazed at the scene around them with many a look of gaping wonder, as they jogged merrily along, one after another, through the Place Royale, amidst the crowds of soldiers and the confusion of baggage waggons.

Before eight in the morning the streets, which had been filled with busy crowds, were empty and silent; the great square of the Place Royale, which had been filled with armed men, and with all the appurtenances and parapharnalia of war, was now quite deserted. The Flemish drivers were sleeping in the tilted carts that were destined to convey the wounded: the heavy baggage waggons ranged in order, and ready to move when occasion might require, were standing under the guard of a few centinels, and some officers were still to be seen riding out of the town to join the army. The duke of Wellington had set off in great spirits, observing, that as Blucher had most likely settled the business himself by this time, he should perhaps be back to dinner. Sir Thomas Picton mounted on his charger in soldier-like style, with his reconnoitring glass slung across his shoulder, gaily accosting his friends as he rode through the streets in the highest spirits, left Brussels never to return. After the army was gone Brussels assumed the appearance of a perfect desert. Every countenance was marked with anxiety or melancholy, every heart was filled with anxious expectation. About three o'clock they were still more powerfully alarmed, by the sound of a tremendous cannonade in the direction of Waterloo. The thunder of the artillery continued, and all was suspense, alarm, and agitation. Every hour only served to add to the dismay. The hatred of the Belgians to the French is so inveterate as to be proverbial, and their fears were proportionate to their enmity.

Upon the 16th, as we have already mentioned, the left wing of the French, under general Ney, commenced its march for Brussels, by the road of Gosselies. At Frasnes they encountered and drove before them some Belgian troops who were stationed at that village, but the prince of Orange was now advancing to the support of his advanced posts, and reinforced them so as to keep the enemy in check.

It was of the utmost importance to maintain the position now occupied by the Belgians, and which formed a connected line between the villages of Sarta Mouline and Quatre Bras. The latter farm house, or village, derives its name from being the point where the high road from Charleroi to Brussels is intersected by another road, at nearly right angles. These roads were both essential to the allies. By the high road they communicated with Brussels, and by that which intersected it, with the right of the the Prussian army, stationed at St. Amand. A large and thick wood, called Le Bois de Bossu, skirted the road to Brussels, on the right hand of the English position: along the edge of the wood was a hollow way, which might almost be called a ravine, and between the wood and the French position were several fields of rye, which grows in Flanders to an unusual and gigantic height.

In this situation it became the principal object of the French to secure the wood, from which they might debouche on the Brussels road. The prince of Orange made every effort to defend it: but, in defiance of his exertions, the Belgians gave way, and the French occupied the disputed post. At this critical moment the division of Picton, the corps of the duke of Brunswick, and shortly after the division of the guards from Enghien, came up, and entered into action. "What soldiers are those in the wood?" said the duke of Wellington to the prince of Orange.

"Belgians", answered the prince, who had not yet learned the retreat of his troops from this important point. "Belgians!" said the duke, whose eagle eye instantly discerned what had happened: "They are not Belgians, but French, and are about to debouche on the road. They must instantly be driven out of the wood." This task was committed to general Maitland, with the grenadiers of the guards, who, after sustaining a destructive fire from an invisible enemy, rushed into the wood with the most determined resolution. The French, who were supposed to be unrivalled in this species of warfare, made every tree, every bush, every ditch, but more especially a small rivulet which ran through the wood, posts of determined and deadly defence, but were pushed from one point to another till they were driven out of the position. Then followed a struggle of a new and singular kind, which was maintained for a length of time. As often as the British endeavoured to advance from the skirts of the wood, in order to form in its front, they were charged by the cavalry of the enemy, and compelled to retire. The French again advanced their columns to force their way into the wood, but were compelled to desist by the heavy fire and threatened charge of the British. In this manner there was an alternation of advance and retreat, with great slaughter on both sides, until, after a conflict of three hours, general Maitland obtained undisputed possession of this important post, which commanded the road to Brussels.

Meanwhile the battle was equally fierce in every other part. Profiting by their numerical superiority, the French attacked some battalions who were separated from the main body, and almost annihilated them. A corps of Belgians was ordered to advance with the forty-second Highland regiment to support a detachment which was briskly pushed by the French. Whether occasioned by the ardour with which the British rushed to the fight, or the slowness and reluctance with which the Belgians followed, the two battalions were separated. A column of French lancers, who were lying in ambush, concealed by some hedges and high standing corn, and who could not be seen till they were close on the British, suddenly rushed upon them. Colonel Macara promptly ordered the regiment, which was advancing in column, to form itself into a square. In performing this evolution, two companies were left out, or rather, were in the act of falling in, when the lancers charged upon them, and in a moment overwhelmed, and literally annihilated them. Encouraged by this, they charged on the square, and though repulsed with loss, succeeded in cutting down great numbers of the Highlanders. The brave colonel was among the killed.

Lieutenant-colonel Dick now assumed the command, although he had been wounded in the shoulder by a musket bullet. He rallied the regiment, formed them into a diminished square, and awaited another attack. The lancers again rushed desperately on them, and although once more repulsed, did too much execution. The lieutenant-colonel fainted from loss of blood, and was carried from the field. The next senior officer assumed the command. Not a man thought of retreating or yielding. Again the lancers precipitated themselves on the Highlanders; and it was not until the gallant regiment was reduced to less than a tenth of its original number, that the enemy was put to flight.

The prince of Orange, advancing too far, in the ardour of the fight, was surrounded and made prisoner; but a battalion of Belgians, seeing his danger, rushed to his relief, and in a moment rescued him from the enemy. The prince tore off the insignia of his order, and threw it among the soldiers, exclaiming, "There, my brave fellows! you have all deserved it." They immediately fastened the star to their colours, and shouting, "The Prince for ever!" swore to defend it to the last man. They were at that moment exposed to a galling fire, and many of them fell as they were pronouncing the oath.

Protected by their numerous cavalry and artillery, the French succeeded in forcing the British positions, and penetrated to the village of Quatre Bras. The duke of Wellington was undismayed. He stationed himself in an open part of the plain, in the very hottest of the fire, where he could be distinctly seen by both armies, and there issued his orders with as much coolness and precision as if his troops were manœuvring at a review.

"Belgians", answered the prince, who had not yet learned the retreat of his troops from this important point. "Belgians!" said the duke, whose eagle eye instantly discerned what had happened: "They are not Belgians, but French, and are alone in defending the road. They must instantly be driven out of the wood." This task was committed to general Maitland, with the grenadiers of the guards, who, after sustaining a destructive fire from an invisible enemy, rushed into the wood with the most determined resolution. The French, who were supposed to be unrivalled in this species of warfare, made every tree, every bush, every ditch, but more especially a small rivulet which ran through the wood, posts of determined and deadly defence, but were pushed from one point to another till they were driven out of the position. Then followed a struggle of a new and singular kind, which was maintained for a length of time. As often as the British endeavored to advance from the skirts of the wood, in order to form in its front, they were charged by the cavalry of the enemy, and compelled to retire. The French again advanced their columns to force their way into the wood, but were compelled to desist by the heavy fire and threatened charge of the British. In this manner there was an alternation of advance and retreat, with great slaughter on both sides, until, after a conflict of three hours, general Maitland obtained undisputed possession of this important post, which commanded the road to Brussels.

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Pressed by their numerous cavalry and artillery, the French succeeded in forcing the British positions, and penetrated to the village of Quatre Bras. The duke of Wellington was undismayed. He stationed himself in an open part of the plain, in the very front of the fire, where he could be distinctly seen by both armies, and there issued his orders with as much coolness and precision as if his troops were manœuvring at a review.

Some squadrons of Brunswick horse had in vain attempted to stem the torrent. They rapidly retreated along the high road through the village, and were closely pursued by the French cuirassiers, when the ninety-second regiment, which lined a ditch bordering the road, poured on the French, who were almost at the muzzles of their guns, an unexpected volley which destroyed every man in the direction of their fire, and made a complete chasm between the front and rear ranks of the squadrons which were galloping by. The few who were in advance dashed on. They reached the spot on which the duke was posted, and rushed on him and his staff; but they were, to a man, either killed or taken. The rear of the enemy, disconcerted by this unexpected reception, turned their horses and fled. The ninety-second now leaped from the ditch to charge in their turn. As they rose, a volley was poured upon them by a mass of French infantry at a little distance. The staff of the regimental colours was shattered to pieces, and the ensign shot through the heart. The British infantry cheered and advanced. A little further on was a house, with a garden on the opposite side of the road. These were occupied by the enemy, who, protected by the enclosure and the walls, kept up a tremendous fire on the British as they approached. The impetuosity of the ninety-second was not to be restrained; the garden and the house were speedily cleared, and the enemy pursued to the skirt of a wood. But in this short space of time they had sustained a loss of three hundred men. Four commanding officers were successively wounded and carried off the field, and the regiment was now separated from the rest of the line, and reluctantly compelled to retire.

The guards again advanced to the attack of the infantry, which had now occupied its former ground. Again the enemy was unable to stand before them; and once more pushing on too far in the eagerness of pursuit, the cavalry rushed on them as before, and drove them back to the wood. A corps of Brunswickers now joined the British, and advancing together, they finally succeeded in compelling the enemy to retreat.

Although overpowered by superior numbers, the duke of Wellington had obstinately contested every inch of ground. By the arrival of the guards he was enabled to act on the offensive. The enemy was driven from every position which he had gained. The whole French line was intimidated, and could with difficulty preserve itself from being broken. The danger was imminent. Ney sent in haste for the first corps, when, to his utter astonishment, he was informed that Napoleon had already disposed of it, to enable him to carry the position of the Prussians at Sombref.

For a moment he gave himself up to despair. All his plans were disordered, and the day was inevitably lost: but recalling his self-possession and skill, he brought into action the whole of the reserve of the second corps, and led them himself to the charge. The French cuirassiers advanced with much courage, but they were unable to withstand the cool intrepidity of the British troops, and receiving a galling and murderous fire from some infantry who lined the wood, they turned their horses and fled.

The twenty-eighth regiment now distinguished itself. It was attacked by a numerous body of cuirassiers and lancers, and being promptly formed into a square, long continued to fire from three sides at the same time, on one of which the lancers presented themselves, and on the two others the cuirassiers. In vain the cavalry repeatedly and desperately charged upon them. As the front ranks were pierced by the sabres or lances of their horsemen, their places were instantly supplied, and as their numbers diminished the square was gradually lessened; but not for a moment were they disordered; not one opening was left for the cavalry to penetrate, and at length, by their incessant, deliberate, and murderous fire, they succeeded in completely repulsing their assailants. Many squadrons of the enemy, however, yet hovered round them, and it would have been dangerous to have deployed. They therefore advanced in square against a mass of infantry, and in an instant pierced their centre and routed them; then deploying, they charged in line, and cleared the whole front of a cloud of skirmishers, which covered the retreat of the main body. The terror of the

French was now complete. All was in confusion. The baggage, the camp-followers, and the wounded, who had been sent into the rear, imagined that the fate of the day was decided, and crowded the road to Charleroi.

The division of cuirassiers of general Roussel then presented itself, and held the British advanced troops in check. The infantry had time to rally. It formed itself into squares, and retired as far as Frasné, where it again halted. The British promptly pursued, and attempted by numerous determined charges to carry the heights, but the French fought with desperation, and maintained their position. The engagement continued with various success until the close of the day, when the first corps of the French army, of which Napoleon had made no use, returned to Frasné, and the British cavalry arrived from Nioure. It was too late for either party to avail themselves of these reinforcements, and they bivouacked on the positions which they respectively occupied.

This battle was attended with no result, but it was most honourable to the British arms. During the greater part of the day the duke of Wellington contended against infinitely superior numbers. His artillery had not arrived, and at no time had he more than a few squadrons to oppose to the crowd of cuirassiers and lancers who galloped round the British squares, and availed themselves of the slightest disorder to break in upon and overwhelm the infantry. The divisions were likewise separately engaged, and they advanced to the combat fatigued by a long and hasty march, and without having tasted refreshment since the preceding day.

The loss on both sides was enormous, and nearly equal. The allies acknowledged a loss of nearly four thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the French a loss of four thousand two hundred. The number of prisoners was inconsiderable on either side.

The only immediate and decisive advantage resulting from this engagement was the delay which it occasioned to Napoleon's plan of marching on Brussels. It did not fail, however, to inspire the troops engaged with confidence and ardour. The British army bivouacked on the ground which had been occupied by the French during the battle, with the strongest hopes that the conflict would be renewed in the morning with decisive success. This, however, depended on the news they should receive from Fleurus, in which direction a furious cannonade had been heard during the whole day, announcing a general action between the emperor and marshal Blucher. Even the duke of Wellington only tardily received the intelligence of the battle of Ligny, though his own manœuvres depended on its result. The Prussian officer to whom the dispatches had been confided was made prisoner by the French light troops, and when the news arrived it bore so unpropitious an aspect as to cloud the animating hopes which the success at Quatre Bras had induced the troops to entertain.

The only expectation which Napoleon could reasonably indulge of ultimate success, depended on his engaging and defeating the Prussian and English forces separately.—When he passed the Sambre, a corps of observation might have been left to keep one in check, while he directed against the other his concentrated force. But by nearly dividing his army, and ordering Ney to attack the British while he pursued the Prussians, he exposed himself to far superior forces, and nothing but the devotion and gallantry of his troops could have procured him the success which attended his operations on the 16th. He certainly conceived that he left to Ney a more easy duty than his own, and that the marshal would find no difficulty in pushing his way to Brussels, or near it, before the British army could be assembled to oppose him. To himself he reserved the task of contending with Blucher, and by his overthrow cutting off all communication between the British and the Prussian armies: compelling each to seek for safety in isolated and unconnected movements. When it was too late, he seems to have been aware of his error, and on the 16th, when the engagement he had commenced with the Prussians was doubtful, he sent in great haste for the first corps, which constituted more than half of Ney's army, and was posted in reserve, while he committed the mistake of conceal-

ing from that general the use which he had made of the reinforcement to which Ney was looking for support. Had a courier been dispatched, commanding him merely to observe the British, and to act entirely on the defensive, while Napoleon directed all his powerful masses on Blucher, who was yet unsupported by Bulow, the danger to which Ney was exposed might have been prevented, the Prussian general must have been overwhelmed and nearly annihilated, and the left flank of the British being exposed, he might have thrown himself on their rear with terrible effect.

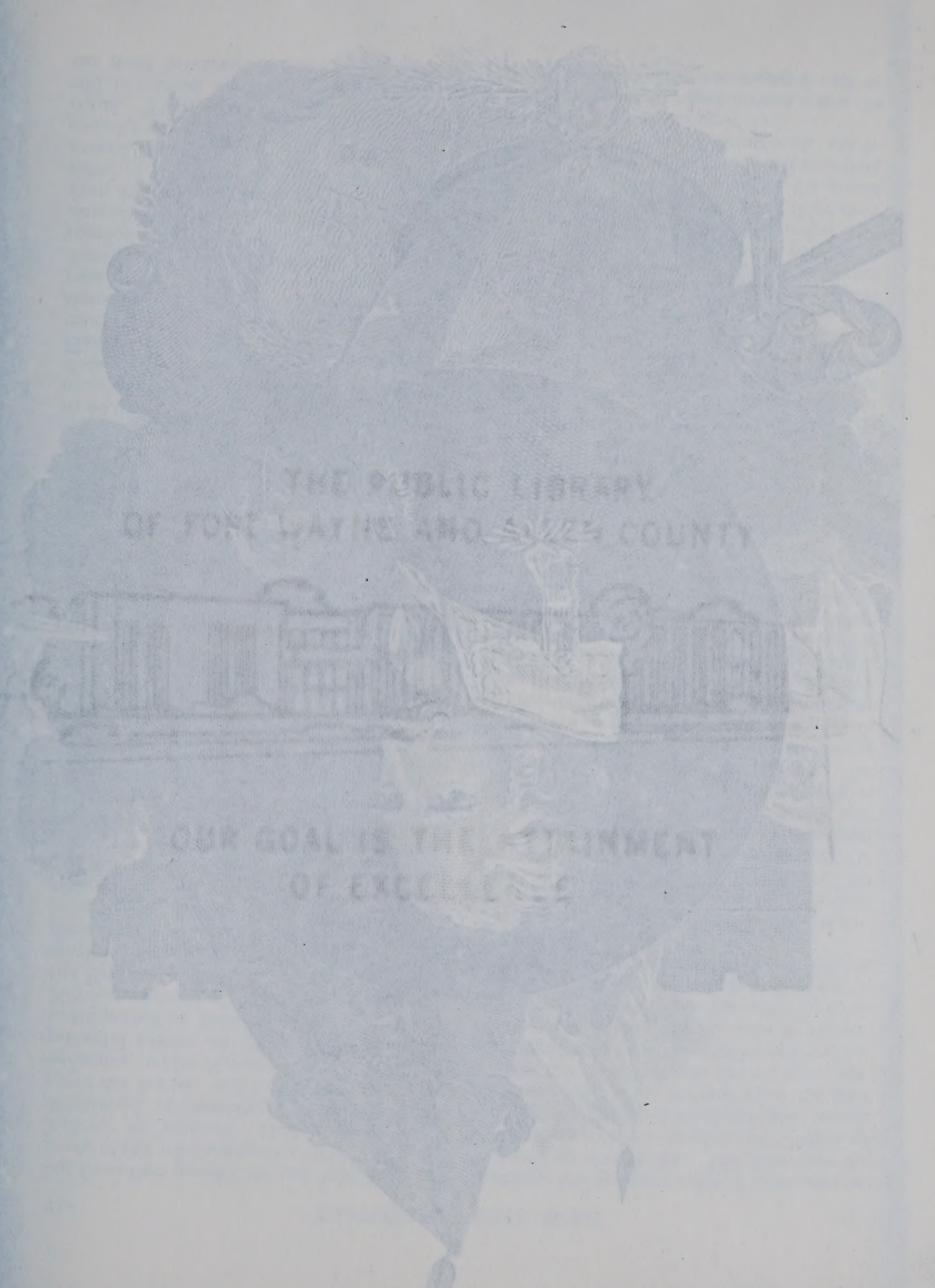
The Prussian veteran was strongly posted to receive the enemy. His army occupied a line where three villages, built upon broken and unequal ground, served as separate redoubts, defended by infantry, and well furnished with artillery. The village of St. Amand was occupied by his right wing, his centre was posted at Ligny, and his left at Sombref. All these hamlets are strongly built, and contain several houses with large court-yards and orchards, each of which is capable of being converted into a station of defence. The ground behind these villages forms a semicircle of some elevation, in front of which was a deep ravine, edged by straggling thickets of trees. The villages were in front of the ravine, and masses of infantry were stationed behind each, destined to reinforce the defenders, as occasion required.

In this strong position Blucher had assembled three corps of his army, amounting to 80,000 men. But the fourth corps, commanded by Bulow, having been stationed in distant cantonments, between Liege and Hannut, had not yet arrived at the point of concentration. The force of the assailants is stated, in the Prussian dispatches, at 130,000 men. But as Ney had at least 30,000 soldiers under him at Quatre Bras, it may be concluded that the troops under Buonaparte's immediate command, at the battle of Ligny, even including a strong reserve, which consisted of the first entire division, could not exceed 100,000 men. The forces, therefore, actually engaged on both sides were nearly equal. They were equal, also, in courage and in mutual animosity. Exasperated by the most inveterate sentiments of national hostility, the ordinary rules of war were renounced on both sides. The Prussians declared their purpose to give and receive no quarter. Two of the French divisions hoisted the black flag, as an intimation of the same intention, and afterwards gave a more sanguinary proof of their mortal hatred, by mutilating and cutting off the ears of the prisoners who fell into their hands at the crossing of the Sambre. With such feelings towards each other the two armies joined in battle.

The division of general Le Fol attacked the village of St. Amand, and, after an obstinate resistance, carried it at the point of the bayonet. General Giraud then proceeded to the attack of Ligny, and here a murderous scene commenced, which had never been equalled in any of the former contests between the Prussians and the French. The troops of Napoleon succeeded in establishing themselves in part of the village, and while all their efforts could not drive the Prussians from the remaining part, the most desperate attacks of the latter were unavailing to dislodge their opponents. Every house was fortified. Every hedge became a military position. The combatants were in contact with each other. They had scarcely room to manœuvre, and as the ranks were thinned on either side, the void was filled with fresh troops.

This scene continued during four or five hours. The village could never be said to be taken by the French, nor could the Prussians boast that for an instant they had driven the enemy from it. The soldiers on both sides fought with an animosity which disgraced the present civilized age of the world. It appeared as if they were animated by the deadliest personal hatred. For a long time, quarter was neither given nor taken, and during the whole of the afternoon nearly two hundred pieces of cannon were playing on the village, and scattering destruction amid the troops, who in close columns filled every avenue to the place. At length the ground for which they contested was piled with dead, which formed a kind of breastwork and defence for the combatants.

While the battle raged hottest round this village, the whole line was engaged with va-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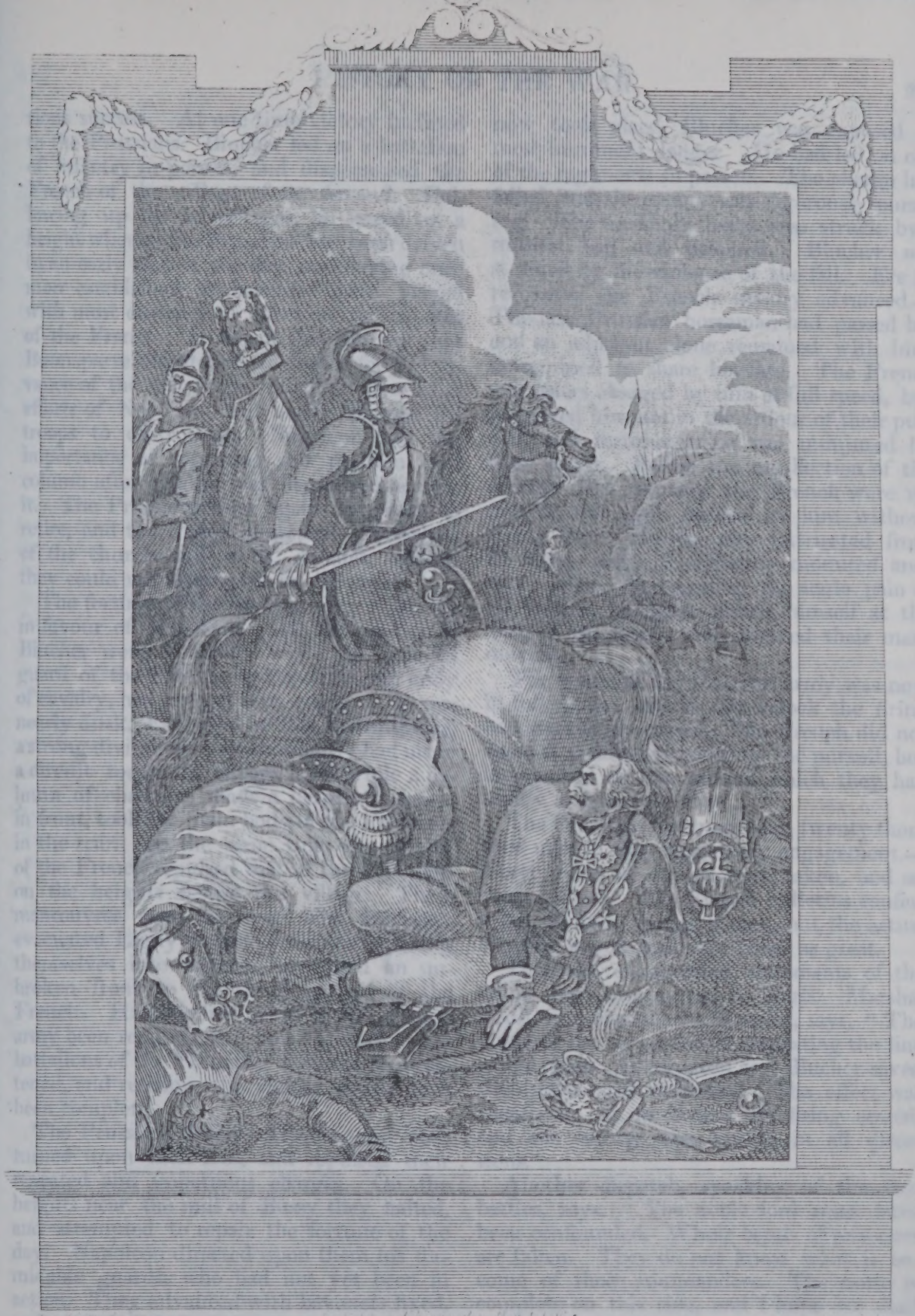
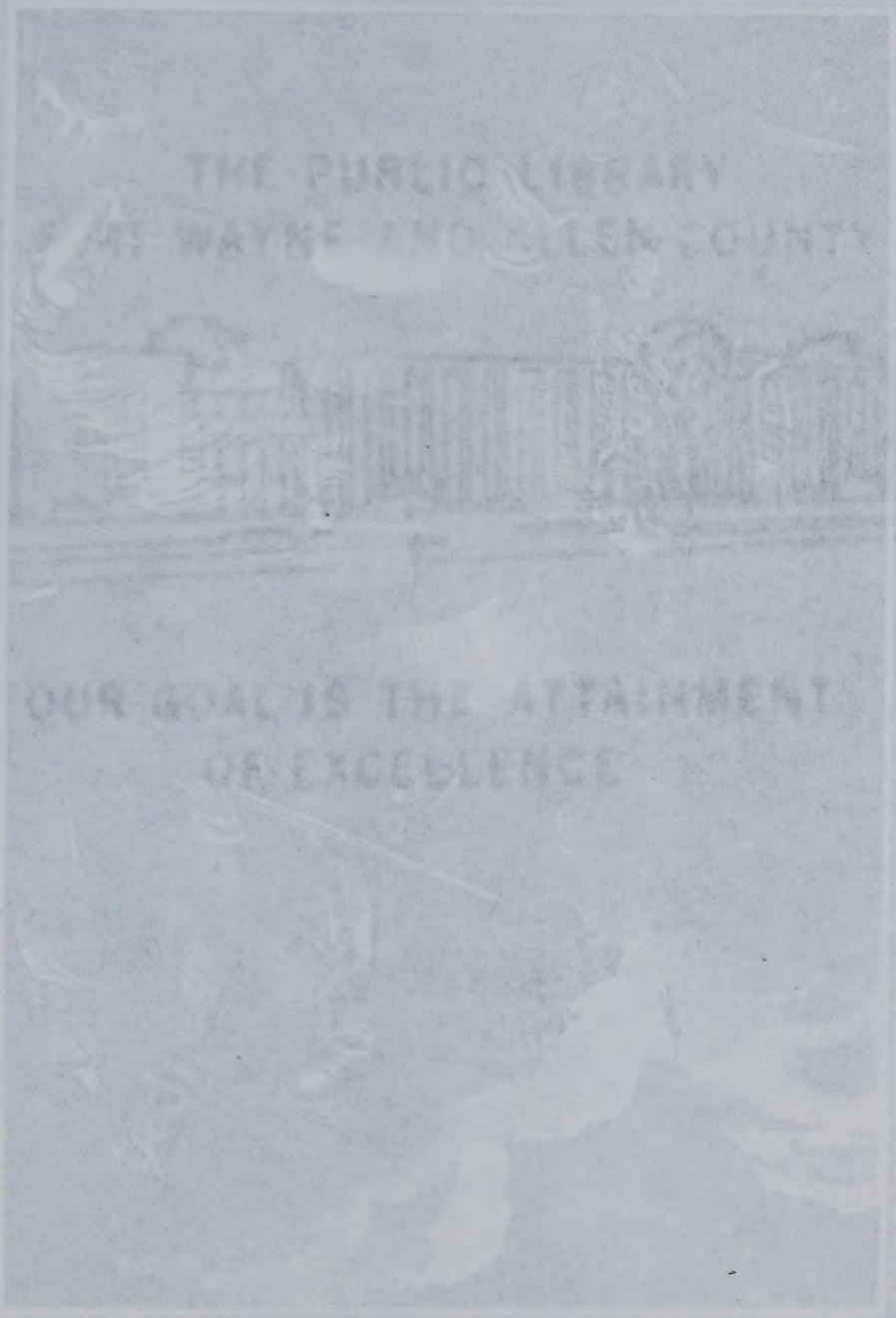


Marshal Blucher at the Battle of Ligny June 16. 1815.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rious success. At one time victory inclined to the Prussians. Blucher led on a battalion of infantry in person, and dispossessed the French of the village of St. Amand. Following up his advantages, he seized on a height whence the Prussians had been driven in an early part of the day, and having once more established his batteries there, played with most destructive effect on the squares of the French. It was at this moment that Buonaparte dispatched that order for the advance of the first corps, which paralysed the efforts of Ney, and had nearly exposed his troops to destruction. Napoleon saw the importance of regaining this position, and column after column was dispatched against it. The Prussians were again compelled to retire, and the French possessed themselves of the church-yard of St. Amand, whence they could not afterwards be dislodged.

The fortune of the day was now evidently in favour of Napoleon. All the reserves of Blucher were in action, while the imperial guard of the French, and an immense body of cavalry, had not yet been engaged. It was nearly dusk. Favoured by this circumstance, a strong division of French infantry had made a circuit round the village, and, while a column of chasseurs made a desperate charge in front, took the main body of the Prussians in the rear. At the same time the cavalry of the French repulsed that of the Prussians on the heights before the village. These manœuvres were decisive. The Prussians evacuated Ligny in good order, and forming themselves into squares, presented an unbroken front to the fierce pursuit of the French. Had the first corps of the French army been retained, and now directed on the battalions of the Prussians, fatigued, disheartened, and retiring, the victory would have been complete.

The Prussians slowly retreated, and often turned upon their foes, and repulsed their repeated and impetuous charges. On the heights near the mill of Bussy they halted, and attempted to repair the fortune of the day. Napoleon directed upon them his formidable guards, who had not yet been in action. They advanced with bayonets fixed, and carried all before them.

In one of the charges of cavalry which now took place, Blucher was exposed to most imminent danger He had led on one of the regiments in person. The charge had failed, and the enemy was vigorously pursuing. The marshal's horse was struck by a musket ball and dropped. Blucher was stunned by the violence of the fall. Ere he recovered the French cavalry advanced.—The last Prussian horseman had passed by, and an adjutant alone remained with him, determined to share his fate. The French cuirassiers charged by him at full speed, but perceived him not in the ardour of their pursuit, and fortunately he was uninjured by their horses. Before the recollection of the marshal had returned the French were repulsed, and again dashed by him without seeing him. He was now extricated from his horse, and with difficulty mounted another; when, disregarding the acute pain of his bruises, he again placed himself at the head of his troops and directed their manœuvres.

The whole of the Prussian army was now in full retreat, and at ten o'clock the firing had completely ceased. The French did not deem it prudent to continue the pursuit, but bivouacked on the ground which they had hardly and bravely won.

The Prussians lost more than twenty thousand men in this sanguinary engagement.—Forty pieces of cannon were taken, and several colours. The French bulletins confess a loss of three thousand men, but the actual number was at least four times as great.

The most exaggerated statements of the affair were transmitted to Paris. Marshal Soult, in a dispatch to Davoust, says, "The emperor has succeeded in separating the line of the allies. Wellington and Blucher saved themselves with difficulty. The effect was theatrical. In an instant the firing ceased, and the enemy was routed in all directions."

Another dispatch, speaking of the two battles, says, "The noble lord must have been confounded. Whole bands of prisoners are taken. They do not know what is become of their commanders. The route is complete on this side, and I hope we shall not hear again of the Prussians for some time, even if they should ever be able to rally.—

As for the English, we shall see now what will become of them. The emperor is there."

The principal advantage which Napoleon gained by this murderous conflict, was the confidence which it gave his troops, and the separation of the armies of Blucher and Wellington. This was rendered so complete that he thought it necessary to detach only a small force, under general Grouchy, to follow and watch the motions of the Prussians, while with the main body of his army he formed a junction with Ney, and attacked the duke of Wellington. But he had suffered the favourable opportunity to pass. The British, Hanoverian, and Belgic troops were now united. The artillery and cavalry had come up, and although they were not equal to him in numbers, the combat would certainly be doubtful. Had he attacked the duke of Wellington at first, instead of Blucher, or had he suffered the first corps to remain with Ney, the British would have been taken unconcentrated and unprepared, and would have been exposed to the most imminent danger.

The villages of Brie and Sombref remained with the Prussians at the close of the engagement, but at day-break on the following morning Blucher evacuated them, and retired without molestation to Gembloux, where the fourth corps, under general Bulow, had now arrived. Thence he continued his retreat to Wavre, where he took an advantageous position on the night of the 17th, and again opened a communication with the English army.

When the first corps, in pursuance of the emperor's urgent request, arrived at Ligny, the battle had already turned in favour of the French. It was then the policy of Napoleon, even according to the opinion of his own marshals, to have pressed with those new troops on the weakened and wavering battalions of the enemy. A well conducted retreat would thus have been changed into a disorderly flight, and the whole army of Blucher would have been put *hors de combat*. But satisfied with the advantages which he had gained, and eager to repair his error in weakening Ney without informing him of the change in the disposition of the troops, he ordered the first corps to return to their former position, though they might now have been highly serviceable to himself, and could not possibly be useful to the marshal. They again arrived at Frasné, at ten o'clock, when the combat of Quatre Bras was terminated. "Thus (says marshal Ney) 25,000 or 30,000 men were idly paraded during the whole of the battle from the left to the right, without firing a shot." This error was decisive of the fate of the campaign.

The events of the 16th had a material influence on the plans of the opposing generals. While the duke of Wellington was proposing to follow up his advantage at Quatre Bras, by attacking Ney at Frasné, he received, on the morning of the 17th, the news that Blucher had been defeated on the preceding day, and was in full retreat. This left the duke no option but to fall back on such a corresponding position as might maintain his lateral communication with the Prussian right wing: since to have remained in advance would have enabled Buonaparte either to have placed his army between those of England and Prussia, or to have turned his whole force against the duke's army, which was inferior in number.

The movement of Buonaparte's army from St. Amand and Ligny to Frasné occupied a space of time which was not unemployed by the duke of Wellington. He had not yet been joined by the whole of his divisions, and he had determined to decline the combat till he could fight on his selected position, the field of Waterloo. With his usual promptitude, the duke ordered an immediate retreat, and before eleven all the troops were on the road to the forest of Soignes, the cavalry covering the rear. They had scarcely commenced their march when the masses of the enemy began to appear. The French cuirassiers and lancers formed the advanced guard, and pressed upon the rear of the British columns. The rain fell in torrents. The roads were almost impassable, and the open country could not be traversed even by the cavalry. The French were, for this reason, unable to harass the flanks of the retiring army, and confined all their efforts to the centre, which proceeded on the high road. Many skirmishes took place, with alternate success, until the rear of the British army entered Genappe. Lord Uxbridge, now

marquis of Anglesea, halted on a plain behind the town, and resolved to attack the enemy's squadrons as they issued from the place. The seventh hussars were ordered to begin the attack. They charged with courage and impetuosity, but with their small horses and light arms they were unable to make any impression on the heavy-armed troops by which they were opposed. They rallied and returned to the charge, but the massive columns of the enemy remained unbroken. The heavy household troops were then ordered to advance, to charge with rapidity, and to strike only at the limbs. The French were dismayed at this mode of attack, and unable to withstand the resistless torrent, precipitately fled.

Rumours were immediately circulated by the partizans of France in the neighbourhood of Brussels, that the British were totally defeated, and the French triumphantly advancing. Lord Uxbridge was therefore induced to circulate the subjoined address:—

"*Brussels, June* 22, 1815.

"MY DEAR BROTHER OFFICERS,

"It has been stated to me that a report injurious to the reputation of our regiment has gone abroad, and I, therefore, do not lose a moment in addressing you on the subject. The report must take its origin from the affair which took place with the advanced guard of the French cavalry near Genappe, on the 17th, when I ordered the seventh to cover the retreat. As I was with you, and saw the conduct of every individual, there is no one more capable of speaking to the fact than I am. As the lancers pressed us hard, I ordered you (upon a principle I ever did, and shall act upon) not to wait to be attacked, but to fall upon them. The attack was most gallantly led by the officers, but it failed. It failed because the lancers stood firm, and had their flanks completely secured, and were backed by a great mass of cavalry. The regiment was repulsed, but it did not run away. No—it rallied immediately. I renewed the attack. It again failed, from the same cause. It retired in perfect order, although it had sustained so severe a loss; but you had thrown the lancers into confusion, who being in motion, I then made an attack upon them with the life-guards, who certainly made a very handsome charge, and completely succeeded. This is the plain honest truth. However slightly I think of lancers, under ordinary circumstances, I do think, posted as they were, they had a most decided advantage over the hussars. The impetuosity, however, and the weight of the life-guards, carried all before them. Whilst I exculpate my own regiment, I am delighted in being able to bear testimony to the gallant conduct of the former.

Be not uneasy, my brother officers, you had ample opportunity, of which you gallantly availed yourselves, of revenging yourselves on the 18th for the failure of the 17th; and after all, what regiment, and which of us individually, is certain of success. Be assured that I am proud of being your colonel, and that you possess my utmost confidence. Your sincere friend,

Signed) "ANGLESEA, Lieut.-Gen."

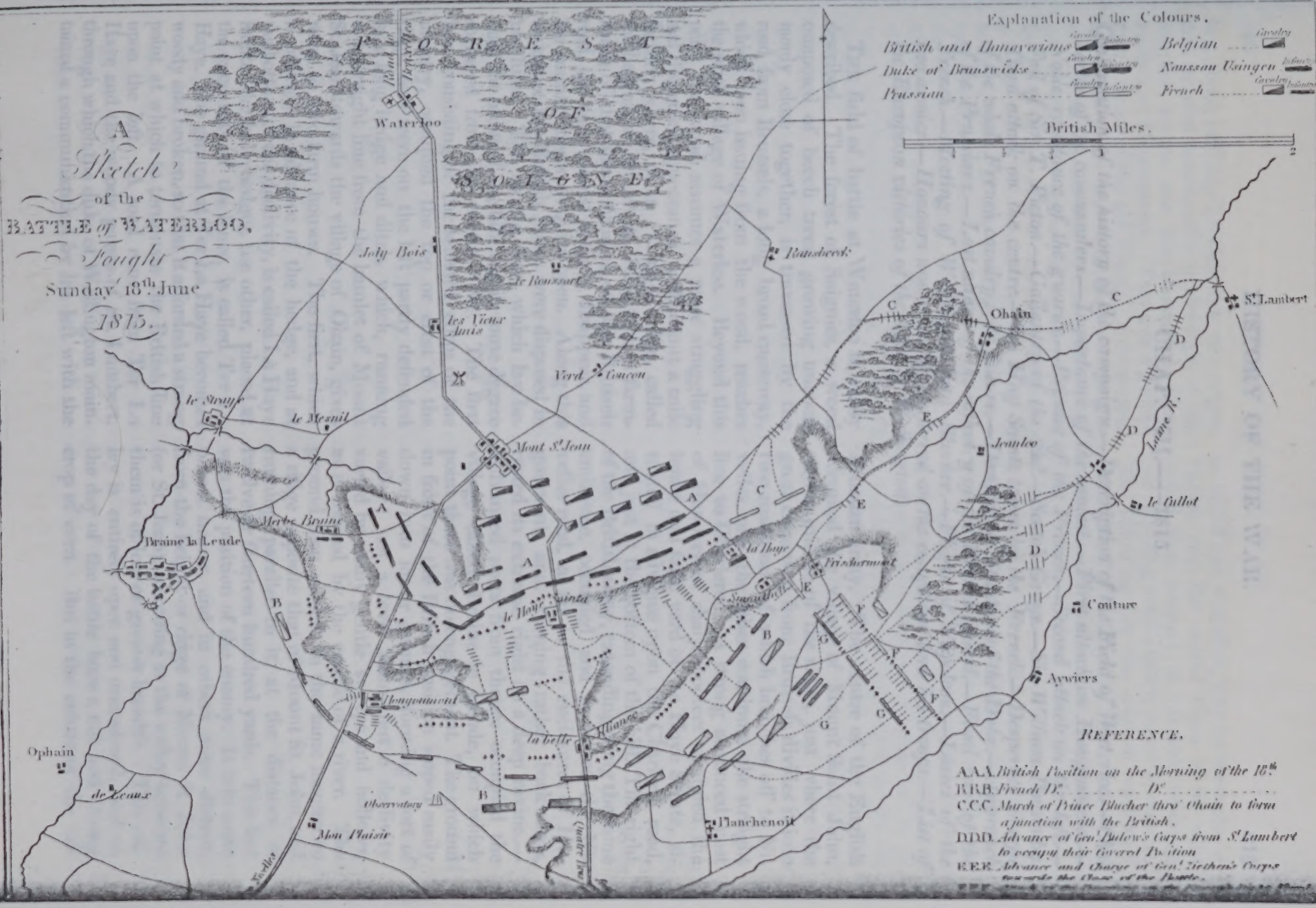
Lord Wellington now continued his retreat to the entrance of the forest of Soignes, three miles in front of Waterloo. He had passed through this part of the country at a time when there was no appearance that hostilities would be so soon renewed, and had caused a plan of this and other military positions in the neighbourhood of Brussels to be executed by colonel Carmichael Smith, the chief engineer, observing to that officer, that were he ever to fight a battle for the defence of Brussels, Waterloo was the ground which he would choose. He now called for that sketch, made his arrangements for the night, and established his head-quarters at a petty inn in the small village of Waterloo, about a mile from the rear of the position. The army slept upon their arms, upon the ridge of a gentle declivity, chiefly covered with standing corn. The French, whose forces were gradually coming up during the evening, occupied a ridge nearly opposite to the position of the English army. The villages in the rear of the rising ground were also filled with the soldiers of their numerous army. Buonaparte established his head-quarters at Planchenoit, a small village in the rear of the position.

Thus arranged, both generals and their

respective armies, waited the arrival of morning, and the events it was to bring. The night, as if the elements meant to match their fury with that which was preparing for the morning, was stormy in the extreme, accompanied by furious gusts of wind, heavy bursts of rain, continued and vivid flashes of lightning, and the loudest thunder our officers had ever heard. Both parties had to sustain this tempest, in the exposed situation of an open bivouack, without the means of protection or refreshment. But though these hardships were common to both armies, yet (as was the case previous to the battle of Agincourt) the moral feelings of the English army were depressed below their ordinary tone, and those of the French exalted to a degree of confidence and presumption, unusual even to the soldiers of that nation.

The British could not avoid reflecting that the dear bought success at Quatre Bras, while it had cost many valuable lives, had produced, in appearance at least, no corresponding result: a toilsome advance and bloody action had been followed by a retreat equally laborious to the soldier, and the defeat of the Prussians, which was now rumoured with circumstances of much exaggeration, had left Buonaparte at liberty to assail them separately, and with his whole force, except that small proportion which might be necessary to pursue their defeated and dispirited allies. If to this it be added, that their ranks were filled with many thousand foreigners, on whose faith they could not implicitly rely, it must be confessed that there was sufficient scope for melancholy reflections. To balance these, there remained their confidence in their commander, their native undaunted courage, and a stern resolution to discharge their duty, and leave the result to Providence.

The French, on the other hand, had forgotten in their success at Ligny their failure at Quatre Bras, or if they remembered it, their miscarriage was ascribed to treachery. It was reported, in order to confirm this representation, that Boumont and other officers had been tried and shot, for having, by misconduct, occasioned the disaster. Admitting the partial success of Wellington, "the English duke (said the French) commanded but the right wing of the Prussian army, and had in fact shared in Blucher's defeat, as he himself actually acknowledged, by imitating his retreat." All was exultation and triumph. No one supposed the English would halt, or make head, until they reached their vessels: no one doubted that the Belgian troops would join the emperor in a mass: it would have been disaffection to suppose that there laid any impediment in their next morning's march to Brussels; and all regretted the tempestuous night, as it afforded to the despairing English the means of retiring unmolested. Buonaparte encouraged these sanguine prepossessions of his troops, by affecting to share their sentiments. When the slow and gloomy morning of the 18th of June shewed him his enemies, still in possession of the heights which they had occupied the night before, and determined to maintain them, he could not suppress his satisfaction, but exclaimed, while he stretched his arm towards their position, as if to grasp his prey, "*Je les tiens donc ces Anglois.*" "I have these Englishmen!"


A
Sketch
of the
BATTLE of WATERLOO,
Fought
Sunday 18th June
1815.
Explanation of the Colours.
British and Hanoverians
Duke of Brunswicks
Prussian
Belgian
Nassau Usingen
French
British Miles.
FOREST OF SOIGNIES
Waterloo
Joly Bois
le Roussart
les Vieux Amis
Verd Coucou
le Mesnil
Mont St Jean
Merbe Braine
Braine la Leude
Ophain
de Lemux
Observatory
Mon Plaisir
Hougoumont
la belle Alliance
la Haye Sainte
la Haye
Frischermont
Smohain
Ohain
Rossomme
Rossbeek
Jeanlee
St Lambert
Lasne R.
le Gallot
Couture
Ayviers
Planchenoit
REFERENCE.
A.A.A. British Position on the Morning of the 18th
B.B.B. French Do. ..... Do. .....
C.C.C. March of Prince Blucher thro' Ohain to form a junction with the British.
D.D.D. Advance of Genl Pulow's Corps from St Lambert to occupy their Covered Position
E.E.E. Advance and Charge of Genl Ziethen's Corps towards the Close of the Battle.

CHAP. XII.——1815.

Continuation of the history of the campaign.—Description of the Field of Waterloo.—Character of the commanders.—Importance of the contest.—First attack on Hougoumont.—Noble resistance of the guards.—Repulse of the French.—Second attack on the left.—Fall of Sir T. Picton.—Gallantry of the 92d.—Scotch Greys.—Sir William Ponsonby. Third attack on the centre.—La Hay Sainte taken by the French.—Desperate charge of the whole French cavalry: its failure.—Dangerous situation of the Duke.—Approach of the Prussians.—Last attack of the infantry of the French guard.—Final rout of the French.—Meeting of Wellington and Blucher.—Flight of Napoleon.—Losses of the two armies.—Honours and rewards conferred on the conqueror and his troops.—List of the European victories of the duke of Wellington.

THE field of battle at Waterloo is easily described. The forest of Soignies, a wood composed of beech trees, growing uncommonly close together, is traversed by the road from Brussels, a long broad causeway, which upon issuing from the wood, reaches the small village of Waterloo. Beyond this point the wood assumes a more straggling and dispersed appearance, until about a mile further, where, at an extended ridge, called the heights of Mount St. John, from a farm-house of that name situated on the Brussels road, the trees almost entirely disappear, and the country becomes quite open. Along this eminence the British forces were disposed in two lines. The second line, which lay behind the brow of the hill, was in some degree sheltered from the enemy's fire. The first line, consisting of the selected corps of the infantry, occupied the top or crest of the ridge, and were on the left partly defended by a long hedge and ditch, which, running in a straight line from the hamlet of Mount St. Jean towards the village of Ohain, gives name to two farm houses. The first, which is situated in advance of the hedge, and at the bottom of the declivity, is called La Haye Sainte (the holy hedge), the other, placed at the extremity of the fence, is called Ter La Haye. The ground at Ter La Haye becomes woody and broken, so that it afforded a strong point at which to terminate the British line upon the left. A road runs from Ter La Haye and the woody passes of St. Lambert, through which the duke of Wellington maintained a communication by his left with the Prussian army. The centre of the English occupied the village of Mount Saint John, on the middle of the ridge, just where the great causeway from Brussels divides it into two roads, one of which branches off to Nivelles, and the other continues the straight line to Charleroi. A strong advanced post of Hanoverian sharp-shooters occupied the house and farm yard of La Haye Sainte, situated in advance upon the Charleroi road, and just at the bottom of the hill. The right of the British army, extending along the same eminence, occupied and protected the Nivelles road, as far as the enclosures of Hugoumont, and, turning rather backwards, rested its extreme right on a deep ravine.—Advanced posts from thence occupied the village called Braine le Leude, on which point there was no engagement. The ground in front of the British position sloped easily down into lower ground, forming a sort of valley; not a level plain, but a declivity varied by many gentle sweeps and hollows, as if formed by the course of a river. The ground then ascends in the same manner to a ridge opposite that of Mount St. John, and running parallel to it, at the distance of twelve or fourteen hundred yards. This last was the position of the enemy. It is in some points nearer, and in others more distant, from the height or ridge of Mount St. John (or St. Jean), according as the valley between them is of less or greater breadth. This valley is entirely open and unenclosed, and on the day of the battle bore a tall and strong crop of corn. But in the centre of the val-

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Continuation of the history of the campaign.—Description of the Field of Waterloo.—Character of the commanders.—Importance of the contest.—First attack on Hougoumont.—Noble resistance of the Guards.—Attacks of the French.—Second attack on the left.—Fall of Sir T. Picton.—Gallantry of the 92d.—Stout Greys.—Sir William Ponsonby.—Third attack on the centre.—La Haye Sainte taken by the French.—Desperate charge of the whole French cavalry.—Its failure.—Dangerous situation of the Duke.—Approach of the Prussians.—Last attack of the infantry of the French guard.—Final rout of the French.—Meeting of Wellington and Blucher.—Flight of Napoleon.—Losses of the two armies.—Honours and rewards conferred on the conqueror and his troops.—List of the European victories of the duke of Wellington.

THE field of battle at *Waterloo* is easily described. The forest of Soignies, a wood composed of beech trees, growing uncommonly close together, is traversed by the road from Brussels, a long broad causeway, which upon issuing from the wood, reaches the small village of *Waterloo*. Beyond this point the wood assumes a more straggling and dispersed appearance, until about a mile further, where, at an extended ridge, called the heights of Mount St. John, from a farm-house of that name situated on the Brussels road, the trees almost entirely disappear, and the country becomes quite open. Along this eminence the British forces were disposed in two lines. The second line, which lay behind the brow of the hill, was in some degree sheltered from the enemy's fire. The first line, consisting of the selected corps of the infantry, occupied the top or crest of the ridge, and were on the left partly defended by a long hedge and ditch, which, running in a straight line from the hamlet of Mount St. Jean towards the village of Ohain, gives name to two farm houses. The first, which is situated in advance of the hedge, and at the bottom of the declivity, is called La Haye Sainte (the holy hedge), the other, placed at the extremity of the fence, is called The La Haye. The ground at The La Haye becomes woody and broken, so that it afforded a strong point at which to terminate the British line upon the left. A road runs from The La Haye and the woody recess of St. Lambert, through which the duke of Wellington maintained a communication by his left with the Prussian army. The centre of the English occupied the village of Mount Saint John, on the middle of the ridge, just where the great causeway from Brussels divides it into two roads, one of which branches off to Nivelles, and the other continues the straight line to Charleroi. A strong advanced post of Hanoverian sharp-shooters occupied the house and farm yard of La Haye Sainte, situated in advance upon the Charleroi road, and just at the bottom of the hill. The right of the British army, extending along the same eminence, occupied and protected the Nivelles road, as far as the enclosures of Hougoumont, and, turning rather backwards, rested its extreme right on a deep ravine.—Advanced posts from these occupied the village called Ohaine le Leude, on which point there was no engagement. The ground in front of the British position sloped easily down into lower ground, forming a sort of valley; not a level plain, but a declivity varied by many gentle sweeps and hollows, as if formed by the course of a river. The ground then ascends in the same manner to a ridge opposite that of Mount St. John, and running parallel to it, at the distance of twelve or fourteen hundred yards. This last was the position of the enemy. It is in some points nearer, and in others more distant, from the height or ridge of Mount St. John (or St. Jean), according as the valley between them is of less or greater breadth. This valley is entirely open and unenclosed, and on the day of the battle bore a tall and strong crop of corn. But in the centre of the val-

ley, about half-way between the two ridges, and situated considerably to the right of the English centre, was the Chateau de Goumount, or Hugoumont. This was a gentleman's house of the old Flemish architecture, having a tower and a battlement. It was surrounded on one side by a large farm yard, and on the other opened to a garden divided by alleys in the Dutch taste, and fenced by a brick wall. The whole was encircled by an open grove of tall trees, and covering a space of three or four acres, without any underwood. This Chateau, with the advantages afforded by its wood and gardens, formed a strong point of support to the British right wing, and rendered it difficult for the French to make a serious attack on that extremity of our line. On the other hand, had they succeeded in carrying Hugoumont, our line must have been confined to the heights, extending towards Merke Braine, which rather recedes from the field, and would in consequence have been much limited and crowded in its movements. The British line upon this right wing, at the commencement of the action, presented a convex segment of a circle to the enemy, but, as repeated repulses obliged the French to give ground, the extreme right was enabled to come gradually round, and the curve being reversed, became hollow or concave towards the French, enfilading the field of battle, and the high road from Brussels to Charleroi, which intersects it.

It has been mentioned that the troops of France occupied the villages behind the ridge of La Belle Alliance. The position of Napoleon was by no means strong, but gave him the choice of his mode of attack on the British position. The left wing was commanded by Jerome Buonaparte, the centre by generals Reille and Erlon, and the right by count Lobau. The imperial guard was in reserve. The French army consisted of three corps of infantry, and nearly all the cavalry; amounting, with artillery, to not less than 110,000 men, 40,000 more being in reserve, or awaiting the Prussians on the right. The junction of Bulow's corps had made the Prussians as strong as they were before the late engagement. Lord Wellington's army, having lost about five thousand in killed and wounded, may be computed at 75,000, and the united forces of the allies would thus amount to 155,000, rendering the opposing armies nearly equal in number. The following was the original estimate of the duke of Wellington's force, but various circumstances conspired to diminish the effective strength of the different regiments.

The whole was divided into two corps d'armée. The first, which afterwards formed part of the centre, was under the command of his royal highness the prince of Orange, and comprised the 1st, 3d, and 5th divisions, led on by generals Cooke, Allen, and Picton.

The second corps was commanded by general lord Hill, and composed of the 2d, 4th, and 6th divisions: the two former of which were under the orders of sir H. Clinton, and general Hinuber, and the sixth was nominally commanded by sir H. Cole, who had not yet joined the army.

This invincible and triumphant force contained—

British bayonets	27,000
German legion	5,000
Hanoverian infantry, new levies,	24,000
Brunswick and Nassau	10,000
Dutch 5,000 / Belgic 5,000	10,000
Total infantry	76,000
Artillery—British, 30 brigades, of six guns each, German legion, Hanoverians, &c.	5,000
Cavalry—British 7,000 / German legion 3,500 / Dutch, &c. 3,000	13,500
	94,500

CAVALRY,

Under the command of the earl of Uxbridge.

5th Brig.—Major-gen. Somerset.—1st and 2d life guards, and royal horse guards blue.

3d Brig.—Major-gen. sir W. Ponsonby.—1st, 2d, and 6th dragoons.

8th Brig.—Major-gen. Dornberg.—1st and 2d light dragoons king's German legion.—2d hussars.

2d Brig.—Major-gen. sir J. Vandeleur.—11th, 12th, and 16th light dragoons

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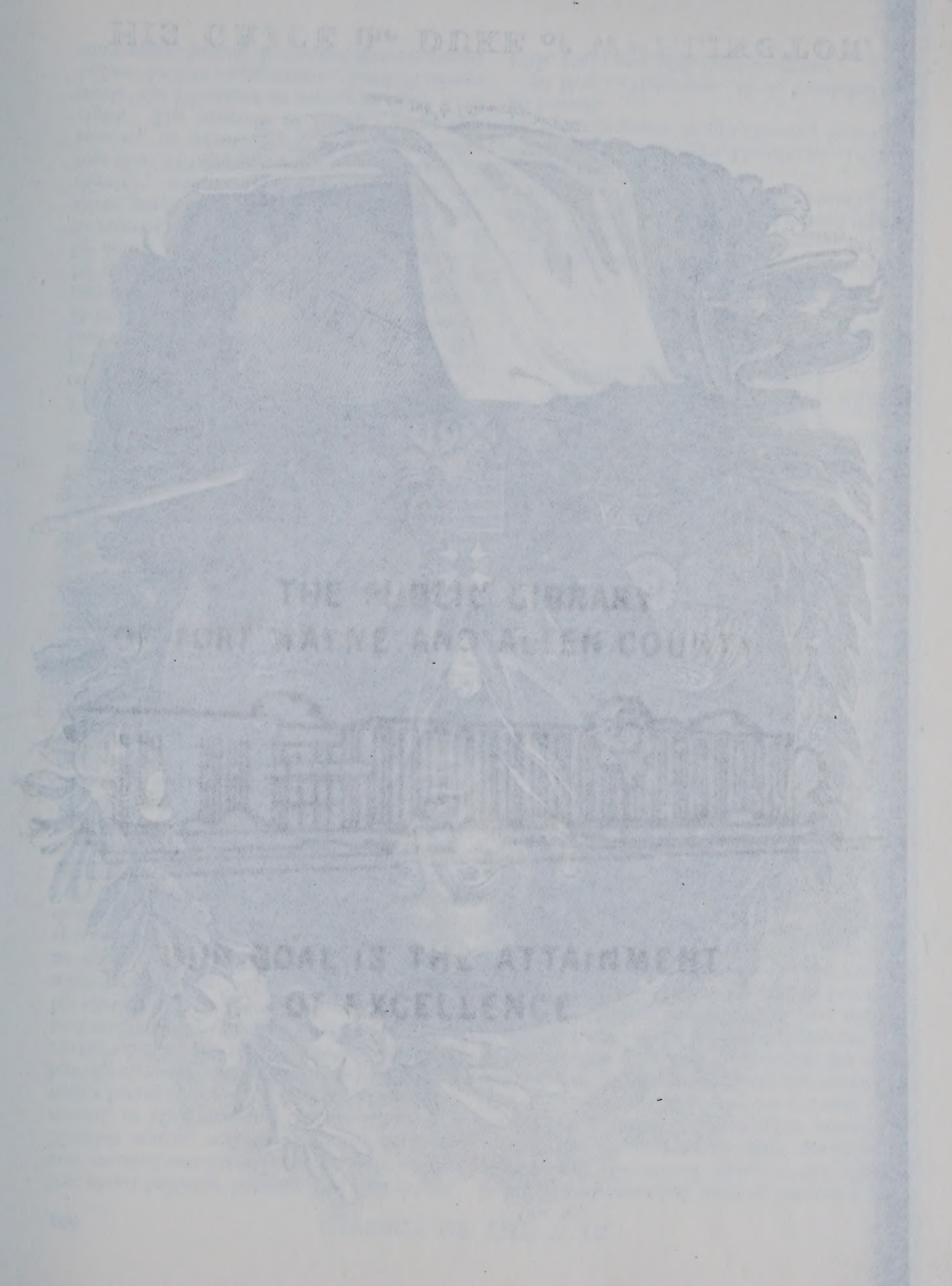
HIS GRACE the DUKE of WELLINGTON.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OUR GOAL IS THE ATTAINMENT
OF EXCELLENCE

1st Brig.—Major-gen. sir H. Vivian.—7th, 10th, and 18th hussars.

7th Brig.—Col. baron de Arentschildt.—1st and 3d hussars.

4th Brig.—Major-gen. C. Grant.—13th, 15th, and 23d light dragoons.

Col. Estaff—Prince Regent's hussars, Bremen and Verdun hussars.

INFANTRY.

1st Brig.—Major-gen. Maitland.—1st foot guards, 2d and 3d battalions.

2d Brig.—Major-gen. Byng.—Coldstream and 3d guards, 2d battalions.

3d Brig.—Major-gen. Adams.—52d and 71st foot, 1st batts.—95th foot 3d batt.

4th Brig.—Col. Mitchel.—14th foot, 3d batt. 23d and 51st foot.

5th Brig.—Major-gen. Halkett, 30th, 33d, 69th, and 73d foot, 2d batt.

6th Brig.—Major-gen. Johnstone.—35th, 54th, 2 batts. 59th, and 2d batt. 91st foot.

7th Brigade.—Major-gen. Mackenzie, 36th 2 batts. 37th 2d batt. and 81st 2 batts.

The K.G.L. 1st brig.—Col. Halkett.—1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th line.

2d Brig.—Col. Outhleter.—5th and 8th line, and 1st and 2d light infantry.

The ground occupied by the opposing armies was the smallest in extent of front, compared with the numbers engaged, that has been described in military annals since the conflicts of Marathon and Thermopylæ. The English line did not extend beyond a mile and a half, nor the French line above two miles. This circumstance will partly account for the unparalleled losses which each party sustained, and for the destruction occasioned by the artillery.

The imperfect dawn of the 18th was attended by the same broken and tempestuous weather by which the night had been distinguished. But the interval of rest, such as it was, had not been neglected by the British, who had gained time to clean their arms, distribute ammunition, and make every preparation for the final shock of battle. Provisions had also been distributed to the troops, most of whom had thus the means of breakfasting with some comfort, and notwithstanding the wetness of their clothes, occasioned by the inclemency of the night, they assumed their respective positions in admirable order

At five o'clock the English army formed its final arrangements. The front of the right was thrown back to avoid the ravine, which would have exposed it to the enemy, and was nearly at right angles with the centre. It consisted of the second and fourth English divisions, the third and sixth Hanoverians, and the first of the Netherlands, and was commanded by lord Hill. The centre was composed of the corps of the prince of Orange, supported by the Brunswick and Nassau regiments, with the guards, under general Cooke, on the right, and the division of general Alten on the left. The left wing, consisting of the divisions of generals Picton, Lambert, and Kempt, extending, as we have before mentioned, to the left of Ter La Haye, which it likewise occupied, protected the extremity of the left, and prevented it from being turned. The cavalry was principally posted in the rear of the centre's left.

The leaders of the approaching contest were confessedly the first generals of the age. Napoleon, reserving the first rank to himself, had frequently confessed that the duke of Wellington was the second general in the world. He always accompanied this acknowledgment by lamenting that he had not been so fortunate as to meet him in the field of glory. When he departed from Paris, to place himself at the head of his troops, he observed to his friends, that he was at last going to measure swords with Wellington, of whom he had no doubt that he should give a good account.

Buonaparte had rushed on with all his accumulated force. It was the last effort of despair. No new levies were at hand to repair his losses in case of disaster: victory alone could procure him reinforcements, and absolute defeat would be decisive of his fate. If success should attend him, the enthusiasm of the French would again be roused, thousands and ten thousands of additional troops would flock to his standard, and he would be enabled to protract the war till the close of the campaign.

The generals and the soldiers felt how much depended on the event of the day, and fought with unexampled impetuosity. As the troops of the respective armies advanced to their positions, Napoleon ascended an ob-

servatory a little in the rear, and on the highest ground adjacent to the scene of battle. From this spot he commanded the whole of both lines. He expressed his astonishment and admiration at the fine appearance of some of the British troops. "How steadily," said he to his aide-de-camp, "do these troops take their ground! How beautifully do those cavalry form! Observe (pointing to the Scotch Greys) these grey horse. Are they not noble troops? Yet in half an hour I shall cut them to pieces."

The duke of Wellington had dispatched a courier on the preceding evening to prince Blucher, stating that he expected an attack, and requesting the co-operation of as many divisions as he could spare. The marshal promised to join him in person, and proposed, that should the French army decline the combat, the combined English and Prussian troops should become the assailants. When the formidable forces of the French were all drawn up on the opposite heights, one of the officers of the duke ventured to express some alarm, and wished that the Prussians were arrived. "The roads are heavy," replied his grace. "They cannot be here before two or three o'clock, and my brave fellows will keep double that force at bay until then."

After some skirmishing between the piquets, and about ten o'clock, the French commenced the engagement, with a furious attack on the post at the wood and garden of the chateau of Hugoumont, which was occupied by general Byng's brigade of guards. It was a point of particular importance to the enemy to gain this post, as, from its situation, it commanded a considerable part of our position. It was furiously and incessantly assailed by large and reinforced bodies of the enemy, and gallantly and successfully defended by the British. Napoleon himself directed the charge of the French imperial guards against it, but, though fighting under the immediate eye of their leader, they were broken, repulsed, and finally cut to pieces, by the British guards. Thirty pieces of English artillery played continually over this wood, to assist its defence, while the enemy directed against it their hottest fire.

Every tree in the wood of Hugoumont was pierced with balls, but it appears, from the reports of travellers, that the strokes which were fatal to human life have scarcely injured them; though their trunks are filled with holes, and their branches broken and destroyed, their verdure is still the same. Wild flowers are still blooming, and raspberries ripening beneath their shade; while huge black piles of human ashes, dreadfully offensive in smell, are all that remain of the heroes who fell upon that fatal spot. Beside some graves at the out-skirts of the wood, the little wild-flower "Forget-me-not" continues to bloom, and the gaudy red poppy springs up around, as if in mockery of the dead. The chateau itself was set on fire by shells, during the cannonade. In the garden behind the house, the roses, orange-trees, and geraniums, still flower in beauty, and the pear-tree and fig-tree bear their fruit: presenting a melancholy contrast to the ruined house, the mouldering piles, and the surrounding scene of death and desolation.—Even when the heaps of dead were reduced to ashes, the broken swords, shattered helmets, torn epaulets, and sabre scabbards bathed in blood, told too plainly the dreadful strife that had taken place, and the mournful reflection could not be suppressed, that the glory which Britain gained upon this sacred spot was purchased by the blood of her noblest sons.

In the mean time, to cover his real design, and to prevent the duke from sending reinforcements to Hugoumont, the action was briskly commenced throughout the whole of the line. But when Buonaparte was convinced that he had failed in accomplishing his first object, the fire of musquetry and cannon became more terrible and murderous. Columns of French infantry and cavalry, preceded by a formidable artillery, advanced from every point, ascended the eminence on which the British were posted, and precipitated themselves on their squares. In vain the French artillery mowed down whole ranks of their opponents. The chasms were instantly filled, and not one foot of ground was lost. "What brave troops!" said Napoleon to his staff. "It is a pity to destroy them; but I shall beat them at last." The British reserved their fire until the enemy had approached within a few paces, and then

with one well directed volley, levelled whole squadrons of the foe. Other troops succeeded, and the French pressed on to closer and more destructive combat. The light troops who were in advance of the British line were driven in by the fury of this general charge, and the foreign cavalry, who ought to have supported them, gave way and fled on all sides. The first forces who offered a steady resistance were the black Brunswick infantry. They were drawn up in squares, as most of the British forces were during this memorable action; each regiment forming a square by itself, not quite solid, but nearly so, the men being drawn up several files deep. The distance between these masses afforded sufficient space to draw up the battalions in line when they should be ordered to extend themselves, and the regiments were posted with reference to each other, much like the alternate squares upon a chess board. It was therefore impossible for a squadron of cavalry to push between two of these squares without being at once assailed by a fire in front from that which was in the rear, and another fire on both flanks from those squares between which it had moved forward. Often and often during the day was this murderous experiment resorted to by the cavalry of Napoleon, and almost always without success.

Yet although this order of battle possesses every efficient power of combination against cavalry, its exterior is far from imposing.—The men thus drawn up occupy the least possible space of ground, and the Brunswick officers, when they saw the furious onset of the French cavalry, with a noise and clamour that seemed to agitate the firm earth over which they galloped, and beheld the small and detached black masses which, separated from each other, stood individually exposed to be overwhelmed by the torrent, they almost trembled for the result. But when the Brunswick troops opened their fire, with coolness, readiness, and rapidity, the event seemed no longer doubtful. The artillery, also, which was never in higher order, or more distinguished for excellent practice, made dreadful gaps in the squadrons of cavalry, and strewed the ground with men and horses who were advancing to the charge. These circumstances, however, were far from depressing the courage of the French, who pressed on in defiance of every obstacle, and of the continued and immense slaughter which was made among their ranks. If the attack of the cavalry was for a moment suspended, it was but to give room for the operation of their artillery, which, within one hundred and fifty yards, played upon our solid squares with the most destructive effect. Yet, in such a fire, and in full view of these clouds of cavalry, did our gallant troops close their files over the bodies of their dead and dying comrades, and resume with stern composure that close array of battle which their discipline and experience had taught them to regard as the surest means of defence.—After the most desperate efforts on the part of the French to push back our right wing, and to establish themselves on the Nivelles road, and after a defence, on the part of the British, which rendered these efforts totally unavailing, the battle on this part of the field in some degree subsided, to rage, if possible, with greater fury towards the left and centre of the British line.

The principal masses of the French were now directed on the left of the British, at which were posted the divisions of generals Picton and Kempt. The object of Napoleon in this attack was to turn the left of the allies, and, by separating them from the Prussians, to cut off the retreat of the duke in that direction. The Scotch regiments displayed all the gallantry by which they had been distinguished in the battle of the 16th, and sustained the principal brunt of the conflict.

A strong body of the enemy advanced amidst the destructive fire of the British artillery, without discharging a shot. They gained the heights, and pressed on determined to carry the position. Sir T. Picton did not await their attack, but forming his division into a solid square advanced to the charge. They hesitated, turned, and fled, after firing a volley, which proved fatal to one of the bravest commanders in the British army. Sir T. Picton received a musquet ball in his right temple, and falling, expired without a struggle. The ball was cut out with a razor, on the lower and opposite side of his head, where it appeared just breaking through the skin. After his lamented fall

it was discovered that he had been wounded in the hip on the 16th by a musquet ball, a circumstance which he carefully concealed from every one but his servant. The wound had assumed a serious aspect from the want of surgical assistance, having been only bandaged by himself and his servant, as well as circumstances would admit.

The loss of general Picton was deeply and justly regretted. He began his military career 1771, in the 12th regiment of foot, upon the reduction of which regiment, we find him to have attained the rank of captain, and to have retired to the bosom of his family in Pembrokeshire, the birth-place and residence of his ancestors for centuries; upon the commencement of the revolutionary war, in 1794, he embarked for the West Indies, where he soon distinguished himself, and obtained his majority in the 68th regiment, and the appointment of deputy quarter-master-general. Upon the appointment of a new general, he proposed to return to Europe, but was induced to remain at the request of sir Ralph Abercrombie, who arrived in 1796; this officer was fully sensible of his worth at this moment, and took every occasion he could to make his merit conspicuous. Upon the capture of St. Lucie, he became the lieut.-col. of the 68th, and with his commanding officer and friend returned to England, at the close of the campaign, by the reduction of St. Vincent.

In the ensuing campaigns in 1797, from the kindness and friendship of his commanding officer, he was honoured, "in being selected as the best officer to discharge the duty" of Governor in Trinidad; the difficulties of his new situation, however, in the result, occasioned many days and years of anxiety, which was only to be relieved by the esteem, gratitude, and applause of every man of probity and principle in the island, notwithstanding the unparalleled exertions of individuals to sully his character and ruin his fortune, and to render him an object of public clamour. The law, at length, although tardy in reparation, proclaimed him innocent of the charges attributed to him, and vindicated his honour, which from the first he had boldly defended.

In 1809, we find major-general Picton commanding a brigade of an army sent to rescue Holland from the French, and he was present at the siege of Flushing, of which town, after its surrender, he was appointed governor: he there rendered himself conspicuous for his humanity to the natives, and to the sick and wounded soldiers. During his stay at Walcheren, he caught the fever, and came home enfeebled and emaciated; but fortunately for his country, his health was restored. Instantly, and even before he could be said to have reassumed his tone of health, his active services were required in Portugal, where he commanded the 3d division of the British army; in which command, his zeal, celerity, and courage, soon distinguished itself, and from the situation in which the fortune of war had placed them, his regiments became noticed as the fighting division.

In all the battles in the Peninsular war, the division which he commanded was placed in the post of honour, and never failed to justify the confidence reposed in its gallant commander. The capture of Badajos was principally owing to his resolution and presence of mind, in converting a feint into a real attack, and thus gaining possession of a castle which overlooked the place. His services were continued during the whole of the Peninsular war, excepting that he was obliged from ill health to resign, for a time, previous to the battle of Salamanca, when the command of his division was entrusted to the late gallant sir Edward Pakenham, who bravely led it to victory. Before the battle of Vittoria, our hero was sufficiently recovered to resume the command, and in this battle his division acted in a manner which at once excited acclamation and surprise, for nearly four hours did it alone sustain the unequal force opposed to it, of which the whole army, from the peculiar nature of the ground, were acting witnesses. General Picton continued with the army until its entrance into France. In a word, he was the very soul of honour. The pupil of sir Ralph Abercrombie, he never disgraced his general and his friend. In private life sir Thomas Picton was kind, humane, benevolent, and charitable. He discharged with strictness all the social and relative duties; and, in the midst of the severe persecution, never lost that

PICTON
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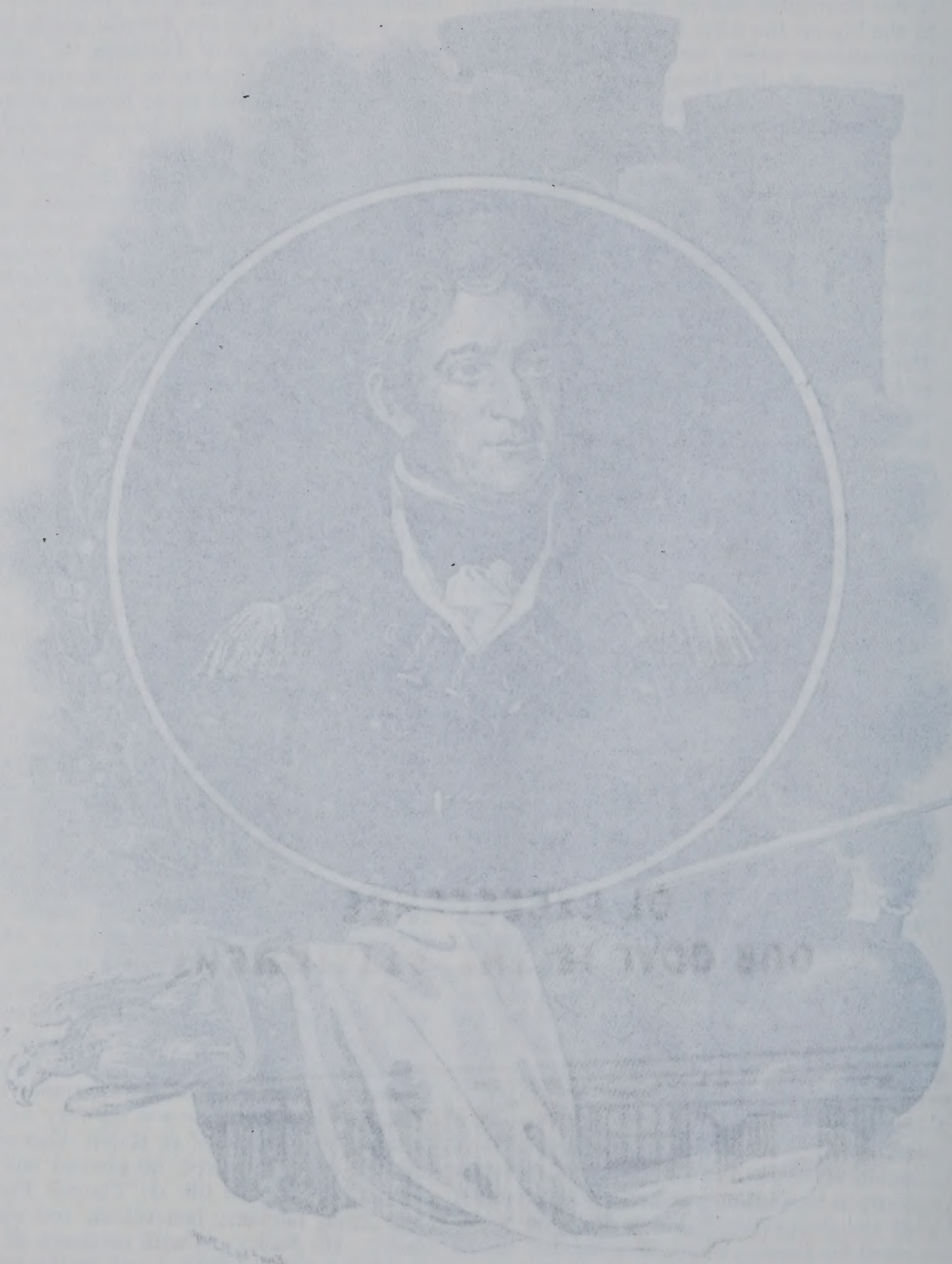
Engr.d by R. Page.

SIR T. PICTON.



equanimity of temper which pious integrity alone can impart. The duke of Wellington, in his dispatch, passes a just eulogium on his worth. As soon as our army was sent to Flanders, government offered him the command of a division; but, apprehending the duke of Wellington, as commander-in-chief, would leave the British force to some officer in whom he could not repose the same confidence, he declined the offer, adding, however, if the duke should personally require his services, he would instantly repair to the army. This requisition was made; the general left town on the 11th of June, and on the 18th terminated his career of glory. He had made his will before his departure: he did not expect to return: but observed to a friend, that when he heard of his death he should hear of a bloody day. This prediction was too faithfully verified.

The following pleasing trait in sir Thomas's character deserves remembrance:—Some time after relinquishing the government of Trinidad, the inhabitants voted him 5000*l.* as a testimony of their esteem. When a dreadful fire laid the capital in ashes, some time after this, a subscription was opened for the relief of the sufferers, and the general eagerly seized the opportunity of returning the five thousand pounds for that object.

His remains were landed at Deal on the 25th of June. Minute guns were fired from all the ships in the Downs when the body was conveyed to the beach, where all the naval and military were drawn up to receive it. It was then conveyed with all military honours to the metropolis, and deposited, amidst the impressive silence and sincere regret of a numerous multitude, in his family vault, in the burial ground of St. George's, Hanover Square.

Notwithstanding the partial repulse of the French assailants, by the intrepidity of general Picton, the enemy pressed on, and succeeded in driving back the Scotch division, after every resistance had been made which the undaunted bravery of the Highland regiments could effect. But the brigade of heavy cavalry coming up, supported by the 12th light dragoons, the enemy's masses were at length compelled to retreat.

A column of 2000 men bore down on the position which was occupied by the 92d regiment, which, from the losses it had sustained on the 16th, and the galling fire to which it had been now exposed, was reduced to two hundred men. This little but valiant band did not decline the unequal contest. They would not even wait for the attack, but forming themselves into line, and presenting a narrow but compact front, charged on the centre of the column. Had the French stood firm their flanks might have closed round, and completely annihilated the gallant Scotch. But they were unable to resist the impetuosity of the charge, the centre of the column was pierced, and the Scotch Greys immediately profiting by the confusion, dashed in at the opening. The two regiments cheered each other with shouts of "*Scotland for ever*," and the enemy were to a man destroyed or taken prisoners. A column of French cavalry now advanced, with the cuirassiers at their head, to endeavour to save their infantry. The Scotch Greys had been reinforced by the brigade of heavy dragoons, and the most dreadful engagement of cavalry which modern warfare has witnessed now took place. The impenetrable cuirasses of the French gave them a decided advantage over the English, but nothing could resist the determined valour of the latter, and after a long and sanguinary struggle, the cuirassiers turned their horses and fled. They were pursued by the British, and after sustaining the most dreadful slaughter, sought refuge in the rear of their infantry. The Scotch Greys took one of the French eagles, and another was captured by Francis Stiles, a corporal in the first royal dragoons. The manner in which the first of these trophies was obtained is described with much animation by the heroic individual to whom it was surrendered.

Extract of a letter from serjeant Ewart, of the Scotch Greys, who took a French eagle, dated Rouen, June 18, 1815:—

"The enemy began forming their line of battle about nine in the morning of the 18th: we did not commence till ten. I think it was about eleven when we were ready to receive them. They began upon our right with the most tremendous firing that ever was heard, and I can assure you, they got it

as hot as they gave it; then it came down to the left, where they were received by our brave Highlanders. No men could ever behave better; our brigade of cavalry covered them. Owing to a column of foreign troops giving way, our brigade was forced to advance to the support of our brave fellows, and which we certainly did in style; we charged through two of their columns, each about 5,000; it was in the first charge I took the eagle from the enemy; he and I had a hard contest for it; he thrust for my groin—I parried it off, and cut him through the head; after which I was attacked by one of their lancers, who threw his lance at me, but missed the mark, by my throwing it off with my sword by my right side; then I cut him from the chin upwards, which went through his teeth; next I was attacked by a foot soldier, who, after firing at me, charged me with his bayonet—but he very soon lost the combat, for I parried it and cut him down through the head; so that finished the contest for the eagle. After which I presumed to follow my comrades, eagle and all, but was stopped by the general, saying to me, "You brave fellow, take that to the rear: you have done enough until you get quit of it;" which I was obliged to do, but with great reluctance. I retired to a height, and stood there for upwards of an hour, which gave a general view of the field, but I cannot express the horrors I beheld: the bodies of my brave comrades were lying so thick upon the field that it was scarcely possible to pass, and horses innumerable. I took the eagle into Brussels amidst the acclamations of thousands of the spectators that saw it."

The eagles taken belonged to the 45th and 105th regiments, and were superbly gilt and ornamented with gold fringe. That of the 45th was inscribed with the names of Jena, Austerlitz, Wagram, Eylau, Friedland, &c. being the battles in which this regiment, called the *Invincibles*, had signalized itself. The other was a present from Louisa to the 105th regiment. One was much defaced with blood and dirt, as if it had been struggled for, and the eagle was also broken off from the pole, as if from the cut of a sabre; but it was nevertheless preserved. It is worthy of observation, that the eagles taken were only given to their respective regiments at the *Champ de Mai*. On the 1st of June, they glittered over the heads of the Parisians, amid cries of "*Vive l'Empereur*."

At this period of the engagement the brave sir William Ponsonby fell, leading on his men to victory and glory. The grief of his country and of his friends for his loss was aggravated, by the knowledge that his fall was to be attributed to the feebleness of his horse, as much as to his ardent courage, which carried him alone and unsupported into the midst of his enemies. He led his brigade against the Polish lancers, checked at once their destructive charges against the British infantry, and took 200 prisoners; but having pushed on at some distance from his troops, accompanied only by one aide-de-camp, he entered a newly ploughed field, where the ground was excessively soft. His horse stuck in the mire, and was utterly incapable of extricating itself. At this instant a body of lancers approached him at full speed. Sir William saw that his fate was inevitable.—He took out a picture and his watch, and was in the act of giving them to be delivered to his wife and family, when the lancers came up. The general and horse were both killed upon the spot. His body was found, lying beside his horse, pierced with seven lance wounds; but he did not fall unrevenged. Before the day was ended the Polish lancers were almost entirely cut to pieces by the brigade which this officer had led against them.

The remains of sir William were conveyed to England, and deposited in the family vault at Kensington, belonging to his noble ancestors in the female line. England has not lost a more accomplished officer, nor society a more amiable man. He was well-bred, but diffident and unassuming, with a sincerity and simplicity of character, which were so strongly expressed in his countenance, as to induce a prepossession in his favour, which was afterwards confirmed. He owed his appointments solely to his merit, and was selected for that alone by the duke, as both himself and his family held opposite politics to those of his grace. He fell covered with wounds, and with glory, in his 43d year. The greater number of his companions in

arms, who shared in the fatal attack, perished in the field.

It was on the left of the centre that the enemy obtained a temporary success. Some light troops of the German legion had been stationed in the farm of La Haye Sainte; the French succeeded in occupying the communication between them and the army, and when all the ammunition of the besieged was expended, they carried the farm-house, and put every man to the bayonet. This success enabled them, about two o'clock, to occupy a small mound on the left of the road, where the hedge joins the road from Brussels to Charleroi, and just opposite the gate of the farm; a position from which they were not dislodged till the grand advance of the British army at seven in the evening. The disaster at La Sainte Haye produced, however, but little influence on the vicissitudes of the general conflict. The French troops sustained considerable losses, under the difficulties of uneven and hilly ground, deep ditches and ravines, where they were checked at every step by fresh columns concealed till the moment of attack. Every inch of ground was disputed on both sides, and neither gave way till every means of resistance was exhausted. The smallest hillock, the most trivial embankment, was frequently taken and retaken several times. Repeated charges of cavalry took place, the field of battle was heaped with dead, and the firing became more and more violent. Both sides contended with equal fury, and the defence was as obstinate as the attack was impetuous. The English artillery made dreadful havoc in the ranks of the French. They were so completely exposed, that the Congreve rockets passed easily through all their lines, and fell in the midst of their equipage, which was placed behind, on the road and its environs. A number of shells burst among them, and rendered it indispensible for the train to retire to a greater distance. This was not done without much disorder, which the English clearly perceived. The French artillery reopened their fire with equal vivacity, but with much less effect, as our masses were almost entirely masked by the inequalities of the ground. The continued reverberation of more than 600 pieces of artillery; the fire of the battalions and light troops; the frequent explosion of caissoons, blown up by shells, which reached them; the hissing of balls and grape-shot; the clash of arms; the tumultuous roar of the charges, and the shouts of the soldiery, all created an impression which the pen is unequal to describe, and which occurred in a narrow space, the two armies being close to each other, and their respective lines contracted into the shortest possible extent.

Napoleon, elated by the advantage obtained at La Sainte Haye, seized the opportunity with all his characteristic promptitude, and pressing on with immense masses of infantry and cavalry, attacked the centre, which was now exposed. The first battalions which he encountered, overwhelmed and crushed by superior numbers, gave way. Napoleon deemed the victory his own, and dispatched a courier to Paris with intelligence that the day was won. Had he, indeed, brought up all his reserves of infantry, or waited until the British squares had been thrown into confusion by the desperate charges of his foot soldiers, it might have been impossible for the duke of Wellington to restore the fortunes of the day. But he precipitately followed up his advantage, amidst a deluge of balls and grape-shot. A strong column approached Mount St. John, whence a terrific fire was pouring. The French cavalry at the same time rushed to carry the guns on the plains, but was charged in its turn by the English horse, who issued from the hollows, where they had lain in ambuscade, and the slaughter became horrible. Neither side gave way one step; reinforcements arrived to both parties; the charge was repeated. Three times the French were on the point of forcing the positions, and three times they were driven back. A few battalions of the English, who were slow or unskilful in their movements, were in a moment cut to pieces; but wherever the squares were formed the enemy could make no impression. In vain, with unexampled courage, the French cavalry walked their horses round the British squares, and dashed at the slightest opening: in vain, when they arrived within a short distance, a few of them rushed on, and would have nobly sacrificed

their lives by receiving the fire of their opponents, while their main body regularly proceeded to the charge. The cool intrepidity of the allied army baffled every attempt to break them. The squadrons of French cavalry which contrived to penetrate between the squares were repulsed with sanguinary fury, and the British cavalry now arrived to share the conflict. Napoleon saw the error which he had committed, and the whole centre of his infantry was brought forward to assist and disengage the cavalry. A close column of French pressed onwards, overpowered every resistance, and marched to carry the village of Mont St. Jean, in the rear of the British position.

The duke of Wellington felt the critical situation in which he was placed, and displayed an heroism worthy of himself and his country. Wherever his presence was most requisite he was to be found. Exposed to the hottest fire, in the most conspicuous positions, he stood reconnoitring with his glass, watching the enemy's manœuvres, and issuing orders with the most intrepid coolness, while balls and shells showered around him, and his staff officers fell wounded and dying by his side. Many of his escapes seemed almost miraculous. When any of the squares appeared to waver, or were almost broken, he threw himself into the midst of them, and the consciousness of his presence rendered them firm as the adamantine rock, against which the spray beats harmlessly. At length he succeeded in arresting the progress of the French, and snatching from them every advantage which they had obtained. The advance of Napoleon to menace the rear was prevented; the French were driven from the eminence they had carried; the farm of La Haye Sainte was retaken; and the combatants again occupied the ground which they had held at the commencement of the attack, except that the French continued to possess the small mound on the left of the road from Brussels to Charleroi, from which they could not be dislodged till the grand advance of the British army at the close of the engagement.

The attack on the chateau of Hugoumont had recommenced, and continued during the day. Here, as in the centre, the enemy's cavalry boldly penetrated the squares, and for a while appeared masters of the position, but on the arrival of the British dragoons, a scene of destructive confusion ensued. The artillery of the two armies reciprocally discharged an incessant torrent of round and grape-shot. The 30th regiment sustained several charges of the cuirassiers. Protected by their iron breast-plates, they galloped up to the very bayonets of the infantry, but did not in a single instance make the least impression. The horsemen had no sooner passed than the regiment again deployed into line, that its fire might be more extended and effectual. They had scarcely completed the evolution when the word was again given, "Re-form square: prepare to receive cavalry." The cuirassiers repeatedly walked round this gallant regiment, eagerly watching for an opportunity of penetrating its front.

The commanding officer of one of the squadrons committed an act of disgraceful treachery. He rode up to the front of the English regiment, and lowered his sword to the colonel as a token of submission. "They surrender! They surrender!" resounded through the ranks, and the regiment was about to relinquish its warlike attitude, when general Halket, suspecting the treachery of the French commander, and distrusting the offer of surrender made by a corps which might easily have effected its escape, saved the regiment from destruction by exclaiming, "Treachery! Treachery! Present and fire."

Unable to penetrate the 30th regiment, the cuirassiers rushed on the 69th, who occupied a neighbouring position, and arrived in their front before the square was completely formed, a circumstance which enabled them to commit dreadful slaughter. Before the day closed, the brave remains of the regiment nobly avenged the death of their comrades. The first foot guards were for a moment almost cut off from the rest of the army, and surrounded by the enemy's cavalry, who repeatedly charged on every square at once.—Their loss was necessarily immense, but as the soldiers rapidly fell no chasm was for a moment left. The files were closed, and the square gradually diminished, nor would they have surrendered so long as life remained to

a single man. At length the British cavalry came to their relief, and the few brave soldiers who were left effected their escape. A similar resistance was made in every point of the line; and the French, after sustaining immense loss, were driven back to their former positions.

After a short and solemn interval they returned to the attack, on the whole line of the allies, but chiefly on the centre. Three hundred pieces of artillery played on every part of the British position. The slaughter was dreadful, notwithstanding the state of the ground, which was soaked with rain, and prevented the balls from rolling forwards after they had fallen. The shells were frequently buried in the mud, and produced no other effect than bespattering the men and horses. The French continued their incessant attacks with a perseverance of which they were formerly deemed incapable; and the line of chequered squares, hitherto successfully opposed to them, was gradually, from the great reduction of numbers, presenting a diminished and less formidable appearance. One general officer was under the necessity of stating that his brigade was reduced to one-third of its original strength, that those who remained were exhausted with fatigue, and that a temporary relief, however short its duration, was requisite to the existence of his troops. "Tell him," said the duke, "what he proposes is impossible. He, I, and every Englishman in the field, must die on the spot which we now occupy." "It is enough," replied the general, "I and every man under my command, are determined to share his fate."

In the list of those who fell gloriously in the hour of victory, stands conspicuous the name of major Robert Cairnes, of the royal horse artillery. Nature had marked him as her favourite. Endued with a strength and activity of mind that are rarely surpassed, he carried them into his profession with the happiest result to himself and the service.—An undaunted bravery, an exquisite sense of honour, a cool and discriminating, though quick judgment, and a steady perseverance, were his peculiar characteristics as a soldier; a noble and generous temper, an undeviating sweetness of disposition, a most engaging person, and manners highly polished and universally amiable, were his qualifications as a member of society; a heart the most affectionate, and an urbanity the most conciliating, completed his character in the different relations of son, brother, and friend.—Adored by his family, beloved by his brother officers, and respected by the world, this gallant man met the death his noble spirit ever panted for, in the 30th year of his age, and left behind him unutterable regrets for his fate—to his friends indeed untimely, but to himself matured. The truth of this sketch will be attested by those who knew and loved its subject, while he who traces it is conscious of his inability to do it justice. By the female line, major Cairnes was the eldest branch of the family of that name, to whom a baronetcy was granted by patent in the reign of queen Anne, but which has been dormant since the death of sir Alexander Cairnes, who was killed at the battle of Minden.

Lieut.-col. sir Francis D'Oyly, K.C.B. of the 1st regiment of foot guards, was the third son of the Rev. Matthias D'Oyly, rector of Buxted, Sussex, and archdeacon of Lewes. He entered into his majesty's service, in the 1st regiment of guards, in the year 1794; and since that period had been engaged in most of the principal military enterprises which have taken place in the late wars. In the expedition to the Helder, in 1799, he acted as aide-de-camp to his late uncle, general D'Oyly. In 1804, he accompanied his regiment to Sicily, and remained there about two years. From the first breaking out of the Peninsular war to the close of it, he was, with very little exception, engaged on various military duties in Spain: he was present in the whole of sir John Moore's campaign and retreat to Corunna; he afterwards spent a considerable time at Cadiz, while that city was besieged by the French; and, lastly, under the duke of Wellington, he held the situation of assistant-adjutant-general to one of the divisions of the army, chiefly to that commanded by the earl of Dalhousie. Holding this situation, he was engaged in all the great engagements which crowned the duke of Wellington's campaigns with such distinguished success; in the several battles of Salamanca, Vittoria,

the Pyrenees, Orthes, &c.; and accompanied lord Dalhousie's division of the army to Bourdeaux. Having received several medals for the share he bore in these principal engagements, he was created one of the knights commanders of the order of the Bath, on the extension of the honours of that order. During the whole of the battles on the 16th and 18th of June, he was closely engaged with the enemy, and for a long time escaped unhurt. At last, towards the close of the action of the 18th, in the very last charge to which his regiment was led against the broken and yielding enemy, he received a wound from a musket ball in a vital part of his body, and fell dead from his horse. He was a brave and active officer, ardently and zealously attached to his profession, diligent in the pursuit of the knowledge that belongs to it, anxious to bear a part in its more active services, and to share its dangers and its glories. He fell, sincerely and deeply lamented by his relatives, and by a large circle of friends, whose esteem and regard he had justly conciliated by many valuable and excellent qualities in private life.

The distinguished share which the brigade of life guards had in contributing, by their irresistible charges, to the glorious result of that evermemorable day, is a matter of general notoriety, as it was of admiration, to the armies that witnessed its achievements. Among those whose gallantry was crowned with a death of glory, none was more conspicuous than colonel Fitzgerald, of the 2d regiment: he was the only officer of his regiment who was killed; he did not, however, fall till he had the satisfaction of witnessing the triumph of the British army. Towards the close of the action, being advanced in front of his regiment, leading it in pursuit of the flying enemy, he was killed by a cannon-shot. The remains of this officer are deposited in the garden of a neat cottage, opposite to the inn at Waterloo, and has a stone with an inscription over it, to mark the spot; many English officers were also interred in this garden, in which you are also shown a little hillock, as the sepulchre of the earl of Uxbridge's leg.

Among the gallant heroes who fell, few are more lamented than lieutenant-colonel Currie, of Dalebank, in Annandale, assistant adjutant-general on lord Hill's staff. This excellent and valuable officer received his commission at the early age of thirteen, from the duke of York, in consequence of the meritorious conduct of his father in the army, and, for a period of above twenty years, had been constantly distinguishing himself in actual service. He fought bravely, and was severely wounded, under sir Ralph Abercrombie, in Egypt; and served for several years in the West Indies, by which his health was greatly impaired. He was also actively employed as an aide-de-camp to lord Hill, the whole of the war in the Peninsula and in France; where he conducted himself with such ability and bravery, as repeatedly on the field of battle to receive the thanks of the commander-in-chief; and particularly at Talavera, at the passage of the Douro, Almarez, and Aroyo de Molinos. It is melancholy, although glorious to record, that lieutenant-colonel Currie was the tenth of this gallant and amiable family who have nobly sacrificed their lives in defence of their king and country, and that six of them died on the field of battle.

The gallant general De Lancy now fell as he was animating and leading back to the charge a battalion of Hanoverians who had got into confusion. He immediately felt that his wound was mortal, and as the soldiers eagerly rushed forward to raise him in their arms and bear him into the rear, he insisted on being left to his fate; adding, that that time should not be wasted on him which might be usefully employed in assisting many a brave fellow who might be enabled again to fight his country's battles.

They obeyed him and retired, but when, on the following morning, the bloody field was again traversed, and those who had survived the sufferings of the night were removed, he was found yet living, and to the satisfaction and joy of his friends, hopes were entertained of his recovery. These hopes, however, were fallacious, and he died in a few days, probably a martyr to his own generous disinterestedness. He left a widow inconsolable for his loss, to whom he had been married only a few days.

Sir Alexander Gordon was earnestly and affectionately remonstrating with the duke that he exposed his invaluable life to greater hazard than any private soldier, when a bullet laid him low, close by the side of a beloved commander. The duke keenly felt his loss, especially connected with the peculiar circumstances that attended it, and in a letter to the earl of Aberdeen, the brother of sir Alexander, expresses himself in the simple and genuine language of the heart.

"I cannot express to you the regret and sorrow with which I contemplate the losses the country and the service have sustained; none more severe than that of general sir Alexander Gordon. The glory resulting from such actions, so dearly bought, is no consolation to me, and I cannot imagine that it is any to you; but I trust the result has been so decisive, that little doubt will remain that our exertions will be rewarded by the attainment of our first object; then it is that the glory of the actions in which our friends have fallen, may be some consolation."

Colonel Ferrier of the first life guards now bravely fell. He had led his regiment to the charge no less than eleven times, and many of these charges were made after his head had been laid open by the cut of a sabre, and his body had been pierced by a lance.

Lieutenant-colonel Canning likewise now closed his career of glory. He had been sent by the duke with some important orders to a distant part of the line. He had executed his commission, and was returning, when a grape-shot struck him in the breast. As he fell, his friend lord March (the eldest son of the duke of Richmond) hastened to his assistance. The colonel, with difficulty, raised himself up, and even in his last moments, sensible only to that enthusiastic love for his commander which the duke of Wellington so well knew how to inspire, eagerly inquired, "Is the duke yet safe?" "He is my friend," was the reply. A smile of joy played round the lips of the dying man, "God bless him!" he exclaimed, and then seizing the hand of the young nobleman, he feebly added, "and God bless you," and expired.

Lieutenant-colonel Canning had accompanied the duke of Wellington as aide-de-camp during the whole of the Peninsular war, and had borne an honourable part in every action and siege, from the battle of Corunna to that of Orthes. On the return of Buonaparte he joined his regiment at Brussels, and was preparing to lead it into the field, when he received an unexpected message to wait on the duke of Wellington. He was received by his old commander with all his accustomed cordiality, and on the next day was restored, without solicitation, to the situation which he had occupied during so many campaigns.

Another hero must be mentioned here, namely captain Curzon of the 69th, the fourth son of lord Scarsdale, and aide-de-camp to the duke. He was sent with lord March on a service of importance, when a grape-shot struck him on the breast. As he fell from his horse, he affectionately, and with a smile, exclaimed "Good bye, March."—In vain his noble friend rendered him every possible assistance; the tide of life ebbed fast. At this moment a movement of the French cuirassiers threatened an immediate attack on a battalion of Nassau troops, stationed near the spot on which he lay. Lord March saw the danger to which they were exposed, and hastily endeavoured to form them into square. As he was thus employed, and animating the soldiers to wait with firmness the coming attack, Curzon lifted his head, and feebly crying, "Well done, March; that's right, my brave fellow, well done, well done!" breathed his last.

Two heroes of meaner fame, but whose gallantry was not exceeded by any whose fall has been deservedly honoured with the grateful applause of their country, perished in those bloody encounters. Thorne, the celebrated and unrivalled Somersetshire wrestler and single-stick player, had been in the life-guards about two years. It is confidently stated, that he actually cut down nine of the French cuirassiers by his superior strength and agility, when a shot from a carbine laid him low.

Shawe, who before the war was becoming celebrated in London for his pugilistic skill, was attacked by six of the French imperial guard at the same time. Four of them fell beneath his arm, but the remaining two were

more successful, and sacrificed him to the manes of their companions.

Napoleon was astonished by the obstinate resistance of the British. He incessantly took snuff in large quantities from his waistcoat pocket, violently snuffing up half, and throwing the rest from him with a strong extension of the arm. "These English are devils," said, he, "will they never be beaten?" A moment afterwards he added, "I shall beat them yet, but it is a pity to destroy such brave troops." He then turned to Soult.—"How well these English fight! but they must soon give way; don't you think so?" Soult, who had some experience of British courage and firmness, replied, that "he doubted whether they would ever give way." "Why?" quickly and somewhat indignantly asked Napoleon. "They will suffer themselves to be cut to pieces first," was the answer, which terminated the conversation.

The frequency and impetuousness of his attacks were now redoubled, and he began to expose himself to the thickest of the fire. He evinced much personal courage, and was always collected, and in full possession of the inexhaustible resources of his genius. Seeing the guide frequently flinch at the shower of shot that fell around them, he said "Do not stir, my friend; a ball will kill you equally in the back as the front, and wound you more disgracefully."

The French author of the "Relation of the Battle of Mont St. Jean" says, that "Buonaparte now contemplated with a look of ferocity the hideous spectacle of so frightful a butchery. The more the obstacles to his success multiplied, the more agitated he became. He was indignant at these unforeseen difficulties, and sent forward fresh troops at the hazard of his personal safety, with instructions that they should charge with the bayonet, and carry every thing before them. He was frequently told that at various points the affair was against him, and that his troops began to waver. 'Forward! Forward!' was his only reply."

A brigade of horse-artillery, commanded by the lamented major Norman Ramsay, opened its fire on the French columns. They retreated repeatedly, but it was only to advance with new fury, and to renew attempts which it seemed impossible for human strength and courage ultimately to withstand. As frequently as the cavalry retreated our artillerymen, rushing out of the squares in which they had found shelter, began again to work their pieces, and made a destructive fire on the retiring squadrons. Two officers of artillery were particularly noticed, who being stationed in a square which was repeatedly charged, rushed out of it the instant the cavalry retreated, loaded one of the deserted guns which stood near, and fired it upon the horsemen. A French officer observed that this manœuvre was repeated more than once, and cost his troop many lives. At the next retreat of his squadron he stationed himself by the gun, waving his sword, as if defying the British officers again to approach it. He was instantly shot by a grenadier, but prevented, by his self-devotion, a considerable loss to his countrymen. Other French officers and men evinced the same desperate and devoted zeal in the cause which they had so rashly and unhappily espoused. One officer of rank, after leading his men as far as they would follow him, towards one of the squares of infantry, found himself deserted by them when the British fire opened, and instantly rode upon the bayonets, throwing open his arms, as if to welcome the bullet which should bring him down. He was immediately shot, for the moment admitted of no alternative. On our part, the coolness of the soldiery was so striking as almost to appear miraculous. Amidst the noise, hurry, and clamour, of the bloodiest action ever fought, the officers were obeyed as if on the parade; and such was the precision with which the men gave their fire, that the aide-de-camp could ride round each square with perfect safety, being sure that the discharge would be reserved till the precise moment when it ought regularly to be made. The fire was rolling, or alternate, keeping up that constant and uninterrupted blaze upon which it is impossible to force a concentrated and effective charge of cavalry. Thus each little phalanx stood by itself like an impregnable fortress, while their crossing fires supported each other, and dealt destruction among the enemy, who frequently attempted to penetrate through the intervals,

and to gain the flank and rear of these detached masses. The Dutch, Hanoverians, and Brunswick troops, maintained the same solid order, and the same ready, sustained, and destructive fire, as the British regiments with whom they were intermingled.

Notwithstanding this well supported and undaunted defence, the situation of our army became critical. The duke of Wellington had placed his best troops in the first line; they had already suffered severely, and the quality of those who were brought up to support them was in some instances found unequal to the task. He himself saw a Belgian regiment give way at the instant it crossed the ridge of the hill, in the act of advancing from the second into the first line. The duke rode up to them, halted the regiment, and again formed it, intending in person to lead them into the fire. They accordingly shouted "*En avant, en avant,*" and marched up, arranging their ranks with great accuracy, and holding up their heads with military precision. But as soon as they crossed the ridge of the hill, and again encountered the storm of balls and shells, from which they had formerly retreated, they went to the right-about once more, and fairly left the duke to seek for more courageous followers where he could find them. He accordingly brought up a Brunswick regiment, which advanced with less apparent enthusiasm than the Belgians, but kept their ground with more steadiness, and behaved with intrepidity. In another part of the field, the Hanoverian *hussars of Cumberland*, a corps distinguished for their handsome appearance and complete equipments, were ordered to support a charge made by the British. Their commanding officer shewed no alacrity to obey this order, and observed so much ceremony, that, after being twice ordered to advance, an aide-de-camp of the duke of Wellington informed him of his grace's command, that he should either advance or draw off his men entirely, and not remain there to shew a bad example, and discourage others. The *gallant* officer of hussars was not long in making his choice, and having seriously expressed to the aide-de-camp his sense of the duke's kindness, and his gracious consideration for the safety of his raw troops, under so dangerous a fire, declared that he would embrace the alternative of drawing his men off, and posting them behind the hamlet of St. John. This he accordingly did, in spite of the reproaches of the aide-de-camp, who loaded him with every epithet that is most disgraceful to a soldier. Many of the officers and soldiers of this unlucky regiment left it in shame, joined themselves to other bodies of cavalry, and behaved well in the action. But the valiant commander fled to Brussels, and alarmed the town with a report that the French were at his heels. His regiment was partly disbanded, and many of its members attached to the service of the commissariat.

While the conflict was raging, the Prussian general, with his usual faith and intrepidity, was pressing forward to the assistance of his allies. So early as between three and four o'clock the division of Bulow appeared menacing the right flank of the French, chiefly with light troops and cavalry. But this movement was foreseen, and provided against by Buonaparte. Besides the immense force with which he sustained the main conflict, he had kept in reserve a large body of troops under count Lobau, who were opposed to those of Bulow, with a promptitude which appeared like magic: our officers being almost at a loss to conjecture whence the forces came, which appeared as it were to rise out of the earth, to oppose this new adversary. The engagement, which consisted chiefly in sharp-shooting, continued in this quarter, but with no great energy, as the Prussian general waited the coming up of the main body of Blucher's army. This was retarded by many circumstances. We have already noticed the state of the cross-roads, or rather tracks, through which a numerous army had to accomplish their passage. The effects of the battle of Ligny were still felt, and it was necessary that Blucher, before he involved himself in defiles from which retreat became impossible, should take some time to ascertain whether the British were able to maintain their ground until he should come up to their assistance. In the event of the English being routed, with the usual circumstances of defeat, before the Prussians came up, Blucher must have found himself in a

most critical situation, engaged in the defiles of St. Lambert, with one victorious French army in front, and another pressing upon his rear at Wavre. But the gallantry of the prince-marshal's character did not permit him long to hesitate upon advancing to the support of his illustrious ally.

Grouchy and Vandamme, with their combined forces, had followed the Prussian rear, commanded by Tauenzein, as far as Wavre, less with the purpose of actual fight than of precipitating the retreat which they supposed Blucher to have commenced with the whole of his army. At length Tauenzein halted upon the villages of Wavre and Bielge, on the river Dyle, and there prepared to defend his position. The appearance of Bulow's corps on Buonaparte's left flank made the latter desirous that the Prussians should be attacked in a distant and different point, in a manner so serious as effectually to engage their attention, and prevent them from detaching more forces to the aid of Wellington. Orders were therefore dispatched to Grouchy to make a serious attack upon that part of the Prussian army which was opposed to him. But Buonaparte was not aware, nor had Grouchy discovered, that the forces he was thus to engage only consisted of a strong rear-guard, which occupied the villages and position upon the Dyle, to mask the march of the main army, under Blucher himself, which was already defiling to the right, through the passes of St. Lambert, and in full march to unite itself with Wellington and Bulow. The resistance of Tauenzein was so obstinate as to confirm Grouchy in the belief that he was engaged with a great proportion of the Prussian army. The bridge at Wavre was repeatedly lost and gained before the French were able to make their footing good beyond it. At length a French colonel snatched the eagle of his regiment, and rushing forward, crossed the bridge, and struck it into the ground on the other side. His corps followed, with an unanimous shout of "*Vive l'Empereur*," and although the gallant officer who thus led them on was slain on the spot, his followers succeeded in carrying the village. That Bielge at the same time fell into their hands, and Grouchy anxiously expected from his emperor instructions to improve his success. But no such orders arrived; the sound of the cannon in the direction of Waterloo slackened, and at length died away; and it was next morning before Grouchy heard the portentous news which awaited him, announcing the fate of Napoleon and his army.

Mean time Blucher pressed the march of his forces through the defiles which separated him from the British army. Notwithstanding the consequences of his fall upon the 16th, the veteran insisted on leaving his carriage, and being placed on horseback, that he might expedite the march by precept and example. The sun was near setting before his forces appeared in strength, issuing from the woods on the left flank of the English army. Though it was now obvious that the army of the prince-marshal was appearing on the field, Napoleon was deluded to the last by a belief that they were followed by Grouchy, and either retreating or moving laterally in the same line with him. In this misconception he persisted, until the consequences proved fatal to the very last chance which he had of covering his own retreat. It was for some time supposed that he mistook the Prussians for his own forces under Grouchy. This was not the case, nor was it possible it should be so. His real error was sufficient for his destruction, without exaggerating into a mistake that would indicate insanity. But, as appears from the letter of marshal Ney, Buonaparte spread among the soldiers, by means of the unfortunate Labedoyere, his own belief, that though the Prussians had arrived, Grouchy was advancing at the same time to his support. In consequence of his opinion that, at the very worst, his own general had made a lateral movement, corresponding to that of Blucher, and was as near to support as the other was to attack him.

All the repulses of this bloody day did not prevent him from risking a final and desperate effort. The dispatch of general Grouchy confirms this statement.

Notwithstanding the perseverance with which Buonaparte had renewed his attacks on the English position, and the vast number of his best cavalry and infantry who fell in the struggle, he had still in reserve near 15,000 men of his own guard, who, remain-

ing on the ridge of La Belle Alliance, or behind it, had scarcely drawn a trigger during the action. But, about seven o'clock at night, their emperor determined to devote this proved and faithful reserve, as his last stake, to one of those desperate games in which he had been frequently successful.—His previous conduct had displayed the utmost resolution, wisdom, and intrepidity, with the few exceptions that we have before recorded. He was in full view of the field when the battle began, and remained upon it till no choice was left him but that of death or rapid flight. His first post was a high wooden observatory, which had been constructed when a trigonometrical survey of the country was made, by order of the king of the Netherlands, some weeks before. But he afterwards removed to the high ground in front of La Belle Alliance, and finally to the foot of the slope, upon the road to Brussels. He was, throughout the action, attended by his staff, and squadrons of service, destined to protect his safety. Soult, Ney, and other officers of distinction, commanded under him, but he issued all orders, and received all reports, in person.

At the present moment he left the more distant point of observation, which he had for some time occupied on the heights in the rear, and descending from the hill, placed himself in the rear of the line fronting Mount St. John, and within about a quarter of a mile of the English line. The banks, which rise high on each side, protected him from such balls as did not come in a direct line. Here he caused his guards to defile before him, and acquainted them that the English cavalry and infantry were entirely destroyed, and that to carry their position they had only to sustain with bravery a heavy fire of their artillery. He concluded by pointing to the causeway and exclaiming, "This, gentlemen, is the road to Brussels." They answered with a shout of enthusiasm, and the cry of "The Emperor for ever!" was distinctly heard as far as the British lines.

The allies imagined that Napoleon was about to attack them in person, and far from being intimidated, rejoiced that they would have an opportunity of shewing him of what the soldiers of Wellington were capable.—The emperor, however, remained secure under the rising bank, and his brave and devoted troops defiled before him under the command of Ney, and ascended the eminence.

They marched on with a firm and steady step, and in dead silence. The fate of the battle; the fate of Europe depended upon them. The fire of the allies abated; and with indescribable feelings of anxiety, awe, and admiration, they contemplated the approach of the chosen troops of France, the battalions who were the terror of Europe, and who had never yet been vanquished.—But the pause was only momentary. Every cannon seemed to open at once on the foe, and swept whole ranks away. As the front ranks fell, others in an instant rushed forward to fill up the chasms, and with stern and unbroken front, the imperial guard continued to advance.

Some Brunswickers first attempted to oppose them: but after an ineffectual resistance, they were defeated with immense slaughter. The French penetrated within the lines. It seemed impossible for the duke to rally a sufficient force to arrest their progress. They carried every thing before them, and once more, in this strange and eventful battle, the victory was Napoleon's.

In a hollow of the ground, immediately in front of the French, and protected from the fire of their artillery, lay a regiment of the British guards. The duke of Wellington was close behind them. He had placed himself on a ridge, and declared that he would not move from it. This was sufficient to render his troops invincible. They would now, as Soult had justly declared, rather have suffered themselves to be cut to pieces, than have exposed their beloved commander to peril.

The redoubted imperial guard still advanced. They approached within a hundred yards, when the duke suddenly exclaimed, "Up guards and at them." The unexpected apparition of this fine body of men startled the French battalions, and they suddenly paused; but immediately recovering themselves, they advanced more rapidly. At a given signal, their artillery filed off to the right and the left. They approached within

twenty yards of their opponents, and were in the act of dashing upon them with the bayonet; when a volley was poured upon them by the British, which staggered them, and literally knocked them back with its shock. A second volley threw them into greater confusion, and ere they had time to deploy or to manœuvre, the British cheered and rushed furiously upon them. They waited not to receive the attack, but suddenly turning fled in disorder.

The British were eagerly pursuing, when a regiment of sharp-shooters, which had accompanied and protected the advancing column, attacked them, and did considerable execution; but the British immediately rallied, and again cheering as before, charged on their new antagonists. They likewise refused to receive the shock, and followed the route of their companions. Again the French rallied, and opened a galling and destructive fire on their pursuers, but as soon as they were within charging distance uniformly gave way.

Napoleon saw the whole, from the hollow in which he was concealed. He wished to rally the fugitives, and lead them on to one effort more; but Bertrand and Drouet threw themselves before him, and representing how much the safety of France and the army depended on his life, besought him to forbear. Napoleon suffered himself to be persuaded, and seeing that all was lost, hurried from that part of the field.

The main body of the Prussians had now arrived, and although they were bravely opposed by the troops of general Lobau, whom not even these new assailants could dishearten, perceptibly gained ground. At this critical conjuncture, intelligence was brought to Blucher that the corps which he had left at Wavre were pressed by a superior force, and that they could with difficulty maintain their position. This news, however, made little impression on the hero. A reverse at Wavre he well knew could easily be repaired. The decisive battle must be fought on the ground which he now occupied. Without, therefore, pausing a moment, or dispatching a single battalion to the general at Wavre, he pressed more vigorously on the French. The troops of general Zicthen likewise now arrived on the left of the British position.

In the best concerted plans of war the contest must always be greatly affected by adventitious circumstances. By good fortune, the peasant who guided the Prussians through the forest of Soigny was a man of more than common sagacity, and instead of coming out of the forest at Fritschermont he proposed to descend into the valley lower down, and come out in a direction towards Planchenois, nearly on the French reserve. "Then," said he, "we will take them all." The Germans have well observed how much depended on this peasant, who, had he been less disposed to serve the allies, or less intelligent, might easily have led them into a hollow way, where their cannon could not have passed.

The countenance of Wellington again brightened into a smile. "There goes old Blucher at last," he exclaimed. "We shall beat them yet." The decisive moment had arrived, and the duke promptly availed himself of it. He ordered the whole line, supported by the artillery and cavalry, to charge. His troops replied with one universal shout, and hastened to the attack. Nothing could resist their impetuosity. The French fought with bravery and desperation; but their first line was speedily broken through; the second afforded little more resistance, and complete confusion and route ensued.

Four squares of the old imperial guard yet remained. With these Napoleon endeavoured to cover his retreat, which was now inevitable; but they were embarrassed and borne away by the crowd of fugitives, and unable to resist the overwhelming force of English and Prussians which now pressed upon them. They defended themselves with a gallantry which excited the admiration of their foes. The duke of Wellington would have prevented the useless sacrifice of their lives, and summoned them to surrender; but, with a high sense of military honour, they refused to yield, and slowly retreating, inch by inch, were almost entirely annihilated.

With their destruction the contest ended. No further resistance was opposed; and the conquerors had little more to do than to pursue the fugitives, and massacre those who who would not surrender.

Near La Belle Alliance, a farm in the rear of Napoleon's position, Wellington and Blucher accidentally met, and embraced each other with transport. The son of Blucher says with great *naivete*, "Father Blucher embraced Wellington in such a hearty manner, that every body who was present said it was the most affecting scene that could be imagined." Blucher proposed to continue the pursuit during the night with his troops, who were comparatively fresh, and Wellington, recalling his battalions, who had been more than twelve hours under arms, and whom fatigue and want of food had completely exhausted, drew them up on the hill, and giving the Prussians three cheers as they passed, returned to the bivouack of the foregoing night.

The tremendous scenes of the day were surpassed by the horrors of the night. The sun had long gone down, but no friendly darkness sheltered the fugitives, and an unclouded moon, near her full, lighted the destroyers to their prey. The French fled in a confusion as extraordinary as the lengthened and murderous contention of the day. Lancers, dragoons, infantry, artillery, and cuirassiers; guns, waggons, tumbrils, and carriages of every description, formed one mingled and impenetrable mass. The road was often literally choked with them. Not even the fear and desperation of the fugitives could open a way of escape, until the impetuous charge of the pursuers broke through all impediment, and swept away every thing before them.

Some few officers, with marshal Ney at their head, endeavoured to rally the scattered troops, and form a feeble rear-guard to check the furious pursuit of the conquerors. For a moment they succeeded. Some battalions of the guard obeyed the voice of their leaders, and endeavoured to protect the retreat of their army, but the first charge of the Prussians broke and dispersed them. Again they rallied, and again were overwhelmed. At length all the regiments were completely dispersed, no attempt at further resistance was made, and every one fled with the utmost precipitation. The confusion increased every moment, and at the distance of thirty miles from the field of battle it was impossible to rally a single squadron.

In several of the villages the officers repeatedly attempted to rally the troops, and to maintain themselves under protection of the houses. But an inexplicable panic had seized on every heart, and they whose bravery had, a few hours before, excited the warmest admiration of their enemies, were now incapable of the least resistance. The drum or trumpet of the Prussians was no sooner heard at a distance, than they forsook their ranks, abandoned their hasty defences, and fled in every direction, with all the rapidity which their fatigue and exhaustion would permit.

It was at Genappe that the last stand was made. The French there found some cannon which had been early withdrawn from the field, or which had not reached the scene of action. These were speedily placed in the most advantageous position. Some waggons and carriages were overturned, and the streets completely blockaded. Intrenched behind this defence, they awaited with seeming resolution the approach of the enemy, and commenced a brisk fire of artillery and musketry. The Prussians halted for an instant, and bringing up a few light pieces, directed them on the French intrenchments. But after a few discharges, they were unable to restrain their impetuosity, and rushed on to carry the place by assault. The French were panic-struck. They abandoned a position which they might have long successfully defended, and thus saved the wreck of their army, and once more betook themselves to flight. The Prussians and Brunswickers galloped through the streets, and massacred, without remorse, every Frenchman who fell in their way.—No resistance was offered after this; yet the slaughter continued with unabated fury.

Those of the French who had early escaped from the field, and who had been able to continue their flight without much impediment, did not expect to be so closely pursued. Worn out with fatigue, and fainting from want of food, they halted at some of the villages to recruit their exhausted powers.—But they had scarcely tasted their repast, when crowds of fugitives precipitated themselves upon them, exclaiming that the Prussians were coming. The blast of the trumpet too soon confirmed the intelligence, and they were driven from one bivouack to another

until the victors were glutted with slaughter, or they were unable longer to continue the pursuit from mere fatigue.

At Charleroi, Napoleon himself attempted to arrest the flight of the troops. He planted a company of grenadiers on the bridge with fixed bayonets. But the immense crowd which pressed on, continually urged to new efforts by the cries of "The Prussians, the Prussians!" reiterated in the rear, overpowered all opposition. The grenadiers were totally unable to stem the torrent, and it was not until they had passed the Sambre that the French dared to imagine that they were safe.

At break of day the feeble wreck of the French army began to arrive at Charleroi and Marchienne, where they eagerly pressed on to repass the Sambre. Three days before they had proudly traversed these places as conquerors. Now they stole fearfully through, as if dreading to be recognised, or to find an avenging enemy in the peaceable inhabitants.

The most melancholy part of the cavalcade was the long column of wounded, who clung to each other, as if they sought consolation or protection in the contemplation of each other's misery. Some of them crept slowly along on foot. Others were mounted on the horses which they had forcibly taken from the waggons that had been abandoned on every step of the road. They were pale, enfeebled, and covered with the bloody rags with which they had hastily bound up their wounds.

As they approached the bridge the horrible scenes of Genappe were renewed. The road taken suddenly became considerably narrower. It had previously been completely filled with the strangely mingled column of the retreating army. But now, when the space was contracted, all passage was obstructed. Horsemen, infantry, and carriages rushed on, contending who should cross first. The stronger unfeelingly thrust aside, or trampled upon the weaker, and too often drew their sabres, or their bayonets, on those who offered any resistance. Many were crushed by the wheels of the waggons or artillery, so that at length the heaps of dead bodies, continually increasing, formed an almost insurmountable obstacle.

At this dreadful moment the enemy appeared. The confusion now redoubled.—Some hastily cut the traces of their horses, and springing upon them, abandoned their carriages, and forced their way through the crowd. Others turned off at the foot of the bridge, and driving furiously along the banks of the Sambre, sought for a passage, and at length madly plunging in, were swept away by the torrent. Many hundreds who had been congratulating themselves on their escape perished here, at a distance of thirty miles from the field of battle.

Part of the army, which had early retreated, hoping that the pursuit would cease here, and that the Sambre would afford them a secure defence, had bivouacked on the right side of the river. The neighbouring meadows were crowded with groups of soldiers, hastily cooking that food the long want of which had deprived them of all remaining strength, or stretched on the grass, enjoying that repose which was even more necessary than food. But when this scene of confusion commenced, and the shouts of the Prussians were heard, their slumbers were immediately broken, their food was left untasted, and once more they betook themselves to flight.

A little beyond Charleroi two roads presented themselves, one of which conducted to Avesnes, and the other to Philippeville. Napoleon, confident of victory, had formed no regular plan in case of retreat. No general was at hand to direct their route, and the army divided, as inclination or charge determined. The greater part pursued the road to Avesnes, while others turned to the left, and fled towards Philippeville. Great numbers abandoned the high road, and, as their only refuge from the enemy's cavalry, threw themselves into the neighbouring woods.—Thus the army became gradually dispersed, and at length nearly disappeared.

Wandering through the woods, wherever chance directed their way, they spread alarm through the country. The unfortunate inhabitants now received the first tidings of the success, and the irreparable defeat of the French army; and at the moment when they were congratulating themselves that the theatre of war was so far removed from them, learned, to their unutterable despair, that

they would soon become the prey of an enemy whom a victory so dearly bought had rendered ten-fold more ferocious. The fortified towns quickly closed their gates against the fugitives, who brought with them disorder and despair. At some places, the runaways were forcibly driven away, and thus being compelled to spread themselves over the neighbouring country, they abandoned themselves to every species of excess.

While the gallant Blucher was employed in pursuing the flying enemy, the duke of Wellington slowly led his army over the field of battle. The noise and confusion which so lately reigned were heard no more, and all was hushed and still; save when the moans of the wounded, or the agonizing shrieks of the dying, burst upon the ear.—The moon, riding in unveiled majesty, shed a pale and mournful light on the horrors of the scene. When the duke contemplated the piles of dead which were heaped on every side, and thought, with the lives of how many brave fellows the glory of that day had been bought, and how many hearts even the joyful news of this victory would sadden, the sternness of the soldier was forgotten; the feelings of the man resumed their power, and he burst into tears.

His troops were worn out with fatigue, and needed the refreshment of sleep, but to their everlasting honour be it recorded, that not a man indulged in the repose which nature so much required. They retrod the field of death. They sought for their wounded companions. They eagerly afforded them every assistance in their power, and having hastily dressed their wounds, dispatched them to the hospitals of Antwerp and Brussels.—Nor was their humanity confined to their countrymen, even those who so lately thirsted for their blood, those by whom their ranks had been thinned, shared in their tender care. In the left wing alone, more than five hundred French were indebted for their lives to the generosity and compassion of the British soldiers. In every part of the field the troops were seen diligently employed in constructing litters, and carefully conveying both friends and foes to a place of refuge and comfort.

In many places a still more interesting scene was presented. The wounded British soldiers, after their own injuries had been attended to, were seen carefully and tenderly staunching the wounds of those whom a few hours before they had met in mortal combat. This was a spectacle which none but a British army would have afforded, and it formed a fine and affecting contrast with the murderous occupation of the Brunswickers and Prussians.

The very close of the battle had been destructive to many of the British officers. Sir Francis D'Oyly, of the first foot-guards, fell in the very last charge to which his regiment was led, and at the moment when the enemy was breaking and preparing to fly. Colonel Fitzgerald, of the second regiment of life guards, likewise fell as he was cheering his men to pursue the foe who had given way, and were retiring in confusion.

Almost the last shot which was fired on the British wounded the gallant earl of Uxbridge in the knee. He had personally led every charge of cavalry. He had exposed himself wherever danger threatened most, and was not wounded until almost all danger had ceased. The chair is yet shewn, in the farm of La Belle Alliance, in which his lordship sat, and endured the amputation of his leg, without one groan or contortion of countenance. His noble exclamation in the midst of the operation is still remembered by those who were present. "Who would not lose a leg for such a victory!"

The marquis of Anglesea has always been considered the first cavalry officer in the British service; and we believe no man to be more justly entitled to this distinction. His gallant achievements in the Peninsula, and his more recent conduct at Waterloo, have shed a lustre upon his name which will long be the boast of his family, and the admiration of his country. As an officer, and in the campaigns of the illustrious Wellington, the marquis of Anglesea is better known by the name of Lord Paget; and it was only in consequence of his meritorious conduct at the battle of Waterloo, and his former distinguished services, that he was elevated to the rank of a marquis, having before succeeded to the earldom of Uxbridge by the death of the late earl.

The marquis of Anglesea was born the 17th of May 1768, and received the first rudiments of his education at Westminster; from whence he was removed to Christ Church, Oxford.

At the beginning of the revolutionary war, in 1793, disdaining a life of inglorious ease, and anxious to embrace the military profession, he raised the 80th regiment of foot, or Staffordshire volunteers, a fine body of young men, principally on his father's estates. On 600 being raised, the noble marquis, who was then lord Paget, was presented with a lieutenant-colonelcy in the army; and, on 400 more being added, his lordship was offered a colonelcy, which he refused, on the ground of his not having been then on foreign service. At this period, the wholesome regulations which have been since carried into effect by the illustrious commander-in-chief, were not in force; and lord Paget's nomination to the permanent rank of field-officer militated against no existing rule of promotion.

Three months after the letter of service, lord Paget, with his regiment, embarked for Guernsey; and from thence, in 1794, he joined his royal highness the duke of York in Flanders. In the retreat of that expedition, his lordship, being senior field-officer, was entrusted with the command of lord Cathcart's brigade; the latter officer having a separate corps, to which his attention was necessarily directed.

Lord Paget, who had been removed from the 80th to the command of the 7th regiment of light dragoons, accompanied the duke of York on the expedition to Holland; and, in the general attack made on the 2d of October 1799, his lordship was attached to the division under the command of the Russian general de Hermann, and posted on the sand hills, where he had an opportunity of contributing materially to the brilliant victory that day obtained by the British troops, under circumstances of the most discouraging nature. Late in the evening of that day, the enemy's cavalry having been defeated in an attempt which they made upon the British horse artillery, were charged by the cavalry under lord Paget, and driven, with considerable loss, nearly to Egmont-op-Zee. In the retreat of that army, lord Paget, with his cavalry, protected the rear; and some skirmishing having taken place, by which several pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the enemy, his lordship, with one squadron, made a gallant attack upon the force of general Simon, amounting to six times his own, totally repulsed them, obtained back the British, and with them several pieces of the enemy's cannon.

After the return of the army from Holland, lord Paget devoted himself with the greatest assiduity to the discharge of his regimental duties; and, by his unremitting attention, the 7th light dragoons has become one of the first regiments of cavalry in the service.

His lordship, with two brigades of cavalry, consisting of the 7th, 10th, 15th, and 18th regiments of hussars, followed the division sent under the command of sir David Baird to co-operate with sir John Moore in Spain. Lord Paget disembarked his forces at Corunna, amidst the innumerable difficulties opposed to him, from the want of forage, the apathy of the people of Spain, and the tardy supplies they afforded (very different from what either the men or horses had been accustomed to); and proceeded in the route sir David Baird's division was directed to take. On the 10th of December he arrived at Zamora; and, after a toilsome march, his troops being exposed to numerous privations and distresses, but which were very considerably alleviated through the attention bestowed by his lordship on their comfort, and to his anxiety in procuring forage and accommodation for their horses, his lordship was enabled to bring into the field a well equipped body of cavalry. On the 24th of November, his lordship's division effected a junction with sir John Moore. At this period the critical state of affairs (occasioned principally by the lukewarm conduct of the Spaniards, the ridiculous confidence that many of them entertained of their own exertions to resist any material attacks of the French, and, moreover, by the too sanguine expectations of the English at home, who, deceived by false reports, augured even impossibilities, from the supposed ability of the Spaniards to assail with vigour the armies of France, and clear

their country of those modern Vandals) had determined the British commander to fall back upon Portugal. Circumstances afterwards caused this movement to be suspended; and a junction was resolved upon with the division under sir David Baird, which was happily effected on the 20th of December.

Lieutenant-general lord Paget was stationed with his division of cavalry 12 miles from Sahagun; at which place a body of the enemy's horse, amounting to 700, had been posted, which his lordship proposed, by a rapid movement, to cut off from the main body of the French army. Accordingly, at two o'clock on the morning of the 21st, major-general Slade was dispatched by a different route than that his lordship proposed taking, with the 10th light dragoons, whilst lord Paget, with the 15th light dragoons, moved with great celerity in a different direction, reached Sahagun, and surprised a piquet of the enemy. Unfortunately some men escaped, and gave the alarm, which afforded the French an opportunity of forming in an advantageous position on the outskirts of the town. The strength of the post was particularly favourable, from a hollow, which opposed any regular charge of the British cavalry; and it was therefore necessary to manœuvre so as to gain the advantages of ground for his intended operations. Here the abilities of lord Paget were exercised with effect; and, having succeeded in improving his position, a charge was made upon the enemy drawn up in line. The rapidity with which the British cavalry rushed on to the attack could not be withstood by the French: their line was immediately broken, and their whole force dispersed with considerable slaughter. Two lieutenant-colonels, and upwards of one hundred and ninety men, made prisoners, were the fruits of this bold yet well-planned operation. The loss of the English amounted to eight men killed, and twenty wounded.

In the disastrous retreat of sir John Moore, Lord Paget, with the cavalry, brought up the rear; and his lordship's ardour frequently exposed him to imminent danger. Skirmishes daily took place; and it may be fairly observed, that the masterly dispositions of his lordship, and the alacrity he at all times evinced, enabled the British troops to reach Corunna with a much less loss than could have been reasonably expected, when all circumstances were taken into consideration.—At Majorga, a well-directed attack was executed on a considerable force of the enemy, by the 10th hussars, under colonel Leigh, in which the British were successful, and 100 of the French made prisoners. At Benevente, on the 29th of December, lord Paget's division was attacked in the morning by the chasseurs of Napoleon's imperial guard. The piquets which were along the Esla river having been driven in, his lordship reinforced them with the in-lying piquets, amounting to 250 men: these, under the orders of lieutenant-colonels Otway of the 18th, and Quentin of the 10th hussars, with a part of the German hussars, gallantly kept in check six squadrons of the imperial guard. Lord Paget having arrived on the spot, found them engaged in a very smart skirmish: he immediately sent for the 10th hussars, and gave orders to major-general the honourable Charles Stewart, to attack with the piquets the instant he had formed the 10th hussars in a second line. This attack was conducted with so much gallantry, that the imperial guards were overthrown, with the loss of general Lefebvre, several officers, and one hundred men, who were made prisoners, and many killed, wounded, and drowned. The ardour of the French was manifestly damped by this fresh proof of British valour: for they continued their pursuit at such respectful distance, that the rear of the army, which had been engaged with them, reached Baneza that night unmolested. His services during the remainder of the retreat have been commemorated in the narrative of that disastrous campaign.

From this time the marquis of Anglesea does not appear to have engaged the public attention until the battle of Waterloo, in which he bore a conspicuous part, having the command of the cavalry on that memorable occasion. After distinguishing himself by repeated feats of valour, at the close of the day he received a wound, by almost the last shot fired; and, had it not been for this circumstance, it has been confidently affirmed

that Napoleon would have been his prisoner. The wound his lordship received, and the consequent amputation of his leg, compelled him to return home; and we trust that a permanent peace, the reward of so much bravery and valour, will render unnecessary his lordship's future zeal and ability.

We can only briefly advert to an unfortunate attachment between his lordship and the lady of a gentleman of an illustrious family and connexions, which unhappily involved two noble families in the deepest distress; the issue of this unfortunate business was a divorce on the part of the injured gentleman from his wife, and a verdict obtained against his lordship of 20,000*l*. As much as we deplore the mischief of this unhappy connexion, we cannot forbear remarking, that his lordship's conduct throughout the whole of the unfortunate affair was marked with a high sense of feeling and noble generosity.

Napoleon remained in the hollow beneath the British lines, until he had witnessed the defeat of his guards, who had hitherto been honoured by the title of invincibles. He then hastily retired to his former position, near the farm of La Belle Alliance. Here he beheld with mortification and despair the awful and disastrous confusion which so soon pervaded his whole army, and the noble stand which was made by the remaining battalions of his old and favourite guard. During the day, except when he had yielded to dismay at the unexpected and unconquerable obstinacy of the British, he had been cool and collected, and had fought the battle with more than usual skill. But he was now suddenly bereft of the powers of recollection and motion, and stood an image of horror and despair. Some occasional indistinct and incoherent expressions of admiration of his faithful and devoted guard, or of fierce indignation at the cowardice of the rest of his troops, alone shewed that he breathed. In vain his officers applied to him for orders; in vain one messenger after another demanded what was to be done in different parts of the field. He heard them not. He was incapable of reply. "My guard, my faithful guard!" he exclaimed. A moment afterwards he added "Ah! the game is indeed lost, and ——." He was now surrounded and borne away by crowds of fugitives. Some of his officers, who had not separated from him during the battle, broke through the crowd, and forced him along with them, almost unconscious of life.

For a few moments they sought refuge in the cottage of a shepherd, near La Belle Alliance; but the Prussian hussars began to scour the field in every direction. Napoleon had now somewhat recovered himself: but it had become impossible to issue any orders. He had no aides-de-camp by whom to send them, nor did he know where to find the commander of a single division. He was therefore compelled to abandon his army to their fate, and to seek his own safety in the most rapid flight.

As Napoleon and his suite issued from the cottage and galloped across the plain, to reach some of his equipage, they saw several parties of Prussian hussars busily employed in the work of plunder or death. Fortunately they were not perceived, and Napoleon was conducted in safety to one of his carriages. He drove furiously towards Genappe. Having arrived there, he found the streets completely thronged with carriages of every description. They were all obliged to defile over one bridge, and in their haste to rush on and effect their escape, they impeded each other's progress, and produced the most fatal confusion. For more than an hour he remained entangled in the crowd, which resisted every effort that even royal authority could make to open a passage. Every moment new crowds of fugitives, cavalry, infantry, guns, baggage-waggons, and carriages of every kind, rushed into the place, increased the tumult, and rendered the passage of the bridge impracticable.

To complete the horror of the scene the Prussians now approached. Their shouts were distinctly heard, and the shrieks of the miserable wretches who were perishing under their sabres. The streets were hastily barricadoed, and every preparation which fear or despair could suggest was made for a last defence. The issue of this contest has already been described. The Prussians broke through every obstacle, and entered the town in full carreer.

The carriage of Napoleon was soon recog-

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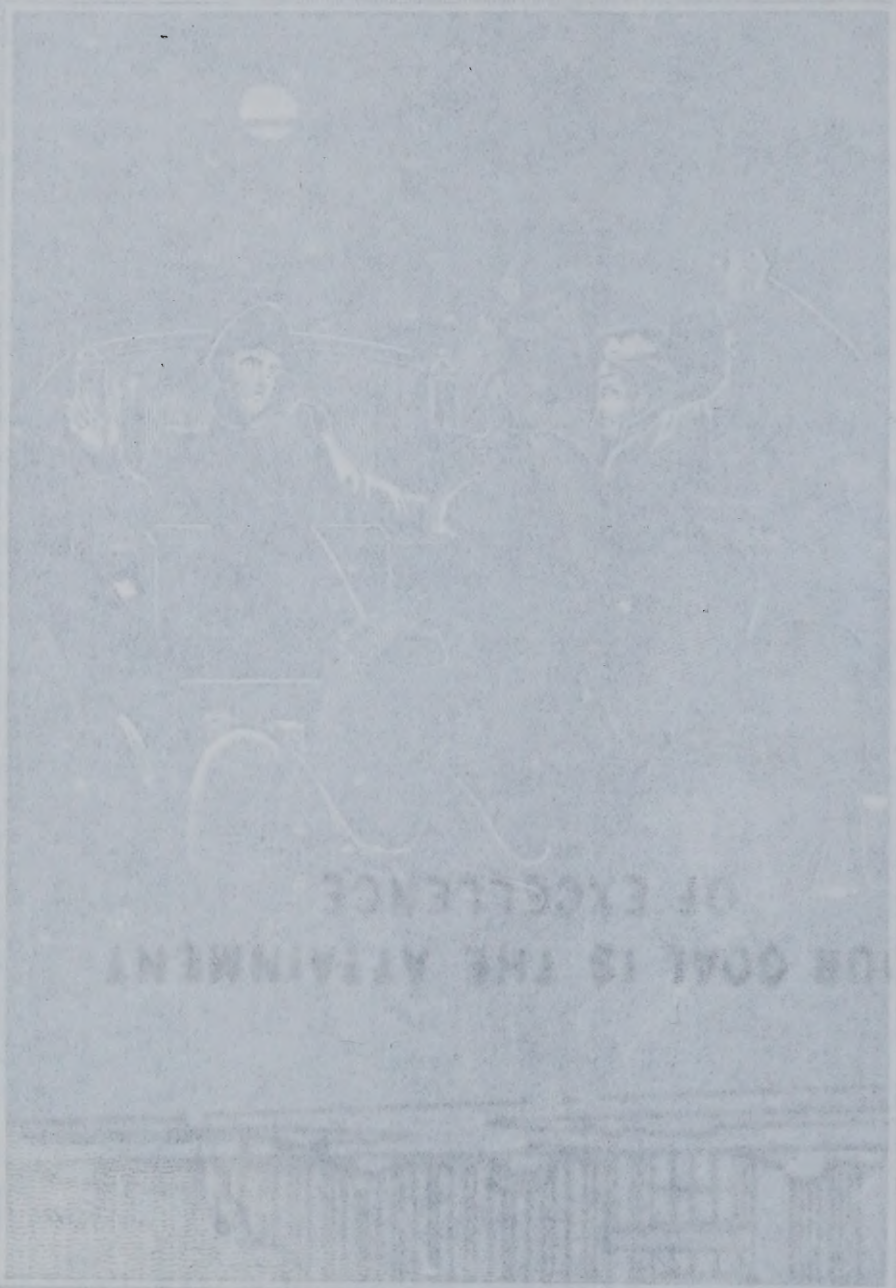
The Capture of Buonaparte's Carriage



nised, and the conquerors dashed at it, hoping to secure the most invaluable of all prizes, the person of the emperor himself. The coachman was on the box, the postilion had mounted the leaders, and they were making adesperate attempt to force their way through the throng. The Prussian officer who headed the foremost troop eagerly called to the coachman to stop, but the latter only lashed his horses with the greater violence. The hussars then cut down the postilion and killed the leaders, while the sabre of the officer brought the coachman from his box with a single stroke. He then violently tore open the door of the carriage, and deemed the prize his own. As he opened the door he saw the emperor escape from the opposite side, and before he could hastily pass round the carriage, Napoleon had mounted a horse, and was instantly lost in the throng. In his haste he dropped his sword and his mantle, which were found in the road by the side of the carriage.

Attended by a few faithful officers, Napoleon now galloped furiously towards Charleroi. As he passed he was frequently recognised by the fugitives who crowded the road, and amidst the noise of the carriages exclaimed, "There goes the Emperor! the Emperor for ever!" As often as these words resounded in his ears he redoubled his speed. The enemy followed him close at his heels. The enthusiasm of his followers might betray him: had any number of his troops collected around him he could not have abandoned them, and their appearance, by attracting the attention of the enemy, would have directed them to their prey. A little before he arrived at Charleroi he halted, and a fire being kindled, partook of the first refreshment he had tasted during fourteen hours. He then dismissed his guide, and pursued his course to Charleroi, having been joined by eight confidential officers. At this city he attempted to rally the fugitives, but in vain, and he therefore hastened in the direction of Phillippeville. The gates were shut, and he was obliged to submit to the interrogation of the guard, and wait the arrival of the governor before he could gain admittance.

The conflict behind him was the most sanguinary and brutal that history has recorded, and surpassed in its horrors even the scenes of mid-day. The cruelty of the French and Prussians, and more especially of the former to the latter, who were taken on the 16th, and towards the British wounded and prisoners taken on the 18th, was such as to exclude them from the benefits of the ordinary rules of war. Their lancers rode over the field during the action, dispatching by their weapons the wounded British, with the most inveterate rancour, and many of the officers who have since recovered from their wounds, sustained the most lasting inconvenience, and the greatest danger, from those inflicted by the enemy, when they were in no condition to offend others, or defend themselves. The exclamation of, "What! are you not dead?" uttered by the spearman, was usually accompanied with a thrust of his lance, which terminated the existence of his unfortunate and languishing victim. Even the British officers who were carried before Buonaparte, although treated with civility in his presence, and dismissed with assurances that they should receive surgical assistance and proper attendance, were no sooner beyond the reach of his protection than they were stripped, beaten, and abused. Most of the prisoners whom the French took from our light cavalry were put to death in cold blood, or owed their safety to concealment, and a speedy escape. This unnatural mode of warfare, rashly announced, and cruelly acted upon, was fearfully avenged. The light horses of the Prussians, always formidable on such occasions, made a dreadful and indiscriminate slaughter, scarcely interrupted by the temptation of plundering the baggage, with which the roads were choked, and unchecked by any attempt at resistance. Those soldiers who had begun the morning with such bright and enthusiastic hopes, and whose conduct during the battle vindicated their self-confidence, were now so entirely broken in heart and spirits that many of their straggling bands fled at sight of a single Prussian hussar.

It is remarkable, that amidst the countless numbers who fled, both of privates and officers, we do not notice many of those names distinguished in the bulletins of Napoleon's former campaigns. Except Duhesme and

Friant, very moderate officers, we hear of no generals among the French list of the slain. The latter was killed by a ball as he was standing close to Ney, who commanded the imperial guards in the last attack. Duhesme was overtaken in the village of Genappe, by one of the duke of Brunswick's black hussars, of whom he begged quarter. The soldier regarded him sternly, with his sabre uplifted, and then briefly saying, "The duke of Brunswick died yesterday," bestowed on him his death wound. Notwithstanding the loss of these two generals, the officers of Napoleon engaged in the conflict with better fortune than attended our distinguished and undaunted Picton, Ponsonby, and other officers, the remembrance of whose services will remain coeval with the existence of the British empire.

The loss of the British and Hanoverians in killed and wounded was acknowledged to be more than 10,000 men, but the official accounts seldom confess the actual loss, which, in the present instance, cannot be estimated at a smaller number than 20,000. The Prussians did not arrive till the affair was nearly decided, but the opposition they experienced, though short, was obstinate, and many were killed in the pursuit.

The courage and impetuosity of the French had never been exceeded. Charges more desperate had not been witnessed in modern warfare. They even wondered at their own exertions; but they wondered more at the cool intrepidity with which the British sustained the shock, and beat them back with such admirable steadiness. Napoleon had profoundly studied the character of the French, and the system of warfare which he had adopted was the best suited to their peculiar energies. The French soldiers are capable only of active courage. Their feelings must be highly excited, their passions must be called into full activity, and then they are nearly invincible. Ardent, impetuous, and enthusiastic, they brave every danger, and surmount every obstacle. But of passive courage they are incapable. When cool and determined resolution is required they are too frequently found wanting in the performance of their duty.

In passive courage the allies, under a British commander, had shewn themselves decidedly superior to the French. The tremendous and repeated charges of the foe were received with a valour that never faultered. Though their ranks were thinned, and their squares diminished, they still presented a stern and unbroken front, and at the moment when the duke ordered the general charge, every bosom swelled, every head was erect, every cheek was flushed, every eye glistened with delight, and one universal shout proclaimed their exultation. Though enfeebled by a contest of seven hours, their strength and activity were instantly restored, they pressed on to the attack, and in one moment the day was their own. They had withstood, without confusion or fear, the innumerable charges of the enemy, and the first charge which they in their turn were permitted to make drove the French in total disorder from the field.

Thus ended a day as glorious in its achievements as important in its results, which at once averted the calamities that threatened the world, and altered the destinies of nations. Thus ended a contest, which has raised the glory of England to its highest pitch, and in which the last and most decisive proof was given, that in every age, and every country, under every disadvantage of numbers and situation, from the days of Cressy and Agincourt to the present times; on the burning sands of Egypt, and the sheltered shores of Italy; on the mountains of Portugal, the plains of Spain, amidst the rocks of the Pyrenees, the fields of Flanders, and the valleys of France; in foreign lands, and in their native soil; by land, and by sea; Englishmen have ever been victorious over their ancient and presumptuous enemies.

The names of Alexandria, of Maida, of Vimiera, of Corunna, of Talavera, of Barrosa, of Albuera, of Salamanca, of Orthes, of Thoulouse, of Vittoria, and finally, of Waterloo, will proclaim to future times the deeds of British valour—deeds more like the tales of chivalry and romance than the events of real life, and of civilized ages.

If it was a day of glory, it was likewise a day of sorrow for Britain; if we triumph in it as the proudest, we must also mourn it as the most bloody of all the battles she has

fought or won. Those who witnessed the most sanguinary contests of the Peninsular war, declared they had never seen so terrible a carnage; and the Prussians pronounced even the battle of Leipsic not to be compared to it. The dead could not be numbered; and by those who visited this dreadful field of glory, and of death, the day after the battle, the spectacle of horror that it exhibited can never be forgotten.

The mangled and lifeless bodies were even then stripped of every covering—every thing of the smallest value was already carried off. The road between Waterloo and Brussels, which passes for nine miles through the thick shades of the forest of Soigny, was choked up with scattered baggage, broken waggons, and dead horses. The heavy rains, and the great passage upon it, had rendered it almost impassable, so that it was with extreme difficulty that the carriages containing the wounded could be brought along. The way was lined with unfortunate men who had crept from the field, and many, unable to go farther, lay down and died:—holes dug by the road side served as their graves, and the road, weeks after the battle, was strewed with the tattered remains of their clothes and accoutrements. In every village and hamlet,—on every road,—in every part of the country, for thirty miles round, wounded soldiers were found wandering; the wounded Belgic and Dutch stragglers exerting themselves to the utmost to reach their own homes. So great were the numbers of the wounded, that, notwithstanding the most active and unremitting exertions, the last were not removed from the field of battle into Brussels until the Thursday following.

It is impossible for words to do justice to the generous kindness, and persevering care and attention, shown by the inhabitants of Brussels and Antwerp, and the whole of the Belgic people, towards these poor sufferers. Nor should the humanity shown by the British soldiers themselves be unnoticed. The wounded of our army, who were able to move, employed themselves in tying up the wounds and administering to the wants of their suffering enemies—a striking and noble contrast to the brutality with which the French had treated our prisoners.

The desolation which reigned on the scene of action cannot easily be described. The fields of high standing corn were trampled down, and so completely beaten into the earth, that they had the appearance of stubble. The ground was completely ploughed up in many places with the charge of the cavalry, and the horses' hoofs, deep stamped into the earth, left the traces where many a deadly struggle had been. The whole field was strewed with the melancholy vestiges of war and devastation—soldiers' caps, pierced with many a ball, and trodden under foot—eagles that had ornamented them—badges of the legion of honour—cuirasses—fragments of broken arms, belts and scabbards innumerable—shreds of tattered cloth, shoes, cartridge boxes, gloves, highland bonnets, feathers steeped in mud and gore—French novels, and German Testaments—scattered music belonging to the bands—packs of cards, and innumerable papers of every description, that had been thrown out of the pockets of the dead, by those who had pillaged them. French love-letters, and letters from mothers to their sons, and from children to their parents, were scattered about in every direction. Amongst the thousands that were examined, it was, however, remarkable, that they found only one English letter. It was from a soldier's wife to her husband.

Upon this field were performed deeds of valour as heroic as any which swell the page of history. Of those who performed them, many rest in the bed of honour, and those who survive will never relate the story of their own achievements. Modesty is ever the concomitant of true courage; and thus actions, which, could they have been witnessed, would have been the theme of an applauding world, are now unknown and unadmired. It is difficult to say who were bravest where all were brave. Every individual erected to himself a monument of glory, and the only distinction between the officers and troops was that of rank.

Official List of regiments under the command of field-marshal duke of Wellington, on Sunday, June 18, 1815; and the total loss of the British and Hanoverians, from June 16th to 26th, 1815. To which is added, the computed losses of the Dutch and Prussians, during the campaign in the Netherlands.

	OFFICERS.			RANK AND FILE.			
	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
General Staff	12	46	3	0	0	0	61
1st Life Guards	2	4	0	24	49	4	83
2d Life Guards	1	0	1	16	40	97	155
Royal Horse Guards, Blue	1	4	1	19	61	20	106
1st Dragoon Guards	3	4	4	40	100	124	275
2d Dragoon Guards	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1st, or Royal Dragoons	4	9	1	86	88	9	197
2d, or Royal N. B. Dragoons	6	8	0	96	89	0	199
6th Dragoons	1	5	1	72	111	27	217
7th Hussars	0	7	3	62	109	15	196
10th Hussars	2	6	0	20	40	26	94
11th Light Dragoons	2	5	0	10	34	25	76
12th Light Dragoons	2	3	0	45	61	0	111
13th Light Dragoons	1	9	0	11	69	19	109
15th Hussars	2	3	0	21	48	5	79
16th Light Dragoons	2	4	0	8	18	0	32
18th Hussars	0	2	0	13	72	17	104
23d Light Dragoons	0	5	1	14	26	33	79
1st Light Dragoons, K. G. L.	3	11	0	30	99	10	153
2d Ditto	2	4	0	19	54	3	82
1st Hussars, ditto	0	1	0	1	5	3	10
2d Hussars, K.G.L.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3d Ditto ditto	4	8	0	40	78	0	130
Royal Artillery	5	26	0	62	228	10	331
Ditto, K.G.L.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Royal Engineers	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Royal Staff Corps	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Royal Sappers and Miners	0	1	0	0	2	0	3
1st Foot Guards	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ditto, 2d battalion	3	9	0	73	353	0	438
Ditto, 3d battalion	4	12	0	101	487	0	604
2d Coldstream regiment	1	7	0	54	242	4	308
3d Foot Guards, 2d battalion	3	9	0	39	195	0	246
1st Foot (Royal Scots), 3d batt.	8	26	0	33	295	0	362
4th Foot, 1st battalion	0	9	0	12	113	0	134
Ditto, 2d battalion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7th Foot, 1st battalion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14th Foot, 3d battalion	0	3	0	7	26	0	36
23d Foot	5	6	0	13	80	0	104
25th Foot, 2d battalion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
27th Foot, 1st battalion	2	13	0	103	360	0	478
28th Foot, ditto	1	19	0	29	203	0	252
29th Foot, ditto	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
30th Foot, ditto	6	14	0	51	181	27	279
32d Foot	1	30	0	49	290	0	370
Carried forward							6497

	OFFICERS.			RANK AND FILE.		
	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
General Staff - - - - - - -	-	46	3	0	0	0
1st Life Guards - - - - - - -	2	4	0	24	49	4
2d Life Guards - - - - - - -	1	0	1	16	30	27
Royal Horse Guards, Blue - - -	1	4	1	19	61	20
1st Dragoon Guards - - - - - -	3	4	4	40	100	124
2d Dragoon Guards - - - - - -	0	0	0	0	0	0
1st, or Royal Dragoons - - - -	4	9	1	36	85	9
2d, or Royal N. B. Dragoons - -	0	8	0	26	89	0
6th Dragoons - - - - - - -	1	5	1	72	111	27
7th Hussars - - - - - - -	0	7	3	62	109	15
10th Hussars - - - - - - -	2	6	0	20	40	26
11th Light Dragoons - - - - -	2	5	0	10	34	24
12th Light Dragoons - - - - -	2	5	0	45	61	0
13th Light Dragoons - - - - -	1	9	0	12	69	10
15th Hussars - - - - - - -	2	3	0	21	45	5
16th Light Dragoons - - - - -	2	4	0	8	18	0
18th Hussars - - - - - - -	0	2	0	13	72	17
23d Light Dragoons - - - - -	0	3	1	14	56	35
1st Light Dragoons, K.G.L. - -	2	11	0	30	90	10
2d Ditto - - - - - - - -	2	4	0	19	51	3
1st Hussars, ditto - - - - - -	0	1	0	1	5	3
2d Hussars, K.G.L. - - - - - -	0	0	0	0	0	0
3d Ditto ditto - - - - - - -	4	8	0	40	78	0
Royal Artillery - - - - - - -	3	26	0	62	238	10
Ditto, K.G.L. - - - - - - -	0	0	0	0	0	0
Royal Engineers - - - - - - -	0	2	0	0	0	0
Royal Staff Corps - - - - - -	0	2	0	0	0	2
Royal Sappers and Miners - - -	0	1	0	0	2	0
1st Foot Guards - - - - - - -	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ditto, 2d battalion - - - - -	3	9	0	75	365	0
Ditto, 3d battalion - - - - -	4	12	0	101	487	0
2d Coldstream regiment - - - -	1	7	0	64	342	4
3d Foot Guards, 3d battalion - -	3	9	0	39	185	0
1st Foot (Royal Scots), 3d batt. -	8	26	0	53	296	0
4th Foot, 1st battalion - - - -	0	3	0	12	118	0
Ditto, 2d battalion - - - - -	0	0	0	0	0	0
7th Foot, 1st battalion - - - -	0	0	0	0	0	0
14th Foot, 2d battalion - - - -	0	3	0	7	26	0
23d Foot - - - - - - - -	3	0	0	15	80	0
28th Foot, 2d battalion - - - -	0	0	0	0	0	0
30th Foot, 1st battalion - - - -	2	15	0	103	360	0
33d Foot, ditto - - - - - - -	1	12	0	29	208	0
39th Foot, ditto - - - - - - -	0	0	0	0	0	0
40th Foot, ditto - - - - - - -	6	14	0	61	181	27
44th Foot - - - - - - - -	1	20	0	49	230	0
Carried forward - -						

	OFFICERS.			RANK AND FILE.			
	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Brought Over	-	-	-	-	-	-	6497
33d Ditto	5	17	0	49	162	58	291
35th Ditto	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
37th Ditto, 2d battalion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
40th Ditto, 1st battalion	2	10	0	30	159	18	219
42d Foot, 1st battalion	3	21	0	47	266	0	337
44th Ditto, 2d battalion	2	18	0	14	151	17	202
51st Ditto	0	2	0	11	29	0	42
52d Ditto, 1st battalion	1	8	0	16	174	0	199
54th Ditto	0	0	0	2	2	0	4
59th Ditto	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
69th Ditto, 2d battalion	4	7	0	51	163	15	240
71st Foot, 1st battalion	1	14	0	24	160	3	202
73d Ditto, 2d battalion	6	16	0	54	219	41	336
78th Ditto, 2d battalion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
79th Ditto, 1st battalion	3	27	1	57	390	1	479
81st Foot, 2d battalion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
91st Foot	0	2	0	1	6	0	9
92d Ditto	4	27	0	49	322	0	402
95th, 1st battalion	2	15	0	28	175	0	220
95th, 2d ditto	0	14	0	34	178	20	246
95th, 3d ditto	0	4	0	3	36	7	50
13th Veteran Battalion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1st Light Infantry batt. K.G.L.	4	9	0	37	82	13	145
2d Ditto ditto	3	9	1	40	120	29	202
1st Line Battalion, K.G.L.	1	6	0	22	69	17	115
2d Ditto ditto	1	2	0	18	79	7	107
3d Ditto ditto	1	5	0	17	93	31	147
4th Ditto ditto	1	7	0	13	77	15	113
5th Ditto ditto	2	3	0	36	47	74	162
8th Ditto ditto	3	4	0	44	80	16	147
Total of the British loss, from June 16 to June 26,							11716
The Dutch loss	27	115	0	2058	1936	0	4136
The Prussian ditto, collectively, from the first commencement of hostilities to the close of the battle of Waterloo,							33120

In the church of Waterloo are the two following Inscriptions, on plain mural tablets, opposite to each other:

Sacred to the Memory of
Lieutenant Colonels Stables
Sir Francis D'Oyley, Knt.
Charles Thomas William Miller,
William Henry Milne,
Captains Robert Adair,
Edward Grose,
Newton Chambers,
Thomas Brown,
Ensigns Edward Pardoe,
James Lord Hay,
The Hon. S. T. P. Barrington,
of his Britannic Majesty's 1st regiment of Foot Guards, who fell gloriously in the battles of Quatre-Bras and Waterloo, on the 16th and 18th of June, 1815.
The officers of the regiment have erected this monument in commemoration of the fall of their gallant companions.

To
the Memory of
Major Edwin Griffith,
Lieutenant Isaac Sherwood,
Lieutenant Henry Buckley,
Officers in the XV.
King's Regt. of
Hussars.
[British]
Who fell in the
Battle of
Waterloo,
June, XVIII, MDCCCXV.

This stone was erected by the officers of that regiment, as a testimony of their respect.

Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori.

	OFFICERS.			RANK AND FILE.		
	Killed	Wounded	Missing	Killed	Wounded	Missing
93d Ditto - - - - - - - - - -	3	17	0	49	102	38
85th Ditto - - - - - - - - - -	0	0	0	1	0	0
97th Ditto, 2d battalion - - - -	0	0	0	0	0	0
40th Ditto, 1st battalion - - - -	2	10	0	30	150	18
42d Foot, 1st battalion - - - -	3	21	0	47	266	0
44th Ditto, 2d battalion - - - -	2	18	0	14	131	17
81st Ditto - - - - - - - - - -	0	2	0	13	89	0
82d Ditto, 1st battalion - - - -	1	8	0	16	171	0
84th Ditto - - - - - - - - - -	0	0	0	2	2	0
79th Ditto - - - - - - - - - -	0	0	0	0	2	0
60th Ditto, 2d battalion - - - -	4	7	0	51	103	15
71st Foot, 1st battalion - - - -	1	14	0	24	160	3
73d Ditto, 2d battalion - - - -	6	16	0	54	219	41
76th Ditto, 2d battalion - - - -	0	0	0	0	0	0
79th Ditto, 1st battalion - - - -	3	27	1	57	290	1
81st Foot, 2d battalion - - - -	0	0	0	0	0	0
91st Foot - - - - - - - - - -	0	2	0	1	6	0
92d Ditto - - - - - - - - - -	4	27	0	49	322	0
95th, 1st battalion - - - - - -	2	15	0	28	175	0
95th, 2d ditto - - - - - - - -	0	14	0	34	178	20
95th, 3d ditto - - - - - - - -	0	4	0	3	36	7
13th Veteran Battalion - - - -	0	0	0	0	0	0
1st Light Infantry batt. K.G.L. -	4	9	0	37	82	13
2d Ditto ditto - - - - - - - -	3	9	1	40	120	29
1st Line Battalion, K.G.L. - - -	1	6	0	22	69	17
2d Ditto ditto - - - - - - - -	1	3	0	18	79	7
3d Ditto ditto - - - - - - - -	1	5	0	17	93	21
4th Ditto ditto - - - - - - - -	1	7	0	13	77	13
8th Ditto ditto - - - - - - - -	2	3	0	36	47	74
8th Ditto ditto - - - - - - - -	3	4	0	44	99	16
Total of the British loss, from June 16 to June 20, - - - - - - - -						
The Dutch loss - - - - - - - -	27	116	0	2056	1936	0
The Prussian ditto, collectively, from the first commencement of hostilities to the close of the battle of Waterloo, - - - - - - - -						

The victory was not more owing to the unequalled bravery of the subordinate officers and troops, than to the skill, the gallantry, and firmness of their illustrious commander. In all the great achievements which he had hitherto performed, he had never maintained so arduous a struggle, he had never gained so complete and glorious a triumph. In the whole course of this well-fought day not one error can be laid to his charge. He anticipated every intention of the enemy, and was always found precisely on the spot where his skill and influence were most necessary to animate or direct his troops. Wherever danger was most imminent he was uniformly present, yet with a coolness equal to his valour, he restrained the impatience of his troops till the decisive moment, and, notwithstanding the brilliant vicissitudes of the day, adhered to the prudent and well digested plan on which he had determined to act.

If any thing could add to the lustre of his fame, it would be the singular modesty with which he relates the glorious and important events of the day, and the candour with which, in a letter to his mother, he speaks of his discomfited enemy. "Napoleon did his duty. He fought the battle with infinite skill, perseverance, and bravery; and this I do not state from any personal motive of claiming merit to myself, for the victory is to be ascribed to the superior physical force and constancy of British soldiers."

The feeling which this battle produced in England will never be forgotten by the present generation. Accustomed as we were to victory upon the land, as well as upon the seas, since the star of Wellington had risen: confident as we were in our general and our army, even they who were most assured of success dreamed not of a triumph so signal, so sudden, so decisive. The glory of all former fields seemed, at the time, to fade before that of Waterloo. At Cressy, at Poitiers, at Agincourt, the ease with which victory had been obtained appeared to detract from the merit of the conquerors, and the multitudes of our enemies had been delivered into our hands by their own insolence and presumption. Blenheim had been less stubborn in the conflict, less momentous in the consequences; and all the previous actions of our great commander, from Vimiera and Assaye to Thoulouse, now seemed mere preludes to this last and greatest of his triumphs. Heavy as was the weight of private sorrow for the dead: severe as was the public loss in the fall of Picton, Ponsonby, and many others, the flower of the British youth, the pride and promise of the British army, still we were spared that grief which, on a former occasion, had abated the general joy, and caused the nation almost to regret the victory of Trafalgar. The first consideration, when joy and astonishment admitted leisure for reflection, was how to express our sense of this great exploit; how to manifest our gratitude to the army and its leader; how to discharge our obligation: the mighty debt which was due to the living and the dead. The merits of the army were properly estimated, and the rewards were extended to every rank and every individual. Every regiment which had been present was permitted thenceforth to bear the word *Waterloo* on their colours; all the privates were to be borne, on the muster-rolls and pay-lists of their respective corps, as Waterloo men, and every Waterloo man allowed to enter that day's work as two years service in the account of his time, or for a pension when discharged. The subaltern officers were in like manner to reckon two years service for that victory; and a benefit not less important was on this occasion extended to the whole army, by a regulation, enacting that henceforward the pensions granted for wounds should rise to the rank which the officer might afterwards attain, so that he who was maimed when an ensign, should, when he became a general, receive a general's pension for the injury which he had endured. It was decreed by the legislature that a national monument should be erected in honour of the victory, and in commemoration of the men who fell; and upon the suggestion of Mr. Williams Wynn, it was determined that the name of every man who had fallen should be inscribed on this memorial of national glory and public gratitude. For Wellington alone no new distinction adequate to his merits could be found. From his knighthood to his dukedom, he had won all the titles that his sovereign could confer: but the parlia-

ment added two hundred thousand pounds to its former munificent grants, in order that a palace, not less magnificent than that of Blenheim, might be erected for the general who surpassed the achievements of Marlborough. On the subject of his merits all parties were unanimous. Mr. Whitbread, who had long been remarkable for his hostility to the Peninsular war, and to the other enterprizes in which Wellington was engaged, observed, after relating an anecdote of his intrepidity:—"Had such a trait been recorded in history as having occurred ten centuries ago, with what emotions of admiration and generous enthusiasm would it be read! To see a commander of his eminence throw himself into a hollow square of infantry, as a secure refuge till the rage and torrent of the attack was past; and that not once only, but twice or thrice in the course of the battle, proved that his confidence was placed not in any particular corps, but in the whole British army. In that mutual confidence lay the power and strength of the troops. The duke of Wellington knew that he was safe, when he thus trusted himself to the fidelity and valour of his men; and they knew and felt that the sacred charge thus confided to them could never be wrested from their hands."

The following is the eloquent description given by lord Castlereagh of this interesting contest, in his speech on the motion for presenting the thanks of the house of commons to Wellington and his brave associates:—

"Never" said he, "among the mighty achievements which have swelled our military renown, since the illustrious duke of Wellington has been placed at the head of our army, has it been my lot to submit to parliament a proposition founded on an event so glorious as that which calls for the expression of our gratitude to-day. It is a triumph of such a character, that, without disparagement to those actions in which his great genius has been formerly displayed, it may be truly affirmed that it never happened, even to him, to confer so great a benefit on his country before. It is an achievement of such high merit, of such pre eminent importance, as never graced the annals of this or any other country until now · and when considered, not only with a view to the immediate loss inflicted on the enemy, but with reference to the moral effect which it must produce on the war now commenced, and in the issue of which the fate of England, of Europe, and the world, are so closely bound up, it opens before us a prospect so cheering, and so transcendently bright, that no language can do justice to the feelings it must naturally inspire.

"There was something in the situation of the hostile armies, which, without detracting from the high merit and military skill of the great commanders who placed the allied force in the position that it occupied, gave the enemy a decided advantage. It had been necessary to distribute the combined armies where sustenance could most conveniently be procured, there to await the arrival of the innumerable forces, by which one simultaneous attempt was to be made to crush the power of the enemy. Ere these forces were collected, the enemy had an awful advantage, and might choose on what part of the scattered troops he would direct his first attack. The duke of Wellington and prince Blucher could not concentrate their forces without leaving a large portion of Belgium exposed.

"It was the evident policy of Buonaparte to attack some point of this extended line before the Russians arrived. Whatever might be the risk of assailing the armies under the duke of Wellington and prince Blucher, it is obvious that if he could bring them into action, before they were supported by the armies advancing to co-operate with them, the chance of success would be greater than that which would remain to him after they had actually got up. Buonaparte considered this, and formed his resolve with all that judgment and decision of character which belonged to him, when he determined on the forward movement which terminated so gloriously for the British and their allies. He advanced with the flower of the French army, brought together from all parts of Europe, where they had been prisoners, and concentrated for this desperate attack. They were in a high state of organization before the return of Buonaparte to France; and since his restoration to power, every care and preparation has been accumulated upon them

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to add to their efficiency. To this was opposed a young and green army, the greater part of which had never been in action before; an army, composed of different nations, and therefore more difficult to manage; and an army far inferior in numbers to the French. Yet for nine hours did it repulse all the attacks made by the French army, directed by Buonaparte in person. The powerful and often repeated efforts directed against it wholly failed. During the whole of the day, the British stood immoveable, nor was there any species of heroism, or of military science, which could adorn a field of battle, which was not here displayed by the duke of Wellington.

"He owed much to the illustrious warriors of Prussia. Had they not done as they did, the British commander, consistently with those military principles by which his conduct is regulated, could never have acted on the offensive. Had they not shewn themselves as they had done, to ensure complete success if the attack made any impression, and to prevent disaster if it failed, the duke of Wellington would not have been able to take that course which the energy of his mind prompted, and which was encouraged by the example of his person. It is painful to reflect that that invaluable life was exposed to more danger in this action than that of the meanest soldier. The common soldier had only his local duties to perform, but the duke of Wellington was every where in the heat of the action, and every where in the presence of danger.

"Having remained on the defensive for nine hours, the moment at length arrived, when he saw there was a prospect of acting on the offensive with success. He then ordered the line to advance. The shock was irresistible. The French could not resist our attacks as we had resisted theirs. Their ranks were broken. Their first line was thrown into disorder on the second, and they soon betook themselves to flight, in the greatest confusion. What the final result may be I cannot presume to predict, but it is glorious to reflect, that the duke of Wellington was enabled, at the close of a day in which he had obtained a most splendid victory, to hand over the pursuit to the Prussian army, which, compared with the English or the French army, was fresh, and ready to receive the charge."

It must, however, be acknowledged, that the plan of Buonaparte, though completely frustrated, was not unwise, for if he could not beat the forces under the duke of Wellington and prince Blucher, while they were unsupported, he could have no hope of finding a more favourable opportunity, when the allied armies had reached the frontiers. But, defeated by the gallantry and military skill opposed to him, he was now thrown back upon France, and new strength was added to the confederated powers.

The following is a list of the duke of Wellington's European victories:—

Roleia	Aug. 17,	1808.
Vimiera	Aug. 21,	
Corunna	Jan. 16,	1809.
Oporto	May 12,	
Talavera	July 27,	
Busaco	Sept. 27,	1810.
Coimbra	Oct. 7,	
Barossa	March 5,	1811.
Fuente de Onor	May 5,	
Almeida	May 11,	
Albuera	May 16,	
Arroyo del Molino	Oct. 28,	
Ciudad Rodrigo	Jan. 19,	1812.
Badajos	April 6,	
Madrid	May 14,	
Almarez	May 19,	
Salamanca	July 22,	
Castalla	May 12,	1813.
Vittoria	June 21,	
Pyrenees	July 25, 26, 27, and 28,	
St. Sebastian	Sept. 9,	
Bidassoa	Oct. 9,	
Pampeluna	Oct. 31,	
Neive	Dec. 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13.	
Orthes	Feb. 27,	1814.
Toulouse	April 10,	
Quatre Bras	June 16,	1815.
Waterloo	June 18.	

CHAP. XIII.——1815.

Official documents published by the allies, and by the agents of Buonaparte, respecting the battles of Soigny, Quatre Bras, and Waterloo.—Letter of marshal Ney.—Statement of Grouchy.

THE ENGLISH ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLES IN FLANDERS.

Waterloo, June 19th, 1815.

"My Lord,—Buonaparte having collected the first, second, third, fourth, and sixth corps of the French army, and the imperial guards, and nearly all the cavalry, on the Sambre, and between that river and the Meuse, between the 10th and 14th of the month, advanced on the 15th and attacked the Prussian posts at Thuin and Lobez on the Sambre, at day-light in the morning.

I did not hear of these events till the evening of the 15th, and I immediately ordered the troops to prepare to march; and afterwards to march to their left, as soon as I had intelligence from other quarters to prove that the enemy's movement upon Charleroi was the real attack.

The enemy drove the Prussian posts from the Sambre on that day; and general Ziethen, who commanded the corps which had been at Charleroi, retired upon Fleurus; and marshal prince Blucher concentrated the Prussian army upon Sombref, holding the villages of St. Amand and Ligny in front of his position.

The enemy continued his march along the road from Charleroi towards Bruxelles, and on the same evening, the 15th, attacked a brigade of the army of the Netherlands, under the prince de Weimar, posted at Frasne, and forced it back to the farm-house on the same road, called Les Quatre Bras.

The prince of Orange immediately reinforced this brigade with another of the same division, under general Perponcher, and in the morning early regained part of the ground which had been lost, so as to have the command of the communication leading from Nivelles and Bruxelles, with marshal Bluchers' position.

In the meantime, I had directed the whole army to march upon Les Quatre Bras, and the fifth division, under lieutenant-gen. sir Thomas Picton, arrived at about half-past two in the day, followed by the corps of troops under the duke of Brunswick, and afterwards by the contingent of Nassau.

At this time the enemy commenced an attack upon prince Blucher with his whole force, excepting the first and second corps; and a corps of cavalry under general Kellerman, with which he attacked our post at Les Quatre Bras.

The Prussian army maintained their position with their usual gallantry and perseverance, against a great disparity of numbers, as the fourth corps of their army, under ge-

neral Bulow, had not joined, and I was not able to assist them as I wished, as I was attacked myself, and the troops, the cavalry in particular, which had a long distance to march, had not arrived.

We maintained our position also, and completely defeated and repulsed all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it. The enemy repeatedly attacked us with a large body of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery; he made several charges with the cavalry upon our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadiest manner. In this affair, his royal highness the prince of Orange, the duke of Brunswick, and lieutenant-general sir Thomas Picton, and major-general sir James Kempt, and sir Denis Pack, who were engaged from the commencement of the enemy's attack, highly distinguished themselves, as well as lieutenant-gen. Charles Baron Alten, major-general sir C. Halket, lieutenant-general Cook, and major-generals Maitland and Byng, as they successively arrived. The troops of the fifth division, and those of the Brunswick corps, were long and severely engaged, and conducted themselves with the utmost gallantry. I must particularly mention the twenty-eighth, forty-second, seventy-ninth, and ninety-second regiments, and the battalion of Hanoverians.

Our loss was great, as your lordship will perceive by the inclosed return; and I have particularly to regret his serene highness the duke of Brunswick, who fell, fighting gallantly, at the head of his troops.

Although marshal Blucher had maintained his position at Sombref, he still found himself much weakened by the severity of the contest in which he had been engaged, and, as the fourth corps had not arrived, he determined to fall back, and concentrate his army upon Wavre; and he marched in the night after the action was over.

This movement of the marshal's rendered necessary a corresponding one on my part; and I retired from the farm of Quatre Bras upon Genappe, and thence upon Waterloo, the next morning, the 17th, at ten o'clock.

The enemy made no effort to pursue marshal Blucher. On the contrary, a patrole which I sent to Sombref in the morning, found all quiet, and the enemy's videttes fell back as the patrole advanced. Neither did he attempt to molest our march to the rear, although made in the middle of the day, excepting by following, with a large body of cavalry brought from his right, the cavalry under the earl of Uxbridge.

This gave lord Uxbridge an opportunity of charging them with the first life guards, upon their debouche from the village of Genappe, upon which occasion his lordship has declared himself to be well satisfied with that regiment.

The position which I took up, in front of Waterloo, crossed the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelles, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied; and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter-la-Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelles road, we occupied the house and garden of Hougoumont, which covered the return of that flank; and, in front of the left centre, we occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By our left we communicated with marshal prince Blucher, at Wavre, through Ohain, and the marshal had promised me that in case we should be attacked he would support me with one or more corps, as might be necessary.

The enemy collected his army, with the exception of the third corps, which had been sent to observe marshal Blucher, on a range of heights in our front, in the course of the night of the 17th, and yesterday morning; and at about ten o'clock he commenced a furious attack upon our post at Hougoumont. I had occupied that post with a detachment from general Byng's brigade of guards, which was in position in its rear; and it was for some time under the command of lieutenant-colonel Macdonald, and afterwards of colonel Home; and I am happy to add, that it was maintained throughout the day with the utmost gallantry by these brave troops, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession of it.

This attack upon the right of our centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and

infantry occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it. In one of these, the enemy carried the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, as the detachment of the light battalion of the legion which occupied it had expended all its ammunition, and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them.

The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry, but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful, and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry to charge, in one of which lord E. Somerset's brigade, consisting of the life guards, royal horse guards, and first dragoon guards, highly distinguished themselves; as did that of major-general sir W. Ponsonby, having taken many prisoners and an eagle.

These attacks were repeated till about seven in the evening, when the enemy made a desperate effort with the cavalry and infantry, supported by the fire of artillery, to force our left centre, near the farm of La Haye Sainte, which, after a severe contest, was defeated; and having observed that the troops retired from this attack in great confusion, and that the march of general Bulow's corps by Frichemont upon Planchenoit and La Belle Alliance, had begun to take effect; and as I could perceive the fire of his cannon had abated considerably, and as marshal prince Blucher had joined in person, with a corps of his army to the left of our line, by Ohain, I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point; the enemy was forced from his position on the heights, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him, as far as I could judge, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, which fell into our hands.

I continued the pursuit till long after dark, and then discontinued it, only on account of the fatigue of our troops, who had been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with marshal Blucher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night; he has sent me word this morning, that he has taken sixty pieces of cannon belonging to the imperial guard, and several carriages, baggage, &c. belonging to Buonaparte, in Genappe.

I propose to move, this morning, upon Nivelles, and not to discontinue my operations.

Your lordship will observe, that such a desperate action could not be fought, and such advantages could not be gained, without great loss; and, I am sorry to add, that our's has been immense. In lieutenant-gen. sir Thomas Picton, his majesty has sustained the loss of an officer who has frequently distinguished himself in his service; and he fell, gloriously leading his division to a charge with bayonets, by which one of the most serious attacks made by the enemy on our position was defeated

The earl of Uxbridge, after having successfully got through this arduous day, received a wound by almost the last shot fired, which will, I am afraid, deprive his majesty for some time of his services.

His royal highness the prince of Orange distinguished himself by his gallantry and conduct, till he received a wound from a musket ball through the shoulder, which obliged him to quit the field.

It gives me the greatest satisfaction to assure your lordship, that the army never, upon any occasion, conducted itself better. The division of guards, under lieutenant-general Cooke, who is severely wounded, major-general Maitland, and major-general Byng, set an example which was followed by all; and there is no officer, nor description of troops, that did not behave well.

I must, however, particularly mention, for his royal highness's approbation, lieutenant-general sir H. Clinton; major-general Adam; lieutenant-general Charles Baron Alten, severely wounded; major-general sir Colin Halket, severely wounded; colonel Ompteda; colonel Mitchele, commanding a brigade of the 4th division; major-generals sir James Kempt and sir Denis Pack; major-general Lambert; major-general lord E. Somerset; major-general sir W. Ponsonby; major-general sir C. Grant, and major-general sir H. Vivian; major-general sir O. Vandeleur; major-general count Dornberg. I am also particularly indebted to general lord

Hill for his assistance and conduct upon this, as upon all former occasions.

The artillery and engineer departments were conducted much to my satisfaction by colonel sir G. Wood, and colonel Smyth; and I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the adjutant-general, major-general Barnes, who was wounded, and of the quarter-master-general, colonel Delancy, who was killed by a cannon-shot in the middle of the action. This officer is a serious loss to his majesty's service, and to me at this moment. I was likewise much indebted to the assistance of lieutenant-colonel lord Fitzroy Somerset, who was severely wounded, and of the officers composing my personal staff, who have suffered severely in this action. Lieutenant-colonel the honourable sir Alexander Gordon, who has died of his wounds, was a most promising officer, and is a serious loss to his majesty's service.

General Kruse, of the Nassau service, likewise conducted himself much to my satisfaction, as did general Trip, commanding the brigade of heavy cavalry, and general Vanhope, commanding a brigade of infantry of the king of the Netherlands.

General Pozzo di Borgo, general baron Vincent, general Muffling, and general Alava, were in the field during the action, and rendered me every assistance in their power. Baron Vincent is wounded, but I hope not severely; and general Pozzo di Borgo received a contusion.

I should not do justice to my feelings, or to marshal Blucher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day to the cordial and timely assistance received from them.

The operation of general Bulow upon the enemy's flank was a most decisive one; and, even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire, if his attacks should have failed, and would have prevented him from taking advantage of them, if they should unfortunately have succeeded.

I send, with this dispatch, two eagles, taken by the troops in this action, which major Percy will have the honour of laying at the feet of his royal highness. I beg leave to recommend him to your lordship's protection. I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

THE PRUSSIAN ACCOUNT.

It was on the 15th of this month, that Napoleon, after having collected, on the 14th, five corps of his army, and the several corps of the guard, between Maubeuge and Beaumont, commenced hostilities. The points of concentration of the four Prussian corps, were Fleurus, Namur, Ciney, and Hannut; the situation of which made it possible to unite the army in one of these points, in twenty-four hours.

On the 15th, Napoleon advanced by Thuin, upon the two banks of the Sambre, against Charleroi. General Ziethen had collected the first corps near Fleurus, and had, on that day, a very warm action with the enemy, who, after having taken Charleroi, directed his march upon Fleurus. General Ziethen maintained himself in his position near that place.

Field-marshal Blucher intending to fight a great battle with the enemy as soon as possible, the three other corps of the Prussian army were consequently directed upon Sombref, a league and a half from Fleurus, where the 2d and 3d corps were to arrive on the 15th, and the 4th corps on the 16th.

Lord Wellington had united his army between Ath and Nivelles, which enabled him to assist field-marshal Blucher, in case the battle should be fought on the 15th.

JUNE 16.—BATTLE OF LIGNY.

The Prussian army was posted on the heights between Brie and Sombref, and beyond the last place, and occupied with a large force the villages of St. Amand and Ligny, situated in its front. Meantime only three corps of the army had joined; the fourth, which was stationed between Liege and Hannut, had been delayed in its march by several circumstances, and was not yet come up. Nevertheless, field-marshal Blucher resolved to give battle, lord Wellington having already put in motion to support him a strong division of his army, as well as his whole reserve, stationed in the environs of Brussels,

and the fourth corps of the Prussian army being also on the point of arriving.

The battle began at three o'clock in the afternoon. The enemy brought up above one hundred and thirty thousand men. The Prussian army was eighty thousand strong. The village of St. Amand was the first point attacked by the enemy, who carried it, after a vigorous resistance.

He then directed his efforts against Ligny. It is a large village, solidly built, situated on a rivulet of the same name. It was there that a contest began which may be considered as one of the most obstinate recorded in history. Villages have often been taken and retaken: but here the combat continued for five hours in the villages themselves; and the movements forwards or backwards were confined to a very narrow space. On both sides fresh troops continually came up. Each party had behind the part of the village which it occupied great masses of infantry, which maintained the combat, and were continually renewed by the reinforcements which they received from their rear, as well as from the heights on the right and left. About two hundred cannon were directed from both sides against the village, which was on fire in several places at once. From time to time the combat extended along the whole line, the enemy having also directed numerous troops against the third corps; however, the main contest was near Ligny. Things seemed to take a favourable turn for the Prussian troops, a part of the village of St. Amand having been retaken by a battalion commanded by the field-marshal in person; in consequence of which advantage we had regained a height, which had been abandoned after the loss of St. Amand. Nevertheless the battle continued about Ligny with the same fury. The issue seemed to depend on the arrival of the English troops, or on that of the fourth corps of the Prussian army; in fact, the arrival of this last division would have afforded the field-marshal the means of making, immediately, with the right wing, an attack, from which great success might be expected: but news arrived that the English division destined to support us was violently attacked by a corps of the French army, and that it was with great difficulty it had maintained itself in its position at Quatre Bras. The fourth corps of the army did not appear, so that we were forced to maintain alone the contest with an army greatly superior. The evening was much advanced, and the combat about Ligny continued with undiminished fury, and the same equality of success; we invoked, but in vain, the arrival of those succours which were so necessary; the danger became every hour more and more urgent; all the divisions were engaged, or had already been so, and there was not any corps at hand able to support them. Suddenly a division of the enemy's infantry, which, by favour of the night, had made a circuit round the village without being observed, at the same time that some regiments of cuirassiers had forced the passage on the other side, took in the rear the main body of our army, which was posted behind the houses. This surprise on the part of the enemy was decisive, especially at the moment when our cavalry, also posted on a height behind the village, was repulsed by the enemy's cavalry in repeated attacks.

Our infantry posted behind Ligny, though forced to retreat, did not suffer itself to be discouraged, either by being surprised by the enemy in the darkness, a circumstance which exaggerates in the mind of man the dangers to which he finds himself exposed, or by the idea of seeing itself surrounded on all sides. Formed in masses, it coolly repulsed all the attacks of the cavalry, and retreated in good order upon the heights, whence it continued its retrograde movement upon Tilly. In consequence of the sudden irruption of the enemy's cavalry, several of our cannons, in their precipitate retreat, had taken directions which led them to defiles, in which they necessarily fell into disorder; in this manner, fifteen pieces fell into the hands of the enemy. At the distance of a quarter of a league from the field of battle, the army formed again. The enemy did not venture to pursue it. The village of Brie remained in our possession during the night, as well as Sombref, where general Thielman had fought with the third corps, and whence he, at day break, slowly began to retreat towards Gembloux, where the fourth corps, under general

Bulow, had at length arrived, during the night. The first and second corps proceeded in the morning behind the defile of Mount St. Guibert. Our loss in killed and wounded was great; the enemy, however, took from us no prisoners, except a part of our wounded. The battle was lost, but not our honour.—Our soldiers had fought with a bravery which equalled every expectation; their fortitude remained unshaken, because every one retained his confidence in his own strength.—On this day field-marshal Blucher had encountered the greatest dangers. A charge of cavalry, led on by himself, had failed.—While that of the enemy was vigorously pursuing, a musket shot struck the field-marshal's horse: the animal, far from being stopped in his career by this wound, began to gallop more furiously till it dropped down dead. The field-marshal, stunned by the violent fall, lay entangled under the horse. The enemy's cuirassiers, following up their advantage, advanced: our last horseman had already passed by the field-marshal; an adjutant alone remained with him, and had just alighted, resolved to share his fate. The danger was great, but heaven watched over us. The enemy pursuing their charge, passed rapidly by the field-marshal without seeing him: the next moment, a second charge of our cavalry having repulsed them, they again passed by him with the same precipitation, not perceiving him, any more than they had done the first time. Then, but not without difficulty, the field-marshal was disengaged from under the dead horse, and he immediately mounted a dragoon horse.

On the 17th, in the evening, the Prussian army concentrated itself in the environs of Wavre. Napoleon put himself in motion against lord Wellington, upon the great road leading from Charleroi to Brussels. An English division maintained, on the same day, near Quatre Bras, a very severe contest with the enemy. Lord Wellington had taken a position on the road to Brussels, having his right wing leaning upon Braine-la-Leud, the centre near Mont St. Jean, and the left wing against La Haye Sainte. Lord Wellington wrote to the field-marshal, that he was resolved to accept the battle in this position, if the field-marshal would support him with two corps of his army. The field-marshal promised to come with his whole army; he even proposed, in case Napoleon should not attack, that the allies themselves, with their whole united force, should attack him the next day. This may serve to shew how little the battle of the 16th had disorganised the Prussian army, or weakened its moral strength. Thus ended the day of the 17th.

BATTLE OF THE 18th.

At break of day the Prussian army again began to move. The fourth and second corps marched by St. Lambert, where they were to take a position, covered by the forest, near Frichemont, to take the enemy in the rear when the moment should appear favourable. The first corps was to operate by Ohain, on the right flank of the enemy. The third corps was to follow slowly, in order to afford succour in case of need. The battle began about ten o'clock in the morning.—The English army occupied the heights of Mont St. Jean; that of the French was on the heights before Planchenoit: the former was about eighty thousand strong; the enemy had above one hundred and thirty thousand. In a short time, the battle became general along the whole line. It seems that Napoleon had the design to throw the left wing upon the centre, and thus to effect the separation of the English army from the Prussian, which he believed to be retreating upon Maestricht. For this purpose he had placed the greatest part of his reserve in the centre, against his right wing, and upon this point he attacked with fury. The English army fought with a valour which it is impossible to surpass. The repeated charges of the old guard were baffled by the intrepidity of the Scotch regiments; and at every charge the French cavalry were overthrown by the English cavalry. But the superiority of the enemy in numbers was too great; Napoleon continually brought forward considerable masses, and with whatever firmness the English troops maintained themselves in their position, it was not possible but that such heroic exertions must have a limit.

It was half-past four o'clock. The excessive difficulties of the passage by the defile

of St. Lambert had considerably retarded the march of the Prussian columns, so that only two brigades of the fourth corps had arrived at the covered position which was assigned to them. The decisive moment was come; there was not an instant to be lost. The generals did not suffer it to escape. They resolved immediately to begin the attack with the troops which they had at hand.—General Bulow, therefore, with two brigades and a corps of cavalry, advanced rapidly upon the rear of the enemy's right wing. The enemy did not lose his presence of mind; he instantly turned his reserve against us, and a murderous conflict began on that side.—The combat remained long uncertain, while the battle with the English army still continued with the same violence.

Towards six o'clock in the evening, we received the news that general Thielman, with the third corps, was attacked near Wavre by a very considerable corps of the enemy, and that they were already disputing the possession of the town. The field-marshal, however, did not suffer himself to be disturbed by this news; it was on the spot where he was, and no where else, that the affair was to be decided. A conflict continually supported by the same obstinacy, and kept up by fresh troops, could alone ensure the victory, and if it were obtained here, any reverse sustained near Wavre was of little consequence. The columns, therefore, continued their movements. It was half an hour past seven, and the issue of the battle was still uncertain. The whole of the fourth corps, and a part of the second, under general Pirch, had successively come up. The French troops fought with desperate fury: however, some uncertainty was perceived in their movements, and it was observed that some pieces of cannon were retreating. At this moment the first columns of the corps of general Ziethen arrived on the points of attack, near the village of Smouhen, on the enemy's right flank, and instantly charged. This moment decided the defeat of the enemy. His right wing was broken in three places; he abandoned his positions. Our troops rushed forward at the *pas de charge*, and attacked him on all sides, while at the same time the whole English line advanced.

Circumstances were extremely favourable to the attack formed by the Prussian army; the ground rose in an amphitheatre, so that our artillery could freely open its fire from the summit of a great many heights which rose gradually above each other, and in the intervals of which the troops descended into the plain, formed into brigades, and in the greatest order; while fresh corps continually unfolded themselves, issuing from the forest on the height behind us. The enemy, however, still preserved means to retreat, till the village of Planchenoit, which he had on his rear, and which was defended by the guard, was, after several bloody attacks, carried by storm. From that time the retreat became a rout, which soon spread through the whole French army, and, in its dreadful confusion, hurrying away every thing that attempted to stop it, soon assumed the appearance of the flight of an army of barbarians. It was half-past nine. The field-marshal assembled all the superior officers, and gave orders to send the last horse and the last man in pursuit of the enemy. The van of the army accelerated its march. The French being pursued without intermission, was absolutely disorganized. The causeway presented the appearance of an immense shipwreck, it was covered with an innumerable quantity of cannon, caissons, carriages, baggage, arms, and wrecks of every kind. Those of the enemy who had attempted to repose for a time, and had not expected to be so quickly pursued, were driven from more than nine bivouacks. In some villages they attempted to maintain themselves; but as soon as they heard the beating of our drums, or the sound of the trumpet, they either fled or threw themselves into the houses, where they were cut down or made prisoners It was moonlight, which greatly favoured the pursuit, for the whole march was but a continued chase, either in the corn fields or the houses.

At Genappe the enemy had intrenched himself with cannon and overturned carriages: at our approach we suddenly heard in the town a great noise and a motion of carriages; at the entrance we were exposed to a brisk fire of musketry; we replied by some cannon-shot, followed by a *hurrah*, and an instant after, the town was ours. It was

here that, among many other equipages, the carriage of Napoleon was taken; he had just left it to mount on horseback, and, in his hurry, had forgotten in it his sword and hat. Thus the affairs continued till break of day. About forty thousand men, in the most complete disorder, the remains of the whole army, have saved themselves, retreating through Charleroi, partly without arms, and carrying with them only twenty-seven pieces of their numerous artillery.

The enemy in his flight has passed all his fortresses, the only defence of his frontiers, which are now passed by our armies.

At three o'clock, Napoleon had dispatched from the field of battle a courier to Paris, with the news that victory was no longer doubtful: a few hours after, he had no longer any army left. We have not yet an exact account of the enemy's loss; it is enough to know that two-thirds of the whole were killed, wounded, or prisoners: among the latter are generals Monton, Duhesme, and Compans. Up to this time about three hundred cannon, and above five hundred caissons, are in our hands.

Few victories have been so complete; and there is certainly no example that an army, two days after losing a battle, engaged in such an action, and so gloriously maintained it. Honour be to troops capable of so much firmness and valour! In the middle of the position occupied by the French army, and exactly upon the height, is a farm, called *La Belle Alliance*. The march of all the Prussian columns was directed towards this farm, which was visible from every side. It was there that Napoleon was during the battle: it was thence that he gave his orders, that he flattered himself with the hopes of victory; and it was there that his ruin was decided. There, too, it was, that by a happy chance field-marshal Blucher and lord Wellington met in the dark, and mutually saluted each other as victors.

In commemoration of the alliance which now subsists between the English and Prussian nations, of the union of the two armies, and their reciprocal confidence, the field-marshal desired, that this battle should bear the name of *La Belle Alliance*.

By the order of field-marshal Blucher,

General GNEISENAU.

THE BELGIAN ACCOUNT.

Head-quarters, Nivelles, 17th June, 1815, Two in the morning.

Very early on the morning of the 15th, the Prussian army was attacked in its position, which it abandoned, and retired from Charleroi, by Gosselies, as far as the environs of Fleurus. As soon as I was apprised of this attack, I gave the necessary orders to the corps of troops under my command. In consequence of what took place in the Prussian army, the battalion of Orange Nassau, which, together with a battery of light artillery, occupied the village of Frasné, were attacked at five o'clock in the evening of the 15th. These troops maintained themselves in their position on the height of this village, called Quatre Bras, and at a short distance from the road. The skirmishing ceased upon this point at eight o'clock in the evening.

As soon as I was informed of this attack, I gave orders for the third division, as well as to two English divisions, to move upon Nivelles; and to the second, to maintain the position of Quatre Bras. Only a part of the second division was enabled to move thither immediately, in consequence of the brigade, under the orders of major-general Byland, not being able to leave Nivelles prior to the arrival of other troops at that place.

The firing of the tirailleurs commenced at five o'clock yesterday morning on this point, and was kept up on both sides until midday, without any result. About two o'clock the attack became much more severe, especially on the part of the cavalry and artillery. The brigade of light cavalry, under the command of general Van Merlin, was not able to come up before four o'clock; previous to which time I had no cavalry to oppose to the enemy. Seeing of how great importance it was to preserve the position on the heights of the road, called Quatre Bras, I was fortunate in maintaining them against an enemy who was in every respect superior to me in force.

Having been attacked by the two French corps, commanded by generals d'Erlon and Reille, and having succeeded in checking them, the duke of Wellington had time enough to assemble a sufficient force to foil the projects of the enemy. The result of

has attack has been, that after a very obstinate contest, which lasted till nine o'clock in the evening, we not only checked the enemy, but even repulsed him.

The Prussian army, which was also attacked yesterday, maintained its principal position; and there is no doubt that Napoleon, with very considerable forces, will direct an attack upon the whole line.

Our troops bivouacked upon the field of battle, whither I shall immediately proceed, in expectation of the probability that Napoleon will endeavour to execute to-day the project of yesterday. The duke of Wellington has concentrated upon this point as many troops as he was able to collect.

I experience a lively pleasure in being able to announce to your majesty, that your troops, and the infantry and artillery in particular, fought with great courage.

Circumstances having prevented my receiving the reports from the different corps concerning their loss, I am unable to acquaint you with it: but I shall have the honour of doing it as soon as possible.

(Signed) WILLIAM, Prince of Orange.

—

Brussels, June 22, 1815.

After the battle of the 16th, of which I had the honour of giving an account to your majesty on the 17th, at two in the morning, from the head-quarters at Nivelles, the duke of Wellington, keeping his line with the Prussian army, made a movement in the morning, the result of which was, that the army found itself in position upon the heights in front of Waterloo, where it bivouacked; the enemy's cavalry, which followed the movements of the army, was in different attacks repulsed with loss by the British cavalry.

On the 18th, at day-break, we discovered the enemy in our front: at ten o'clock he shewed a disposition to attack. The army of Buonaparte was composed of the first, second, third, fourth, and sixth corps, the imperial guards, nearly the whole of his cavalry, and a train of artillery, consisting of many hundred pieces of cannon. About eleven o'clock the enemy unmasked a small battery, under the cover of the fire of which, his tirailleurs advanced against our right wing, and, immediately after, his attack was directed against a farm surrounded with copse wood, which was situated a short way in front of this wing, and on the left of the road leading to Nivelles. The enemy made the most furious, but fruitless attacks to possess himself of this farm. At noon the cannonade became violent; and before half-past twelve the battle was extended along the whole line. The French repeatedly attacked our two wings; but as their principal object was to pierce the right of our centre, they employed all their means to accomplish it. Some columns of the enemy's cavalry advanced boldly against us; but, notwithstanding the inconceivable violence with which they renewed their attacks, from three o'clock in the afternoon until the end of the battle, they never succeeded in making our line waver. The enemy was constantly repulsed, as well from the fire of the squares as by the charges of our cavalry: it is impossible to depict to your majesty the fury with which they fought, especially during the last six hours.

I was unfortunate in not being able to see the end of this glorious and important battle, having received, half an hour before the defeat of the enemy, a ball through my left shoulder, which compelled me to quit the field of battle.

It is with the most lively satisfaction that I am able to inform your majesty, that your troops, of all arms, have fought with the greatest courage. In the charges of cavalry, the brigade of carabineers attracted particular notice. The division of lieutenant-general Chassé was not engaged until late; and, as I was not personally able to quit the centre, I had placed it, for the day, under the orders of general lord Hill, commanding the second corps of the army. I have heard that this division likewise conducted itself with bravery, and that lieutenant-general Chassé, as also the two commanders of brigades, very satisfactorily acquitted themselves of their duty.

I cannot at this moment make any detail to your majesty of the loss we have sustained, not having received the returns. I am obliged, nevertheless, with the most profound regret, to state, that it is considerable.

I have charged my adjutant, Van Hooft,

to transmit this report to your majesty. I take the liberty of recommending him to your favourable consideration.

(Signed) WILLIAM Prince of Orange.

LOSS OF THE DUTCH.

Officers killed or missing	27
Wounded	115
Rank and file killed or missing	2058
Wounded	1936
Total	4136
Horses killed	1630

HANOVERIAN ACCOUNT.

By General Alten.

The troops broke up from their cantonments on the night of the 15th, and proceeded towards Genappe. The hereditary prince of Orange, under whose command my division had been placed, took a position at Quatre Bras, at the intersection of the roads from Mons to Namur, and from Charleroi to Brussels.

The French had divided their force, and attacked marshal Blucher and the duke of Wellington on the same day. As soon as the intention of the enemy was perceived, a position was assigned to us between Quatre Bras and Sarte à Maveline, with our right wing at the former village, and the latter occupied by our left. Our troops marched to their position under a most violent cannonade from the enemy. The wood of Bossu, on the right of Quatre Bras, was the scene of the most obstinate contention, and was carried and retaken several times. The cannonade from both armies was very severe.

The principal efforts of the enemy were directed against our left wing, and the battalion of Lüneburg was detached to drive him out of the village of Pierremont in our front. The commission was executed by lieutenant-colonel Klenke with great courage and skill; the village was carried, and our troops maintained themselves in it, notwithstanding the incessant and furious attacks of the French. The enemy's infantry now advanced in great force, against whom I opposed the battalions of Grubenhagen, Osnabruch, and Bremen, with the artillery of the German legion. The French were repulsed, and retired in confusion.

The enemy's cavalry now made several desperate charges on our right, but the determined bravery of our troops prevented them from being broken. The landwehr of Lüneburg, under colonel Von Ramdohr, particularly distinguished itself in this affair. —It permitted the cuirassiers to approach within thirty paces, and then poured on them a steady and well-directed fire, by which they were driven back with great loss.

We successfully maintained our position, but the Prussians having sustained a severe check on our left, we were compelled to fall back upon Genappe on the 17th. In effecting this movement, my division formed the rear-guard. The enemy presenting themselves in great force in the afternoon, we continued our retreat to Mont St. Jean, on the road to Brussels.

The army of the duke of Wellington was concentrated here, with the left wing at the village of Frichemont, and the right on the road from Brussels to Nivelles. The road from Genappe to Brussels intersected the centre, where my division was posted The second light battalion of the king's German legion occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte, in front of the left of my position. A company of Hanoverian yagers, and two companies of English guards, were posted at the *chateau* of Hougoumont, and a small wood before it, and in front of the right wing.

The infantry of the prince of Orange was so placed that the battalions might form into squares, or deploy into line, as circumstances might require, and a sufficient space was left between them for the manœuvres of the cavalry and artillery, which were posted in the rear. General Hill, with the reserve, was at Merke Braine, and covered the road from Nivelles to Brussels, and beyond this road were some corps of cavalry to observe the motions of the enemy.

At one o'clock the enemy's riflemen attacked the wood in front of our right, and a severe contest ensued. This position was of great importance, and could the enemy have carried it, and gained possession of the heights, our right flank would have been endangered. Strong columns of infantry, supported by artillery, advanced upon this

position, which was bravely defended by the British guards.

The battle now became general through the whole line. A numerous artillery was directed upon the centre, under cover of which an immense column of infantry advanced upon the road of Genappe, but it was repulsed by the second light battalions, the eighth battalion of the line of the German legion, and the battalion of Lüneburg. The French cavalry next advanced with such impetuosity as to drive in our light troops, and penetrate to the brow of the hill among the squares. This ground they maintained, notwithstanding every opposition, till the British cavalry came up, and completely repulsed them.

The fire of artillery now became more tremendous, and was continued with a violence which the oldest soldiers never before witnessed. The attacks of the French infantry and cavalry were incessant, and directed on various points. Buonaparte was resolved to pierce the centre, and open for himself a way to Brussels. He every moment advanced nearer to us, and continually brought up fresh troops. His artillery played on our squares at the distance of one hundred and fifty paces; but not a single battalion yielded; the dead were thrust aside, and the ranks immediately closed. Some of the regiments waited not to receive the attack, but rushing on the enemy repulsed him in disorder.

At length, weakened by so many repeated and murderous attacks, and several of the battalions being nearly cut to pieces, my division was compelled to fall back, but it retired in good order, and cheerfully advanced again at the command of the duke of Wellington. That illustrious hero was an eyewitness of our conduct; he was uniformly found where the danger was most imminent, and the prince of Orange displayed a valour worthy of his noble ancestors. It was against his division that the principal efforts of the main body of the army, led on by Buonaparte in person, were directed.

At this critical moment, the Prussian general, Von Bulow, hastened to our assistance with thirty thousand men, and attacked the enemy in his flank. The day was soon our own. The enemy fled in every direction, and abandoned the greater part of his artillery. Two hundred pieces of cannon, and several eagles, were taken, and although the number of prisoners cannot yet be accurately stated, it amounts to several thousands.

The glory of these two days has been purchased with the loss of the greater part of our most distinguished officers, among whom are colonels Von Ompteda, Du Plat, Von Wurmb, and Von Langrehr. The battalions of Bremen, Lüneburg, Verden, Grubenhagen, and the duke of York, deserve the highest praise. A favourable report has also been made to me of many of the brigades of landwehr. That of Osnabruch, under count Munster, fought against Napoleon's imperial guard, and threw them into confusion.

SPANISH ACCOUNT.

Supplement to the Madrid gazette of Thursday, 13th July, 1815.

The lieutenant-general of the royal armies, Don Miguel de Alava, minister plenipotentiary of his majesty in Holland, has addressed to his excellency Don Pedro Cevallos, first secretary of state, the following letter:

Most Excellent Sir,

The short space of time that has intervened between the departure of the last post and the victory of the 18th, has not allowed me to write to your excellency so diffusely as I could have wished; and although the army is at this moment on the point of marching, and I also am going to set out for the Hague to deliver my credentials, which I did not receive till this morning; nevertheless, I will give your excellency some details respecting this important event, which, possibly, may bring us to the end of the war much sooner than we had any reason to expect.

I informed your excellency, under date of the 16th instant, that Buonaparte, marching from Maubeuge and Philippeville, had attacked the Prussian posts on the Sambre, and that, after driving them from Charleroi, he had entered that city on the 15th.

On the 16th, the duke of Wellington ordered his army to assemble on the point of Quatre Bras, where the roads cross from Namur to Nivelles, and from Brussels to Charleroi; and he himself proceeded to the same point, at seven in the morning.

On his arrival, he found the hereditary prince of Orange, with a division of his own army, holding the enemy in check, till the other divisions of the army were collected.

By this time the British division under general Picton had arrived, with which the duke kept up an unequal contest with more than thirty thousand of the enemy, without losing an inch of ground. The British guards, several regiments of infantry, and the Scotch brigade, covered themselves with glory on this day; and lord Wellington told me, on the following day, that he never saw his troops behave better, during the number of years he had commanded them.

The French cuirassiers suffered very considerable loss; for, confiding in their breast-plates, they approached so near the British squares, that they killed some officers of the 42d regiment with their swords; but those valiant men, without giving way, kept up so strong a fire, that the whole ground was covered with the cuirassiers and their horses.

In the mean time, the troops kept coming up; and the night put an end to the contest in this quarter.

During this time Buonaparte was fighting with the remainder of his forces against marshal Blucher, with whom he had commenced a bloody action at five in the afternoon; from which time, till nine in the evening, he was constantly repulsed by the Prussians, with great loss on both sides. But, at that moment, he made his cavalry charge with so much vigour, that they broke the Prussian line of infantry, and introduced disorder and confusion throughout.

Whether Buonaparte did not perceive this circumstance, or that he had experienced a great loss; or, what is more probable, that marshal Blucher had re-established the battle, the fact is, that he derived no advantage whatever from this affair, and that he left the Prussians quiet during the whole of the night of the 16th.

Lord Wellington, who, by the morning of the 17th, had collected the whole of his army in the position of Quatre Bras, was combining his measures to attack the enemy, when he received a dispatch from marshal Blucher, communicating to him the events of the preceding day, together with the incident that had snatched the victory out of his hands; adding, that the loss he had experienced was of such a nature, that he was forced to retreat to Wavre, on our left, where the corps of Bulow would unite with him, and that on the 19th he would be ready for any affair he might wish to undertake.

In consequence of this, lord Wellington was obliged immediately to retreat, and this he effected with so much skill, that the enemy did not dare to interrupt him. He took up a position on Braine le Leud, in front of the great wood of Soignés, as he had previously determined, and placed his head-quarters in Waterloo.

I joined the army on that morning, though I had received no orders to this effect, because I believed that I should thus best serve his majesty, and at the same time fulfil your excellency's directions; and this determination has afforded me the satisfaction of having been present at the most important battle that has been fought for many centuries, in its consequences, its duration, and the talents of the chiefs who commanded on both sides, and because the peace of the world, and the future security of all Europe, may be said to have depended on its result.

The position occupied by his lordship was very good; but towards the centre it had various weak points, which required good troops to guard them, and much science and skill on the part of the general-in-chief.—These qualifications were, however, sufficiently found in the British troops and their illustrious commander; and it may be asserted, without offence to any one, that to them belongs the chief part, or all the glory of this memorable day.

On the right of the position, and a little in advance, was a country-house, the importance of which lord Wellington quickly perceived, because the position could not be attacked on that side without carrying it, and it might therefore be considered as its key.

The duke confided this important point to three companies of the English guards, under the command of lord Saltoun, and laboured during the night of the 17th in fortifying it as well as possible, covering its garden, and a wood which served as its park, with Nassau troops, as sharp-shooters.

At half-past ten, a movement was observed in the enemy's line, and many officers were seen coming from and going to a particular point, where there was a very considerable corps of infantry, which we afterwards understood to be the imperial guard; here was Buonaparte in person, and from this point issued all the orders. In the mean time, the enemy's masses were forming, and every thing announced the approaching combat, which began at half-past eleven, the enemy attacking desperately with one of his corps, and with his usual shouts, the country-house on the right.

The Nassau troops found it necessary to abandon their post; but the enemy met such resistance in the house, that, though they surrounded it on three sides, and attacked it with the utmost bravery, they were compelled to desist from their enterprise, leaving a great number of killed and wounded.—Lord Wellington sent fresh English troops, who recovered the wood and garden, and the combat ceased for the present on this side.

The enemy then opened a horrible fire of artillery from more than two hundred pieces, under cover of which Buonaparte made a general attack from the centre to the right, with infantry and cavalry in such numbers that it required all the skill of his lordship to post his troops, and all the good qualities of the latter to resist the attack.

General Picton, who was with his division on the road from Brussels to Charleroi, advanced with the bayonet to receive them; but was unfortunately killed at the moment when the enemy, appalled by the attitude of this division, fired, and then fled.

The English life guards then charged with the greatest bravery, and the 49th and 105th French regiments lost their respective eagles in this charge, together with two or three thousand prisoners. A column of cavalry, at whose head were the cuirassiers, advanced to charge the life guards, and thus save their infantry; but the guards received them with the utmost valour, and the most sanguinary cavalry fight that ever was witnessed now took place.

The French cuirassiers were completely beaten, in spite of their cuirasses, by troops who had no defence of the kind, and they lost one of their eagles in this conflict, which was taken by the heavy English cavalry called the *Royals*.

Intelligence now arrived that the Prussian corps of Bulow had reached St. Lambert, and that prince Blucher, with another corps, under the command of general Thielman (Ziethen), was advancing with all haste to take part in the combat, leaving the other two in Wavre, which had suffered much in the battle of the 16th at Fleurus. The arrival of these troops was absolutely necessary, in consequence of the forces of the enemy being now more than triple ours, and our loss having been horrid during an unequal combat, from half-past eleven in the morning till five in the afternoon.

Buonaparte, who did not believe them to be so near, and who reckoned upon destroying lord Wellington before their arrival, perceived that he had fruitlessly lost more than five hours, and that in the critical position in which he would soon be placed, there remained no other resource but that of desperately attacking the weak part of the English position, and thus, if possible, beat the duke before his own right was turned and attacked by the Prussians.

Henceforward, therefore, the whole was a repetition of attacks by cavalry and infantry, supported by more than three hundred pieces of artillery, which made horrible ravages in our line, and killed and wounded numerous officers, artillerists, and horses, in the weakest part of the position.

The enemy, aware of this destruction, made a charge with the whole cavalry of his guard, which took some pieces of cannon that could not be withdrawn; but the duke, who was at this point, charged them with three battalions of English and three of Brunswickers, and compelled them in a moment to abandon the artillery, though we were unable to withdraw them for want of horses; nor did they dare to advance to recover them.

At last, about seven in the evening, Buonaparte made a last effort, and putting himself at the head of his guards, attacked the above point of the English position with such vigour, that he drove back the Brunswickers who occupied part of it; and, for a moment,

the victory was undecided, and even more than doubtful.

The duke, who felt that the moment was most critical, spoke to the Brunswick troops with that ascendancy which a great general possesses, made them return to the charge, and putting himself at their head, again restored the combat, exposing himself to every kind of personal danger.

Fortunately at this moment he perceived the fire of marshal Blucher, who was attacking the enemy's right with his usual impetuosity; and the moment of decisive attack being come, the duke put himself at the head of the English foot guards, spoke a few words to them, which were answered by a general *hurrah*, and his grace himself leading them on with his hat, they eagerly rushed forward to come to close action with the imperial guard. But the latter began a retreat, which was soon converted into absolute flight, and the most complete rout ever witnessed by military men. Entire columns throwing down their arms and cartouch-boxes, that they might escape the better, fled in the utmost disorder from the field, and abandoned to us nearly one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. The rout at Vittoria was not comparable to this, and it only resembles it, inasmuch as on both occasions, the French lost all the train of artillery and stores of the army, as well as all the baggage.

The duke followed the enemy as far as Genappe, where he found the illustrious Blucher, and both embraced in the most cordial manner, on the principal road to Charleroi; but finding himself in the same position with the Prussians, and that his army stood in need of rest after so dreadful a struggle, he left to Blucher the charge of following up the enemy, who promised that he would not leave them a moment of rest. He is now pursuing them, and yesterday at noon he had reached Charleroi, whence he intended to proceed at night and continue the chase.

This is the substance of what took place on this memorable day; but the consequences of the affair are too evident for me to detain you in stating them.

Buonaparte, now tottering on his usurped throne, without money and without troops to recruit his armies, has received a mortal blow, and, according to the language of the prisoners, no other resource is left him, 'than to cut his own throat.'

It is said that he had never been known to expose his person so much, and that he seemed to seek death, that he might not survive a defeat fraught with such fatal consequences.

I informed your excellency, under date of the 16th, that his manœuvre appeared to me extremely daring, in the face of such generals as Blucher and the duke. The event has fully justified my prediction. For this reason I conceive, that his executing it has arisen merely from despair, at the appearance of the innumerable troops who were about to attack him on every side, and in order to strike one of his customary blows before the Russians and Austrians came up.

His military reputation is lost for ever; and, on this occasion, there is no treason on the part of the allies, nor bridges blown up before their time, on which to throw the blame: all the shame will fall upon himself.

Numerical superiority, superiority of artillery, all was in his favour; and his having commenced the attack proves that he had sufficient means to execute it.

In short, this talisman, whose charm had so long operated on the French military, has been completely dashed to pieces. Buonaparte has for ever lost the reputation of being invincible; and henceforward this character will belong to an honourable man, who, far from employing this glorious title in disturbing and enslaving Europe, will convert it into an instrument of her felicity, and in procuring for her that peace which she so much requires.

The loss of the British is dreadful, and of the whole military staff the duke and myself alone remained untouched in our persons and horses.

The duke of Brunswick was killed on the 16th, and the prince of Orange, and his cousin, the prince of Nassau, aide-de-camp to the duke of Wellington, received two balls. The prince of Orange distinguished himself extremely; but, unfortunately, although his wound is not dangerous, it will deprive the army of his important services for some time, and possibly he may lose the use of his left arm.

Lord Uxbridge, general of cavalry, received a wound at the close of the action, which made the amputation of his right leg necessary; this is an irreparable loss, for it will be difficult to find another chief to lead on the cavalry with the same courage and skill.

The duke was unable to refrain from shedding tears on witnessing the death of so many brave and honourable men, and the loss of so many friends and faithful companions. Nothing but the importance of the triumph can compensate for a loss so dreadful.

This morning he has proceeded to Nivelles, and to-morrow he will advance to Mons, whence he will immediately enter France. The weather cannot be better.

I cannot close this dispatch without stating to your excellency, for the information of his majesty, that captain Don Nicholas de Minuissir, of Doyle's regiment, and of whom I before spoke to your excellency, as well as of his destination in the army, conducted himself yesterday with the greatest valour and propriety. He was wounded when the Nassau troops were driven from the garden, yet he rallied them and led them back to their post. During the action, he had a horse wounded under him, and by his former conduct, as well as by his behaviour on this day, he merits from his majesty some proof of his satisfaction.

This officer is well known in the war-office, as well as to general Don Josef de Zayas, who has duly appreciated his merits.

God preserve your excellency many years, &c. &c.

(Signed) MIGUEL de ALAVA.

Brussels, 20th of June, 1815.

P.S. The number of prisoners cannot be stated, for they are bringing in great numbers every moment. There are many generals among the prisoners; among whom are the count de Lobau, aide-de-camp to Buonaparte, and Cambrone, who accompanied him to Elba.

FRENCH ACCOUNT.

BATTLE OF LIGNY-UNDER-FLEURUS.

Paris, June 21.

On the morning of the 16th the army occupied the following position:—

The left wing, commanded by the marshal duke of Elchingen, and consisting of the first and second corps of infantry, and the second of cavalry, occupied the positions of Frasné.

The right wing, commanded by marshal Grouchy, and composed of the third and fourth corps of infantry, and the third corps of cavalry, occupied the heights in rear of Fleurus.

The emperor's head-quarters were at Charleroi, where were the imperial guard and the sixth corps.

The left wing had orders to march upon Les Quatre Bras, and the right upon Sombref. The emperor advanced to Fleurus with his reserve.

The columns of marshal Grouchy being in march, perceived, after having passed Fleurus, the enemy's army, commanded by field-marshal Blucher, occupying with its left the heights of the mill of Bussy, the village of Sombref, and extending its cavalry a great way forward on the road to Namur; its right was at St. Amand, and occupied that large village in great force, having before it a ravine which formed its position.

The emperor reconnoitred the strength and the positions of the enemy, and resolved to attack immediately. It became necessary to change front, the right in advance, and pivoting upon Fleurus.

General Vandamme marched upon St. Amand, general Girard upon Ligny, and marshal Grouchy upon Sombref. The fourth division of the second corps, commanded by general Girard, marched in reserve behind the corps of general Vandamme. The guard was drawn up on the heights of Fleurus, as well as the cuirassiers of general Milhaud.

At three in the afternoon these dispositions were finished. The division of general Lefol, forming part of the corps of general Vandamme, was first engaged, and made itself master of St. Amand, whence it drove out the enemy at the point of the bayonet. It kept its ground during the whole of the engagement, at the burial-ground and steeple of St. Amand; but that village, which is very extensive, was the theatre of various combats during the evening; the whole corps of general Vandamme was there engaged, and the enemy fought there in considerable force.

General Girard, placed as a reserve to the corps of general Vandamme, turned the village by its right, and there fought with his accustomed valour. The respective forces were supported on both sides by about fifty pieces of cannon each.

On the right, general Girard came into action with the fourth corps, at the village of Ligny, which was taken and retaken several times.

Marshal Grouchy, on the extreme right, and general Pajol, fought at the village of Sombref. The enemy shewed from eighty to ninety thousand men, and a great number of cannon.

At seven o'clock we were masters of all the villages situated on the bank of the ravine which covered the enemy's position; but he still occupied with all his masses the heights of the mill of Bussy.

The emperor returned with his guard to the village of Ligny; general Girard directed general Pecheux to debouche with what remained of the reserve, almost all the troops having been engaged in that village.

Eight battalions of the guard debouched with fixed bayonets, and behind them four squadrons of the guards, the cuirassiers of general Delort, those of general Milhaud, and the grenadiers of the horse-guards. The old guard attacked with the bayonet the enemy's columns which were on the heights of Bussy, and in an instant covered the field of battle with dead. The squadron of the guard attacked and broke a square, and the cuirassiers repulsed the enemy in all directions.—At half-past nine o'clock we had forty pieces of cannon, several carriages, colours, and prisoners, and the enemy sought safety in a precipitate retreat. At ten o'clock the battle was finished, and we found ourselves masters of the field of battle.

General Lutzow, a partisan, was taken prisoner. The prisoners assure us, that field-marshal Blucher was wounded. The flower of the Prussian army was destroyed in this battle. Its loss could not be less than fifteen thousand men. Our's was three thousand killed and wounded.

On the left, marshal Ney had marched on Les Quatre Bras with a division which cut in pieces an English corps that was stationed there; but being attacked by the prince of Orange with twenty-five thousand men, partly English, partly Hanoverians in the pay of England, he retired upon his position at Frasné. There a multiplicity of combats took place; the enemy obstinately endeavoured to force it, but in vain. The duke of Elchingen waited for the first corps, which did not arrive till night; he confined himself to maintaining his position. In a square attacked by the eighth regiment of cuirassiers, the colours of the sixty-ninth regiment of English infantry fell into our hands. The duke of Brunswick was killed. The prince of Orange has been wounded. We are assured that the enemy had many persons and generals of note killed or wounded. We estimate the loss of the English at from four to five thousand men. On our side it was very considerable, it amounts to four thousand two hundred killed or wounded. The combat ended with the approach of night.—Lord Wellington then evacuated Les Quatre Bras, and proceeded to Genappe.

In the morning of the 17th the emperor repaired to Les Quatre Bras, whence he marched to attack the English army: he drove it to the entrance of the forest of Soignes with the left wing and the reserve. The right wing advanced by Sombref in pursuit of field-marshal Blucher, who was going towards Wavre, where he appeared to wish to take a position.

At ten o'clock in the evening the English army occupied Mont St. Jean with its centre, and was in position before the forest of Soignes: it would have required three hours to attack it; we were therefore obliged to postpone it till the next day.

The head-quarters of the emperor were established at the farm of Oaillon, near Planchenoit. The rain fell in torrents.—Thus, on the 16th, the left wing, the right, and the reserve, were equally engaged, at a distance of about two leagues.

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BATTLE OF MONT ST. JEAN.

At nine in the morning, the rain having somewhat abated, the first corps put itself in motion, and placed itself with the left on the road to Brussels, and opposite the village of Mont St. Jean, which appeared the centre of

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On the left, marshal Ney had marched on Les Quatre Bras with a division which cut in pieces an English corps that was stationed

the enemy's position. The second corps leaned its right upon the road to Brussels, and its left upon a small wood, within cannon shot of the English army. The cuirassiers were in reserve behind, and the guards in reserve upon the heights. The sixth corps, with the cavalry of general D'Aumont, under the order of count Lobau, was destined to proceed in the rear of our right to oppose a Prussian corps, which appeared to have escaped marshal Grouchy, and to intend to fall upon our right flank; an intention which had been made known to us by our reports, and by the letter of a Prussian general, enclosing an order of battle, and which was taken by our light troops.

The troops were full of ardour. We estimated the force of the English army at eighty thousand men. We supposed that the Prussian corps, which might be in line towards the right, might be fifteen thousand men.—The enemy's force then was upwards of ninety-thousand men; our's less numerous.

At noon, all the preparations being terminated, prince Jerome, commanding a division of the second corps, and destined to form the extreme left of it, advanced upon the wood of which the enemy occupied a part. The cannonade began. The enemy supported with thirty pieces of cannon the troops he had sent to keep the wood. We made also on our side dispositions of artillery. At one o'clock prince Jerome was master of all the wood, and the whole English army fell back behind a curtain. Count d'Erlon then attacked the village of Mont St. Jean, and supported his attack with eighty pieces of cannon, which must have occasioned great loss to the English army. All our efforts were made on the opposite eminence. A brigade of the first division of count d'Erlon took the village of Mont St. Jean; a second brigade was charged by a corps of English cavalry, which occasioned it much loss. At the same moment a division of English cavalry charged the battery of count d'Erlon by its right, and disorganised several pieces; but the cuirassiers of general Milhaud charged that division, three regiments of which were broken and cut up.

It was three in the afternoon. The emperor made the guard advance to place it in the plain, upon the ground which the first corps had occupied at the outset of the battle; this corps being ready in advance.—The Prussian division, whose movement had been foreseen, then engaged with the light troops of count Lobau, spreading its fire upon our whole right flank. It was expedient, before undertaking any thing elsewhere, to wait for the event of this attack. Hence, all the means in reserve were ready to succour count Lobau, and overwhelm the Prussian corps when it should have advanced.

This done, the emperor had the design of leading an attack upon the village of Mont St. Jean, from which we expected decisive success; but, by a movement of impatience, so frequent in our military annals, and which has often been so fatal to us, the cavalry of reserve having perceived a retrograde movement made by the English to shelter themselves from our batteries, from which they had suffered so much, crowned the heights of Mont St. Jean, and charged the infantry. This movement, which, made in proper time, and supported by the reserves, must have decided the day, made in an isolated manner, and before the affair on the right was terminated, became fatal.

Having no means of countermanding it, the enemy shewing many masses of cavalry and infantry, and our two divisions of cuirassiers being engaged, all our cavalry ran at the same moment to support their comrades.—There, for three hours, numerous charges were made, which enabled us to penetrate several squares, and to take six standards of the light infantry, an advantage out of proportion with the loss which our cavalry experienced by the grape-shot and musket firing. It was impossible to dispose of our reserves of infantry until we had repulsed the flank attack of the Prussian corps. This attack always prolonged itself perpendicularly upon our right flank. The emperor sent thither general Duhesme with the young guard, and several batteries of reserve. The enemy was kept in check, repulsed, and fell back—he had exhausted his forces, and we had nothing more to fear. This was the moment that indicated for an attack upon the centre of the enemy. As the cuirassiers had

suffered by the grape shot, we sent four battalions of the middle guard to protect them, to keep the position, and if possible, disengage and draw back into the plain a part of our cavalry.

Two other battalions were sent to keep themselves *en potence* upon the extreme left of the division which had manœuvred upon our flanks, in order not to have any uneasiness on that side—the rest was disposed in reserve, part to occupy the eminence in rear of Mont St. Jean, and part upon the ridge in rear of the field of battle, which formed our position of retreat.

In this state of affairs the battle was gained; we occupied all the positions which the enemy had possessed at the outset of the battle. Our cavalry having been too soon and ill employed, we could no longer hope for decisive success; but marshal Grouchy having learned the movement of the Prussian corps, marched upon the rear of it, ensured us a signal success on the next day. After eight hours' fire and charges of infantry and cavalry, all the army saw with joy the victory gained, and the field of battle in our power.

At half after eight o'clock, the four battalions of the middle guard, who had been sent to the ridge on the other side of Mont St. Jean, to support the cuirassiers, being greatly annoyed by the grape-shot, endeavoured to carry the batteries with the bayonet. At the end of the day, a charge directed against their flank, by several English squadrons, put them in disorder. The fugitives recrossed the ravine. Several regiments, which were near at hand, seeing some troops belonging to the guard in confusion, believed it was the old guard, and in consequence fled in disorder. Cries of *All is lost, the guard is driven back*, were heard on every side. The soldiers even pretend that on many points ill-disposed persons cried out, *Sauve qui peut.* However this may be, a complete panic at once spread itself throughout the whole field of battle, and the troops threw themselves in the greatest disorder on the line of communication; soldiers, cannoneers, caissons, all pressed to this point; the old guard, which was in reserve, was infected, and was itself hurried along.

In an instant the whole army was nothing but a mass of confusion; all the soldiers, of all arms, were mixed *pêle-mêle*, and it was utterly impossible to form a single corps.—The enemy, who perceived this astonishing confusion, immediately attacked with their cavalry, and increased the disorder; and such was the confusion, owing to night coming on, that it was impossible to rally the troops, and point out to them their error. Thus terminated the battle, a day of false manœuvres was rectified, the greatest success ensured for the next day, yet all was lost by a moment of panic terror. Even the body-guard, drawn up by the side of the emperor, was disorganised and overthrown by an overwhelming force, and there was then nothing else to be done but to follow the torrent.—The parks of reserve, all the baggage which had not repassed the Sambre, in short, every thing that was on the field of battle, remained in the power of the enemy. It was impossible to wait for the troops on our right; every one knows what the bravest army in the world is when thus mixed and thrown into confusion, and when its organization no longer exists.

The emperor crossed the Sambre at Charleroi, at five o'clock in the morning of the 19th. Philippeville and Avesnes have been given as the points of re-union. Prince Jerome, general Morand, and other generals, have there already rallied a part of the army.—Marshal Grouchy, with the corps on the right, is moving on the lower Sambre.

The loss of the enemy must have been very great, if we may judge from the number of standards we have taken from them, and from the retrograde movements which they have made;—our's cannot be calculated until after the troops shall have been collected. Previous to the confusion which took place we had already experienced a very considerable loss, particularly in our cavalry, so fatally, though so bravely engaged. Notwithstanding these losses, this brave cavalry constantly kept the position it had taken from the English, and only abandoned it when the tumult and disorder of the field of battle forced it. In the midst of the night, and the obstacles which encumbered their route, it could not preserve its organization.

The artillery was as usual covered with

glory. The carriages belonging to the head-quarters remained in their ordinary position; no retrograde movement being judged necessary. In the course of the night they fell into the enemy's hands.

Such was the result of the battle of Mont St. Jean, so glorious for the French armies, and yet so fatal.

A LETTER FROM THE PRINCE OF THE MOSKWA (MARSHAL NEY) TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

M. le Duc,—

The most false and defamatory reports have been publicly circulated for some days, respecting the conduct which I have pursued during this short and unfortunate campaign. The journals have repeated these odious calumnies, and appear to lend them credit.—After having fought during twenty-five years for my country, after having shed my blood for its glory and independence, an attempt is made to accuse me of treason; and maliciously to mark me out to the people, and the army itself, as the author of the disaster it has just experienced.

Compelled to break silence, while it is always painful to speak of one's-self, and particularly to repel calumnies, I address myself to you, Sir, as the president of the provisional government, in order to lay before you a brief and faithful relation of the events I have witnessed. On the 11th of June, I received an order from the minister of war to repair to the imperial head-quarters. I had no command, and no information upon the force and disposition of the army. Neither the emperor nor his minister had given me any previous hint, from which I could anticipate that I should be employed in the present campaign; I was consequently taken unprepared, without horses, without equipage, and without money, and I was obliged to borrow the necessary expenses of my journey. I arrived on the 12th at Laon, on the 13th at Avesnes, and on the 14th at Beaumont. I purchased, in this last city, two horses from the duke of Treviso, with which I proceeded on the 15th, to Charleroi, accompanied by my first aide-de-camp, the only officer I had with me. I arrived at the moment when the enemy, attacked by our light troops, was retreating upon Fleurus and Gosselies.

The emperor immediately ordered me to put myself at the head of the first and second corps of infantry, commanded by lieutenant-generals d'Erlon and Reille, of the divisions of light cavalry of lieutenant-general Pire, of the division of light cavalry of the guard, under the command of lieutenant-generals Lefebvre Desnouettes and Colbert, and of two divisions of cavalry of count Valmy, forming altogether eight divisions of infantry and four of cavalry. With these troops, a part of which only I had as yet under my immediate command, I pursued the enemy, and forced him to evacuate Gosselies, Frasne, Millet, and Heppiegnies. There I took up a position for the night, with the exception of the first corps, which was still at Marchiennes, and which did not join me until the following day.

On the 16th, I was ordered to attack the English in their position at Les Quatre Bras. We advanced towards the enemy with an enthusiasm difficult to be described. Nothing could resist our impetuosity. The battle became general, and victory was no longer doubtful, when, at the moment that I intended to bring up the first corps of infantry, which had been left by me in reserve at Frasne, I learned that the emperor had disposed of it without acquainting me of the circumstance, as well as of the division of Girard of the second corps, that he might direct them upon St. Amand, and to strengthen his left wing, which was warmly engaged with the Prussians. The shock which this intelligence gave me confounded me. Having now under my command only three divisions, instead of the eight upon which I calculated, I was obliged to renounce the hopes of victory; and, in spite of all my efforts, notwithstanding the intrepidity and devotion of my troops, I could not do more than maintain myself in my position till the close of the day. About nine o'clock the first corps was returned to me by the emperor, to whom it had been of no service. Thus twenty-five or thirty thousand men were absolutely paralysed, and were idly paraded during the whole of the battle from the right to the left, and the left to the right, without firing a shot.

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A LETTER FROM THE PRINCE OF THE MOSKWA (MARSHAL NEY) TO HIS SECRETARY THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

Nov. 16 Dec.—

The most false and delusive reports have been publicly circulated for some days, respecting the conduct which I have pursued during this short and unfortunate campaign. The journals have repeated these odious calumnies, and appear to lend them credit.—After having fought during twenty-five years for my country, after having shed my blood for its glory and independence, an attempt is made to accuse me of treason; and maliciously to mark me out to the people, and the army itself, as the author of the disaster it has just experienced.

Compelled to break silence, while it is always painful to speak of one's self, and particularly to repel calumnies, I address myself to you, Sir, as the president of the provisional government, in order to lay before you a brief and faithful relation of the events I have witnessed. On the 11th of June, I received an order from the minister of war to repair to the imperial head-quarters. I had no command, and no information upon the tone and disposition of the army. Neither the emperor nor his minister had given me any previous hint, from which I could anticipate that I should be employed in the present campaign; I was consequently taken unprepared, without horses, without equipage, and without money, and I was obliged to borrow the necessary expenses of my journey. I arrived on the 13th at Laon, on the 13th at Avesnes, and on the 14th at Beaumont. I purchased, in this last city, two horses from the duke of Treviso, with which I proceeded on the 15th, to Charleroi, accompanied by my first aide-de-camp, the only officer I had with me. I arrived at the moment when the enemy, attacked by our

I cannot help suspending these details for a moment, to call your attention to all the melancholy consequences of this false movement, and, in general, of the bad disposition during the whole of the day. By what fatality, for example, did the emperor, instead of directing all his forces against lord Wellington, who would have been taken unawares, and could not have resisted, consider this attack as secondary? How could the emperor, after the passage of the Sambre, conceive it possible to fight two battles on the same day? It was to oppose forces double ours, and to do what the military men who were witnesses of it can scarcely yet comprehend. Instead of this, had he left a corps of observation to watch the Prussians, and marched with his most powerful masses to support me, the English army would undoubtedly have been destroyed between Les Quatre Bras and Genappe; and that position, which separated the two allied armies, being once in our power, would have afforded the emperor an opportunity of outflanking the right of the Prussians, and of crushing them in their turn. The general opinion in France, and especially in the army, was, that the emperor would have bent his whole efforts to annihilate first the English army; and circumstances were favourable for the accomplishment of such a project: but fate ordered it otherwise.

On the 17th the army marched in the direction of Mont St. Jean.

On the 18th the battle commenced at one o'clock, and though the bulletin, which details it, makes no mention of me, it is not necessary for me to say that I was engaged in it. Lieutenant-general count Drouet has already spoken of that battle in the chamber of peers. His narration is accurate, with the exception of some important facts which he has passed over in silence, or of which he was ignorant, and which it is now my duty to disclose. About seven o'clock in the evening, after the most dreadful carnage which I have ever witnessed, general Labedoyere came to me with a message from the emperor, that marshal Grouchy had arrived on our right, and attacked the left of the united English and Prussians. This general officer, in riding along the lines, spread this intelligence among the soldiers, whose courage and devotion remained unshaken, and who gave new proofs of them at that moment, notwithstanding the fatigue with which they were exhausted. What was my astonishment, I should rather say indignation, when I learned, immediately afterwards, that so far from marshal Grouchy having arrived to our support, as the whole army had been assured, between forty and fifty thousand Prussians were attacking our extreme right, and forcing it to retire!

Whether the emperor was deceived with regard to the time when the marshal could support him, or whether the advance of the marshal was retarded by the efforts of the enemy longer than was calculated upon, the fact is, that at the moment when his arrival was announced to us, he was still only at Wavre upon the Dyle, which to us was the same as if he had been a hundred leagues from the field of battle.

A short time afterwards I saw four regiments of the middle guard advancing, led on by the emperor. With these troops he wished to renew the attack, and to penetrate the centre of the enemy. He ordered me to lead them on. Generals, officers, and soldiers, all displayed the greatest intrepidity; but this body of troops was too weak long to resist the forces opposed to it by the enemy, and we were soon compelled to renounce the hope which this attack had for a few moments inspired. General Friant was struck by a ball at my side, and I myself had my horse killed, and fell under it. The brave men who have survived this terrible battle will, I trust, do me the justice to state, that they saw me on foot, with sword in hand, during the whole of the evening, and that I was one of the last who quitted the scene of carnage at the moment when retreat could no longer be prevented. At the same time the Prussians continued their offensive movements, and our right sensibly gave way: the English also advanced in their turn. There yet remained to us four squares of the old guard to protect our retreat. These brave grenadiers, the flower of the army, forced successively to retire, yielded ground foot by foot, until finally overpowered by numbers, they were almost completely destroyed.—

From that moment the retrograde movement was decided, and the army formed nothing but a confused mass. There was not, however, a total rout, nor the cry of *Sauve qui peut*, as has been calumniously stated in the bulletin. As for myself, being constantly in the rear-guard, which I followed on foot, having had all my horses killed, worn out with fatigue, covered with contusions, and having no longer strength to walk, I owe my life to a corporal, who supported me in the march, and did not abandon me during the retreat. At eleven at night I met lieutenant-general Lefebvre Desnouettes; and one of his officers, major Schmidt, had the generosity to give me the only horse that remained to him. In this manner I arrived at Marchienne-au-Pont at four o'clock in the morning, alone, without any officers of my staff, ignorant of the fate of the emperor, of whom, before the end of the battle I had entirely lost sight, and who, I had reason to believe, was either killed or taken prisoner. General Pamphile Lacroix, chief of the staff of the second corps, whom I found in this city, having told me that the emperor was at Charleroi, I supposed that his majesty intended to place himself at the head of marshal Grouchy's corps, to cover the Sambre, and to facilitate to the troops the means of rallying near Avesnes, and, with this persuasion, I proceeded to Beaumont; but parties of cavalry followed us too closely, and having already intercepted the roads of Maubeuge and Philippeville, I became sensible of the total impossibility of arresting a single soldier on that point to oppose the progress of the victorious enemy, I continued my march upon Avesnes, where I could obtain no intelligence concerning the emperor.

In this state of things, having no intelligence of his majesty, nor of the major-general, the disorder increasing every instant, and, with the exception of some veterans of the regiments of the guard and of the line, every one pursued his own inclination, I determined to proceed immediately to Paris, by St. Quentin, and disclose, as quickly as possible, the true state of affairs to the minister of war, that he might send some fresh troops to meet the army, and rapidly adopt the measures which circumstances required. At my arrival at Bourget, three leagues from Paris, I learned that the emperor had passed through that place at nine o'clock in the morning.

Such, M. le Duc, is a faithful history of this calamitous campaign.

I now ask those who have survived that fine and numerous army, how I can be accused of the disasters of which it has been the victim, and of which our military annals furnish no example? I have, it is said, betrayed my country—I who, to serve it, have shewn a zeal which I have perhaps carried too far; but this calumny is not and cannot be supported by any fact or any presumption. Whence have these odious reports, which spread with frightful rapidity, arisen? If, in the inquiries which I have made on this subject, I had not feared almost as much to discover as to be ignorant of the truth, I should declare that every circumstance proves that I have been basely deceived, and that it is attempted to cover, under the veil of treason, the errors and extravagancies of this campaign; errors which have not been avowed in the bulletins that have appeared, and against which I have in vain raised that voice of truth which I will yet cause to resound in the chamber of peers. I expect from the justice of your excellency, and from your kindness to me, that you will cause this letter to be inserted in the journals, and give it the greatest possible publicity.

I renew to your excellency, &c.

Marshal prince of the Moskwa.

Paris, June 26th, 1815.

MARSHAL DE GROUCHY'S ACCOUNT OF THE AFFAIR AT WAVRE.

Dinant, June 20th, 1815.

It was not till after seven in the evening of the 18th of June that I received the letter of the duke of Dalmatia, which directed me to march on St. Lambert, and to attack general Bulow. I fell in with the enemy as I was marching on Wavre. He was immediately driven into Wavre, and general Vandamme's corps attacked that town, and was warmly engaged. The portion of Wavre, on the right of the Dyle was carried, but much difficulty was experienced in debouching on the other side. General Girard was

wounded by a ball in the breast, while endeavouring to carry the mill of Bielge, in order to pass the river, but in which he did not succeed, and lieutenant-general Aix had been killed in the attack on the town. In this state of things, being impatient to cooperate with your majesty's army on that important day, I detached several corps to force the passage of the Dyle and march against Bulow. The corps of Vandamme, in the meantime, maintained the attack on the Wavre, and on the mill, whence the enemy showed an intention to debouch, but which I did not conceive he was capable of effecting. I arrived at Limalle, passed the river, and the heights were carried by the division of Vichery and the cavalry. Night did not permit us to advance further, and I no longer heard the cannon on the side where your majesty was engaged.

I halted in this situation until day-light. Wavre and Bielge were occupied by the Prussians, who, at three in the morning of the 18th, attacked in their turn, wishing to take advantage of the difficult position in which I was, and expecting to drive me into the defile, and take the artillery which had debouched, and make me repass the Dyle. Their efforts were fruitless. The Prussians were repulsed, and the village of Bielge taken. The brave general Penney was killed.

General Vandamme then passed one of his divisions by Bielge, and carried with ease the heights of Wavre, and along the whole of my line the success was complete. I was in front of Rozierne, preparing to march on Brussels, when I received the sad intelligence of the loss of the battle of Waterloo. The officer who brought it informed me, that your majesty was retreating on the Sambre, without being able to indicate any particular point on which I should direct my march. I ceased to pursue, and began my retrograde movement. The retreating enemy did not think of following me. Learning that the enemy had already passed the Sambre, and was on my flank, and not being sufficiently strong to make a diversion in favour of your majesty, without compromising the army which I commanded, I marched on Namur. At this moment the rear of the columns were attacked. That of the left made a retrograde movement sooner than was expected, which endangered for a moment the retreat of the left; but good dispositions soon repaired every thing, and two pieces which had been taken were recovered by the brave 20th dragoons, who besides took an howitzer from the enemy. We entered Namur without loss. The long defile which extends from this place to Dinant, in which only a single column can march, and the embarrassment arising from the numerous transports of wounded, rendered it necessary to hold for a considerable time the town, in which I had not the means of blowing up the bridge. I intrusted the defence of Namur to general Vandamme, who, with his usual intrepidity, maintained himself there till eight in the evening; so that nothing was left behind, and I occupied Dinant.

The enemy has lost some thousands of men in the attack on Namur, where the contest was very obstinate: the troops have performed their duty in a manner worthy of praise.

(Signed) DE GROUCHY.

CHAP. XIV.——1815.

Important and authentic letters from various individuals who were actually present in the battle of Waterloo, or afterwards traversed the sacred and interesting scene of that memorable conflict.—Letters from an officer to his friend in Cumberland: from officers of the guards.—Capture of Buonaparte's carriage.—Effects of the Irish hotel.—Narratives of an inhabitant of Brussels, and of a German officer.—Buonaparte's conduct during and after the battle: his opinions and conversation.—Statement of his guide Lacoste.—A survey of the field of Waterloo, by J. Simpson, Esq.

BEFORE we introduce the reader to the following statements respecting this great battle, which have been given by rival and opposing parties, it is proper to mention the extreme difficulty of collecting accurate details on military subjects. When, after the victory of Aumale, in which Henry the fourth was wounded, he called his generals around his bed, to give him an account of the occurrences since he had left the field, no two officers could agree in the narration of the very events in which they had been actors: and the king, impressed with the difficulty of ascertaining facts so evident and recent, exclaimed, "Such is history!" If there be any fact on which we might expect the unanimity of witnesses, it would be the precise hour at which the action of the 18th commenced. It must have been notorious to every man in both armies, and there could exist no motive on either side for misrepresentation. At Waterloo, where the whole of the army was visible, there could have been no possibility, we should have thought, of mistake, and yet nothing can be more various and discordant than the statements on this point with regard to the battle. The duke of Wellington and Blucher say that the conflict commenced about ten. General Alava, who never quitted the side of the duke during the early part of the action, says half-past eleven. Drouet and Buonaparte concur in stating twelve; and Ney dates the commencement at one. The difference must arise from the occurrence of preliminary skirmishes, and at such times men are more likely to speak by conjecture than observation.

In the preceding chapters, therefore, we have only stated those important and decisive facts, on which all parties are agreed, leaving those collateral, disputed, and incidental circumstances, which did not harmonise with a connected narrative, or on which the respective writers are at variance, to the judgment of the reader. The statements of individuals who have been actual observers of the scene of action are at all times valuable: and the letters of private observers, if they bear not the stamp of official formality, are distinguished by an animation and sensibility of feeling not to be found in the regular reports.

LETTER FROM AN OFFICER TO HIS FRIEND IN CUMBERLAND.

Camp of Clichy.

All the sharers of my tent having gone to Paris, and my servant having manufactured a window-shutter into a table, and a pack-saddle into a seat, I will no longer delay answering your two affectionate letters, and endeavour to comply with your demand of an account of the battle such as it offered to my own eyes.

On the 15th of June, every thing appeared so perfectly quiet, that the duchess of Richmond gave a ball and supper, to which all the world was invited; and it was not till near ten o'clock at night that rumours of an action having taken place between the French and Prussians, were circulated through the room in whispers: no credit was given to them, however, for some time; but when the general officers, whose corps were in advance, began to move, and when orders were given for persons to repair to their regiments, matters then began to be considered in a different light. At eleven o'clock the drums beat to arms, and the 5th division, which

garrisoned Brussels, after having bivouacked in the park until day-light, set forward towards the frontiers. On the road we met baggage and sick coming to the rear; but could only learn that the French and Prussians had been fighting the day before, and that another battle was expected when they left the advanced posts. At two o'clock we arrived at Genappe, from whence we heard firing very distinctly; half an hour afterwards we saw the French columns advancing, and we had scarcely taken our position when they attacked us. Our front consisted of the 3d and 5th divisions, with some Nassau people, and a brigade of cavalry, in all about 13,000 men; while the French forces, according to Ney's account, must have been immense, as his reserve alone consisted of 30,000, which, however, he says, Buonaparte disposed of without having advertised him. The business was begun by the first battalion of the 95th, which was sent to drive the enemy out of some corn-fields, and a thick wood, of which they had possession: after sustaining some loss, we succeeded completely; and three companies of Brunswickers were left to keep it, while we acted on another part of the line: they, however, were driven out immediately; and the French also got possession of a village which turned our flanks. We were then obliged to return, and it took us the whole day to retake what had been lost. While we were employed here, the remainder of the army were in a much more disagreeable situation: for in consequence of our inferiority in cavalry, each regiment was obliged to form a square, in which manner the most desperate attacks of infantry and charges of cavalry were resisted and repelled; and when night put an end to the slaughter, the French not only gave up every attempt on our position, but retired from their own, on which we bivouacked.—I will not attempt to describe the sort of night we passed—I will leave you to conceive it. The groans of the wounded and dying, to whom no relief could be afforded, must not be spoken of here, because on the 18th it was fifty thousand times worse. But a handful of men lying in the face of such superior numbers, and being obliged to sleep in squares for fear the enemy's dragoons, knowing that we were weak in that arm, might make a dash into the camp, was no very pleasant reverie to soothe one to rest. Exclusive of this, I was annoyed by a wound I had received in the thigh, and which was become excessively painful. I had no great coat, and small rain continued falling until late the next day, when it was succeeded by torrents. Boney, however, was determined not to give us much respite, for he attacked our piquets at two in the morning; some companies of the 95th were sent to their support; and we continued skirmishing until eleven o'clock, when the duke commenced his retreat, which was covered by lord Uxbridge. The blues and life guards behaved extremely well.

The whole of the 17th, and indeed until late the next morning, the weather continued dreadful; and we were starving with hunger, no provision having been served out since the march from Brussels. While five officers who composed our mess were looking at each other with the most deplorable faces imaginable, one of the men brought us a fowl he had plundered, and a handful of biscuits, which, though but little, added to some tea we boiled in a camp-kettle, made us rather more comfortable; and we huddled up together, covered ourselves with straw, and were soon as soundly asleep as though reposing on beds of down. I awoke long before day-light, and found myself in a very bad state altogether, being completely wet through in addition to all other ills. Fortunately I soon after this found my way to a shed, of which sir Andrew Barnard (our commandant) had taken possession, where there was a fire, and in which, with three or four others, I remained until the rain abated. About ten o'clock the sun made his appearance, to view the mighty struggle which was to determine the fate of Europe; and about an hour afterwards the French made their dispositions for the attack, which commenced on the right. The duke's dispatch will give you a more accurate idea of the ground, and of the grand scale of operations, than I can do; and I shall therefore confine myself to details of less importance, which he has passed over.

After having tried the right, and found

it strong, Buonaparte manœuvred until he got 40 pieces of artillery to play on the left, where the 5th division, a brigade of heavy dragoons, and two companies of artillery, were posted. Our lines were formed behind a hedge, with two companies of the 95th extended in front, to annoy the enemy's approach. For some time we saw that Buonaparte intended to attack us; yet as nothing but cavalry were visible, no one could imagine what were his plans. It was generally supposed that he would endeavour to turn our flank. But all on a sudden, his cavalry turned to the right and left, and shewed large masses of infantry, who advanced up in the most gallant style, to the cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" while a most tremendous cannonade was opened to cover their approach. They had arrived at the very hedge behind which we were—the muskets were almost muzzle to muzzle, and a French mounted officer had seized the colours of the 32d regiment, when poor Picton ordered the charge of our brigade, commanded by sir James Kempt. When the French saw us rushing through the hedge, and heard the tremendous huzza which we gave, they turned; but instead of running, they walked off in close columns with the greatest steadiness, and allowed themselves to be butchered without any material resistance. At this moment, part of general Ponsonby's brigade of heavy cavalry took them in flank, and, besides killed and wounded, nearly 2000 were made prisoners. Now Buonaparte again changed his plan of attack. He sent a great force both on the right and left; but his chief aim was the centre, through which lay the road to Brussels, and to gain this he appeared determined. What we had hitherto seen was mere "boy's play" in comparison with the "tug of war" which took place from this time (3 o'clock) until the day was decided. All our army was formed in solid squares—the French cuirassiers advanced to the mouth of our cannon—rushed on our bayonets: sometimes walked their horses on all sides of a square to look for an opening, through which they might penetrate, or dashed madly on, thinking to carry every think by desperation. But not a British soldier moved; all personal feeling was forgotten in the enthusiasm of such a moment. Each person seemed to think the day depended on his individual exertions, and both sides vied with each other in acts of gallantry. Buonaparte charged with his imperial guards. The duke of Wellington led on a brigade, consisting of the 52d and 95th regiments. Lord Uxbridge was with every squadron of cavalry which was ordered forward. Poor Picton was killed at the head of our division, while advancing. But in short, look through the list engaged on that day, and it would be difficult to point out one who had not distinguished himself as much as another.—Until eight o'clock the contest raged without intermission, and a feather seemed only wanting in either scale to turn the balance. At this hour, our situation on the left centre was desperate. The 5th division, having borne the brunt of the battle, was reduced from 6000 to 1800. The 6th division, at least the British part of it, consisting of four regiments, formed in our rear as a reserve, was almost destroyed, without having fired a shot, by the terrible play of artillery, and the fire of the light troops. The 27th had 400 men, and every officer but one subaltern, knocked down in square, without moving an inch, or discharging one musket; and at that time I mention, both divisions could not oppose a sufficient front to the enemy, who was rapidly advancing with crowds of fresh troops. We had not a single company for support, and the men were so completely worn out, that it required the greatest exertion on the part of the officers to keep up their spirits. Not a soldier thought of giving ground; but victory seemed hopeless, and they gave themselves up to death with perfect indifference. A last effort was our only chance. The remains of the regiments were formed as well as the circumstances allowed, and when the French came within about 40 paces, we set up a death-howl, and dashed at them. They fled immediately, not in a regular manner as before, but in the greatest confusion.

Their animal spirits were exhausted, the panic spread, and in five minutes the army was in complete disorder: at this critical moment firing was heard on our left; the Prussians were now coming down on the right

flank of the French, which increased their flight to such a degree, that no mob was ever a greater scene of confusion; the road was blocked up by artillery; the dragoons rode over the infantry; arms, knapsacks, every thing was thrown away, and "*sauve qui peut*" seemed indeed to be the universal feeling.—At eleven o'clock, when we halted, and gave the pursuit to Blucher's fresh troops, 150 pieces of cannon and numbers of prisoners had fallen into our hands. I will not attempt to describe the scene of slaughter which the fields presented, or what any person possessed of the least spark of humanity must have felt, while we viewed the dreadful situation of some thousands of wounded wretches who remained without assistance through a bitter cold night, succeeded by a day of most scorching heat; English and French were dying by the side of each other; and I have no doubt, hundreds who were not discovered when the dead were buried, and who were unable to crawl to any habitation, must have perished by famine. For my own part, when we halted for the night, I sunk down almost insensible from fatigue; my spirits and strength were completely exhausted. I was so weak, and the wound in my thigh so painful, from want of attention, and in consequence of severe exercise, that after I got to Nivelles, and secured quarters, I did not awake regularly for 36 hours.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM AN OFFICER IN THE GUARDS.

Bavay, June 21, 1815.

I date my letter from the first town in France, we having this morning, for the second time, violated its boasted frontiers, and that too in the very teeth of a triple line of fortresses, and on the anniversary of Vittoria, after a battle, which, notwithstanding the brilliant and most glorious tale of the 21st of June, 1813, must in every way rank above it, in the page of history.

Assured of my safety, you will doubtless be anxious for an account of the three eventful days I have witnessed; and therefore I lose no time in gratifying your curiosity, particularly as I am aware of your desire to be informed of every thing relating to your friends the guards. We were suddenly moved from Enghien, where we had remained so many weeks in tranquillity, on the night of the 15th instant, or rather the morning of the 16th, at three o'clock. We continued on our march through Braine-le-Comte (which had been the prince of Orange's head-quarters), and from thence on to Nivelles, where we halted, and the men began making fires, and cooking. During the whole of this time, and as we approached the town, we heard distinctly a constant roar of cannon; and we had scarcely rested ourselves, and commenced dressing the rations, which had been served out at Enghien, when an aide-de-camp from the duke of Wellington arrived, and ordered us instantly under arms, and to advance with all speed to Les Quatre Bras, where the action was going on with the greatest fury, and where the French were making rapid strides towards the object they had in view, which was to gain a wood called "Bois de Bossu;" a circumstance calculated to possess them of the road to "Nivelles," and to enable them to turn the flank of the British and Brunswickers, and to cut off the communication between them and the other forces which were coming up. The order was, of course, instantly obeyed; the meat which was cooking was thrown away; the kettles, &c. packed up, and we proceeded, as fast as our tired legs would carry us, towards a scene of slaughter, which was a prelude well calculated to usher in the bloody tragedy of the 18th.

We marched up towards the enemy, at each step hearing more clearly the fire of musquetry; and as we approached the field of action, we met constantly waggons full of men, of all the various nations under the duke's command, wounded in the most dreadful manner. The sides of the road had a heap of dying and dead, very many of whom were British: such a scene did, indeed, demand every better feeling of the mind to cope with its horrors; and too much cannot be said in praise of the division of guards, the very largest part of whom were young soldiers, and volunteers from the militia, who had never been exposed to the fire of an enemy, or witnessed its effects. During the period of our advance from Nivelles, I suppose nothing could exceed the anxiety

of the moment with those on the field. The French, who had a large cavalry and artillery, (in both of which arms we were quite destitute, excepting some Belgian and German guns,) had made dreadful havoc in our lines, and had succeeded in pushing an immensely strong column of tirailleurs into the wood I have before mentioned, of which they had possessed themselves, and had just began to cross the road, having marched through the wood, and placed affairs in a critical situation, when the guards luckily came in sight. The moment we caught a glimpse of them we halted, formed, and having loaded, and fixed bayonets, advanced; the French immediately retiring; and the very last man who attempted to re-enter the wood was killed by our grenadiers. At this instant our men gave three glorious cheers, and, though we had marched fifteen hours without any thing to eat and drink, save the water we procured on the march, we rushed to attack the enemy. This was done by the 1st brigade, consisting of the 2d and 3d battalions of the first regiment; and the 2d brigade, consisting of the 2d battalion of the Coldstream and third regiment, were formed as a reserve along the chaussée. As we entered the wood, a few noble fellows, who sunk down overpowered with fatigue, lent their voice to cheer their comrades. The trees were so thick, that it was beyond any thing difficult to effect a passage. As we approached, we saw the enemy behind them, taking aim at us: they contested every bush, and at a small rivulet running through the wood they attempted a stand, but could not resist us, and we at last succeeded in forcing them out of their possessions. The moment we endeavoured to go out of this wood (which had naturally broken us), the French cavalry charged us; but we at last found the third battalion, who had rather *skirted* the wood, and formed in front of it, where they afterwards were in hollow square, and repulsed all the attempts of the French cavalry to break them. Our loss was most tremendous, and nothing could exceed the desperate work of the evening; the French infantry and cavalry fought most desperately; and after a conflict of nearly three hours, (the obstinacy of which could find no parallel, save in the slaughter it occasioned,) we had the happiness to find ourselves complete masters of the road and wood, and that we had at length defeated all the efforts of the French to outflank us, and turn our right, than which nothing could be of greater moment to both parties. General Picton's superb division had been engaged since two o'clock P. M. and was still fighting with the greatest fury: no terms can be found sufficient to explain their exertions. The fine brigade of Highlanders suffered most dreadfully, and so did all the regiments engaged. The gallant and noble conduct of the Brunswickers was the admiration of every one. I myself saw scarcely any of the Dutch troops; but a regiment of Belgian light cavalry held a long struggle with the famous cuirassiers, in a way that can never be forgotten; they, poor fellows, were nearly all cut to pieces. These French cuirassiers charged two German guns, with the intent of taking them, to turn them down the road on our flank. This charge was made along the chaussee running from Charleroi to Brussels; the guns were placed near the farm-houses of Les Quatre Bras, and were loaded, and kept till their close arrival. Two companies (I think of Highlanders), posted behind a house and dung-hill, who flanked the enemy on their approach, and the artillery, received them with such a discharge, and so near, as to lay (with an effect like magic) the whole head of the column low; causing it to fly, and be nearly all destroyed. We had fought till dark; the French became less impetuous, and after a little cannonade they retired from the field. Alas! when we met after the action, how many were wanting among us; how many, who were in the full pride of youth and manhood, had gone to that bourn from whence they could return no more! I shall now close my letter; and in my next will endeavour to give you some description of the 18th; for, to add to this account now, would be but to harrow up your mind with scenes of misery, of which those only who have been a witness can form an adequate idea.

FROM THE SAME.

Village of Gommignies, June 22, 1815.

Having completed our day's march, I once

more take up my pen, and after giving you some of the leading features of the 17th, shall do my best to relate to you, as far as lies in my power, the most striking incidents of the glorious day of Waterloo. At day-break, on the 17th, we were again under arms, having snatched a hurried repose to our wearied limbs, on the ground near which we fought. Uncertain as to the movements of the enemy, or whether they purposed renewing their attack, we were in a state of anxious suspense: and the skirmishing at intervals in our front made us expect that something was about to be done; during all this time we were employed, by parties, in bringing in our wounded companions, whom the darkness had the night before prevented our finding, and in doing our best to be ready for any thing that might occur, and in assuaging, as well as we could, the sufferings of those around us. We succeeded in finding the bodies of our four officers, captains Grose and Brown, ensigns lord Hay and Barrington, who were killed; and had the melancholy satisfaction of paying the last tribute of respect to their remains. They were buried near the wood, and one of our officers read the service over them. Never did I witness a scene more imposing; those breasts which had, a few hours back, boldly encountered the greatest perils, did not now disdain to be subdued by pity and affection; and if the ceremony wanted the real clerical solemnity due to its sacred character, it received an ample equivalent in this mark of genuine regard, and the sincerity with which we wished them a more immortal Halo, than that which honour will confer. The whole night was occupied in getting up the cavalry and artillery; and report said, that the duke of Wellington had it in contemplation to become, in his turn, the assailant; be that as it may, we were ordered to fall back by the Charleroi road, through Genappe, to our position of Waterloo. I will not invite you to accompany us on our march, which was only marked by fatigue, dust, heat, and thirst.—After halting for a short time, to ascertain our actual position, we marched to it, and were greeted by one of the very hardest showers of rain I ever remember to have seen, which lasted nearly half an hour—it then ceased. The whole afternoon was taken up by the various divisions getting to their respective posts, and making active preparations for the expected attack on the morrow. Our position was a very compact one; the extreme left resting on Ter la Haye, the left centre on La Haye Sainte, and the right centre on Hougoumont; and the extreme right was thrown back to a certain degree, in consequence of a ravine, which would otherways have laid it open to the enemy.

We were posted near Hougoumont, into which the four light companies of the division of guards, under colonel M'Donald and lord Saltoun, were thrown. The house had a large garden attached to it, laid out in the Dutch fashion, with parallel walks and high thick hedges, and was surrounded by an orchard. As the army fell back, the enemy's cavalry attacked the rear, and there were constant skirmishes and charges of cavalry during the day. Towards seven o'clock in the evening the French cannonaded Hougoumont and our position for near an hour and a half, and were answered by the guns on the top of the hill in our front. We were moved back a little distance to get out of the exact range of the shot, and after continuing during the time I have above mentioned, eagerly awaiting a further developement of their attack, the firing ceased, and we continued till the morning in the situation we now held. The weather, which had hitherto been showery, became settled into a decided and heavy rain, which continued in actual torrents the complete night through, accompanied by a gale of wind, and constant thunder and lightning. Such a night few have witnessed, it was one that imagination would paint as alone fit for the festival of the dæmons of death, and for the fates to complete the web of those brave souls whose thread of life was so nearly spun. After such a night of horrors and contending expectations, the dawn of any kind of day was welcome; it seemed, however, with difficulty to break through the heavy clouds which overhung the earth, and appeared so slowly, that it seemed as if nature reluctantly lent her light to assist at the scene of carnage and distress, which was to mark the history of this eventful day. Our artillery, which had the night

before so admirably answered the fire of the French guns, was all placed on the heights in our front. It is here nsecesary for me to remark, that our position comprehended the two roads from Charleroi and Nivelles to Brussels, which united at the village of Mont St. Jean, and formed rather an acute angle. The prince of Orange's corps composed the first line, with the whole artillery in its front, and lord Hill's corps the right flank and second line.

About a quarter past eleven o'clock, A. M. the battle commenced, by the French making a most desperate and impetuous attack upon Hougoumont, against which, as well as La Hay Sainte, they directed their most furious efforts during the whole day. Hougoumont, however, appeared to be the principal object they had in view, since its possession would have uncovered our flank, and have afforded them a most fatal advantage over our line; in a word, had it been lost, nothing short of its being re-taken at any rate could have repaired the misfortune. The French opened upon us a dreadful cross-fire, from three hundred pieces of artillery, which was answered with a most uncommon practice from our guns; but to be just, we must own that the French batteries were served in a manner that was terrible. During this period, the enemy pushed his troops into the orchard, &c. &c. and after its being contested for some hours, he succeeded in reducing our men to nothing but the house itself. Every tree, every walk, every hedge, every avenue had been fought for with an obstinacy almost unparalleled; and the French were killed all round, and at the very door of the house, to which, as well as a hay-stack, they succeeded in setting fire; and, though all in flames over their heads, our brave fellows never suffered them to penetrate beyond the threshold; the greatest part of the wounded on both sides were, alas, here burned to death! In consequence of this success on the part of the French, the Coldstream and third regiment were ordered into the wood, from whence they drove the enemy; and every subsequent struggle they made to re-possess themselves of it proved abortive. The places of these two battalions of guards were supplied by two of our gallant friends, the black Brunswickers, who seemed, like salamanders, to revel in the smoke and flames. The 2d and 3d battalions of the first regiment were formed with the two battalions of Brunswickers into hollow squares, on the slope and summit of the hill, so as to support each other; and in this situation we all lay down, till between three and four o'clock P. M., in order to avoid the storm of death, which was flying close over our heads, and at almost every moment carrying destruction among us: and it is, you will allow, a circumstance highly creditable to those men, to have lain so many hours under a fire, which, for intensity and precision, was never, I believe, equalled; with nothing else to occupy their attention, save watching their companions falling around them, and listening to their mournful cries. It was about the time I have just named, that the enemy, having gained the orchard, commenced their desperate charges of cavalry, under cover of the smoke which the burning houses, &c. had caused; the whole of which the wind drifted towards us, and thus prevented our observing their approach. At this period the battle assumed a character beyond description interesting, and anxiously awful. Buonaparte was about to use against us an arm, which he had never yet wielded but with success. Confidently relying upon the issue of this attack, he charged our artillery and infantry, hoping to capture the one, and break the other, and, by instantly establishing his own infantry on the heights, to carry the Brussels road, and throw our line into confusion.—These cavalry, selected for their tried gallantry and skill (not their height or mustachios), who were the terror of northern Europe, and had never yet been foiled, were first brought up by the 3d battalion of the 1st regiment. Never was British valour and discipline so pre-eminent as on this occasion; the steady appearance of this battalion caused the famous cuirassiers to pull up; and a few of them, with a courage worthy a better cause, rode out of the ranks, and fired at our people and mounted officers with their pistols, hoping to make the face of the square throw its fire upon them, and thus become an easy prey: but our men, with a steadiness no language can do justice to, defied their efforts,

and did not pull a single trigger. The French then made a sudden rush, but were received in such a manner, and with a volley so well directed, as at once to turn them; they then made an attempt on the 2d battalion, and the Brunswickers, with similar success; and, astonished at their own failure, the cool intrepidity of their opponents, and the British cheers, they faced about. This same game was played in succession by the imperial horse guards, and Polish lancers, none of whom could at all succeed in breaking our squares, or making the least impression upon them whatever. During their attacks, our cavalry rushed out from between the squares, and carried havoc through the enemy's ranks, which were nearly all destroyed. I cannot here resist relating an anecdote of major Lloyd, of the artillery, who, with another officer (whose name I could not learn), was obliged to take refuge in our square at the time these charges were made, being unable to continue longer at their posts. There was a gun between our battalion and the Brunswickers, which had been drawn back; this major Lloyd, with his friend, discharged five or six times at the French cavalry, alternately loading it and retiring to the square, as circumstances required. We could see the French knocked off their horses as fast as they came up, and one cannot refuse to call them men of singular gallantry; one of them, indeed, an officer of imperial guards, seeing a gun about to be discharged at his companions, rode at it, and never suffered its fire to be repeated while he lived. He was at length killed by a Brunswick rifleman, and certainly saved a large part of his regiment by this act of self-devotion. Thus discomfited, Buonaparte renewed his cannonade, which was destructive to a degree, preparatory to an attack of his whole infantry. I constantly saw the noble duke of Wellington riding backwards and forwards, like the genius of the storm, who, borne upon its wings, directed its thunders where to burst. He was every where to be found, encouraging, directing, animating. He was in a blue coat, and a plain cocked hat, his telescope in his hand; there was nothing that escaped him, nothing that he did not take advantage of, and his lynx's eyes seemed to penetrate the smoke, and forestal the movements of the foe. How he escaped, that merciful Power alone can tell, who vouchsafed to the allied arms the issue of this pre-eminent contest; for such it is, whether considered as an action by itself, or with regard to the results which it has brought about. Upon the cavalry being repulsed, the duke himself ordered our second battalion to form line with the third battalion, and, after advancing to the brow of the hill, to lie down and shelter ourselves from the fire. Here we remained, I imagine, near an hour. It was now about seven o'clock. The French infantry had in vain been brought up against our line, and, as a last resource, Buonaparte resolved upon attacking our part of the position with his veteran imperial guard, promising them the plunder of Brussels. Their artillery covered them, and they advanced in solid column to where we lay. The duke, who was riding behind us, watched their approach, and at length, when within a hundred yards of us, exclaimed, "Up, guards, and at them again!" Never was there a prouder moment than this for our country or ourselves. The household troops of both nations were now, for the first time, brought in contact, and on the issue of their struggle the greatest of stakes was placed. The enemy did not expect to meet us so soon; we suffered them to approach still nearer, and then delivered a fire into them which made them halt; a second, like the first, carried hundreds of deaths into their mass; and, without suffering them to deploy, we gave them three British cheers, and a British charge of the bayonet. This was too much for their nerves, and they fled in disorder. The shape of their column was tracked by their dying and dead, and not less than three hundred of them had fallen in two minutes to rise no more. Seeing the fate of their companions, a regiment of tirailleurs of the guard attempted to attack our flank; we instantly charged them, and our cheers rendered any thing further unnecessary, for they never awaited our approach. The French now formed solid squares in their rear, to resist our advance, which, however, our cavalry cut to pieces. The duke now ordered the whole line to move forward: nothing could be more beautiful. The sun, which

had hitherto been veiled, at this instant shed upon us in departing rays, as if to smile upon the efforts we were making, and bless them with success. As we proceeded in line down the slope, the regiments on the high ground, on our flanks, were formed into hollow squares, in which manner they accompanied us, in order to protect us from cavalry—the blow was now struck, the victory was complete, and the enemy fled in every direction: his *déroute* was the most perfect ever known; in the space of a mile and a half along the road, we found more than 30 guns, besides ammunition waggons, &c. &c. Our noble and brave co-adjutors, the Prussians, who had some time since been dealing out havoc in the rear of the enemy, now falling in with our line of march, we halted, and let them continue the pursuit. Buonaparte fled the field on the advance of the Prussians, and the annihilation of his imperial guard, with whose overthrow all his hopes perished. Thus ended the day of "Waterloo." The skill and courage of our artillery could not be exceeded. The brigade of guards, in Hougoumont, suffered nothing to rob them of their post: every regiment eclipsed its former deeds by the glories of to-day; and I cannot better close this than by informing you, that when we halted for the night, which we did close to where Buonaparte had been during a great portion of the battle, and were preparing our bivouack by the road side, a regiment of Prussian lancers coming by, halted and played "*God save the King*," than which nothing could be more appropriate or grateful to our feelings; and I am sure I need scarcely add, that we gave them three heartfelt cheers, as the only return we could then offer."

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER BY ANOTHER.

On the evening of the 15th we heard that the French were passing the frontiers, and we received orders to hold ourselves in readiness to march; at two o'clock we received our orders to march, and were off at three. We passed through Braine-le-Comte, and proceeded to a bivouack near Nivelles.—While we were setting ourselves down, an order came to move immediately to the left, through Nivelles—having passed it, we heard the firing very close, and soon met many wounded Belgians coming in. At five o'clock general Maitland galloped up, and ordered the grenadiers to drive the French out of a wood, and in about half an hour we perfectly cleared it. When we opened at the end of the wood, the enemy threw in a most tremendous fire of round and grape shot, from which we found it necessary to retire. We got out of the wood in another part, and they immediately advanced columns to attack us, which deployed very regularly, and drove us a short way back. However, we advanced again; and they gave way, and retired to their guns. They then advanced upon us, and having driven us back a second time, their cavalry attempted to charge; but a square of *Black Brunswickers* brought them up, while we were nimbly slipt into the wood on our right, lined the ditches, and paid them handsomely. Our loss was very severe, and we found great difficulty in forming our line again. At last we effected it with the third battalion of our regiment, and then we drove every thing before us. We kept possession of the wood all night. The Prussians and French had been engaged from two o'clock in the morning in the position of Fleurus; and the former had been driven back. The French then tried to get possession of the road to Brussels. They had a severe contest with the Dutch, and one of our divisions, and had succeeded in driving the Dutch out of a wood (Bossu I think it is called). We arrived at the very moment the French skirmishers were appearing. We dashed in and cut them up properly, though our loss was severe. Out of 84, I had only 43 left in my company. At night the remains of the battalion bivouacked at the head of the road, and during the night we received a strong reinforcement. They call this the action of Quatre Bras (where two high roads cross). In the morning of the 17th the enemy made no further attempt against us; and as the Prussians had retired during the night, we did the same very leisurely, about 11 o'clock, taking up a position in front of a village called Waterloo, at a point where the high road, or chaussée, to Brussels crosses that from Nivelles to Namur. Here we remained quiet through the night,

except that it rained more furiously than ever I experienced, even in Spain. We were quite wet through, and literally up to the ancles in mud. The cavalry were considerably engaged during the day of the 17th, but the hussars could not make much impression against their heavy armed opponents. The life guards behaved most nobly, and carried every thing before them. The morning of the 18th dawned full of expectation of something decisive being done.

But first I must give you some idea of our position. It ran from the Brussels chaussée to the right, about a mile and a half in length, and then turned very sharply to the right, and crossed the chaussée from Nivelles to Namur, which two chaussées cross each other, so that we were nearly in a quarter circle (like an open fan, the two outside sticks being the chaussées.

At the turn, and at the bottom of a slope, was a farm and orchards, called Hougoumont. This was the key of our positions, and in front of our centre. On this point the most serious attack was made.

At twelve o'clock the columns of the enemy moved down from the heights which they had occupied during the night, and our artillery began to cannonade them most furiously, which their artillery returned; and it is said that 300 pieces were in use that day. The British infantry were drawn up in columns under the ridge of the position. We were at the turn, or knuckle, with two battalions of Brunswickers. The third regiment of guards were in columns in front of the turn, and the Coldstream at the farmhouse. The light infantry of the division were to defend the orchard and small wood next to it. The third division were in squares to the left of our squares, and under cover of the ridge.

Unfortunately for us, during the cannonade, the shot and shells which passed over the artillery, fell into our squares, and I assure you I never was in a more awful situation. Col. Cook (who commanded the battalion) was struck with a grape shot as he sat on the ground next to me. The enemy now made an attack with infantry and cavalry on the left, in hopes of carrying the chaussée to Brussels; but the artillery guns cut them to pieces every time they advanced. They then attempted to charge the guns with cavalry; but the squares of infantry kept up so smart a fire that they could never reach our guns, though the artillerymen were obliged to leave them to get out of our fire. When the enemy found the attempt fail on this point, he ordered an attack on the farmhouse, which it was necessary for him to possess, in order to turn the right of our position. There it was that the serious struggle commenced. Two companies of light infantry, under lord Saltoun, disputed the wood and orchard most gallantly, but were at last obliged to retire under cover of the house, when the enemy were charged by the light infantry of the 2d brigade (the Coldstream and 3d), and driven back with great loss.—At this period the Coldstream entered the house, which the enemy set on fire by shells, but did not entirely consume it. The enemy were foiled in two repeated attempts, and were each time severely cut up by the artillery. When they failed in their attacks upon our squares, the cavalry rushed out from between our squares and cut them up most desperately. When he found these efforts vain, he began his attack upon the centre. He first endeavoured to carry the guns with his cavalry, which came up most gallantly; but our squares sent them to the right-about three times in great style. I never saw any thing so fine, the cavalry rushing out and picking up the deserted cannon. After these failures he brought up his *garde impériale*, just opposite to our brigade, which had formed in line on their advancing.—We were all lying under shelter of a small bank, as they covered their advance with a most terrible fire of grape and musketry.—Buonaparte led them himself to the rise of the hill, and told them "that was the way to Brussels:" we allowed them to approach very near, when we opened so destructive a fire that there were soon above 300 of them upon the ground, and they began to waver. We instantly charged, but they ran as fast as possible. The duke of Wellington, observing this crisis, brought up the 42d and 95th, taking the enemy in flank, and leading them himself quite close up. The enemy's column was entirely dispersed. After this, we were

again annoyed with grape and musketry, which obliged us to retire. On fronting, we saw another heavy column of the *chasseurs de la garde impériale*. We immediately started at double quick time to meet them; but they had had such a proper reception just before, that they never let us come near them; and when they turned, the route became general. We ran on as fast as we could, and the cavalry started after them. We got about two miles that evening, taking ourselves 30 pieces of cannon. Nothing could be more complete and decisive. Most fortunately the Prussians came on the field at this moment, and pursued the enemy through the night.

BUONAPARTE'S CARRIAGE.

The carriage of Napoleon was brought to England by major Von Kohler, into whose hands it fell, and is now exhibited at Mr. Bullock's museum, in Piccadilly. The history of this vehicle is remarkable, and many circumstances render it an object of much curiosity. It was built at Brussels, to convey Napoleon on his ill-fated expedition to Russia. It travelled as far as Moscow, and constituted almost the whole of the equipage, either of himself or his army, which escaped in his disastrous retreat. It afterwards carried him to Dresden, and brought him back a second time to France. After the campaign of Paris, it bore him to the shores of the Mediterranean, and was shipped with him for Elba. It was there used in all his excursions round that island; indeed he would never enter any other vehicle. When he planned his bold attempt to regain his throne, his troops were suffered to take neither equipage or baggage, but the favourite travelling carriage of the emperor was carefully shipped, and landed at Cannes. His triumphant journey to Paris was performed in it, nor would he quit it, although the state carriages were dispatched from Paris to convey him in triumph to his capital. When he departed to join his armies in the north of France, this chariot again accompanied him, and in it his political career seems to have terminated.

It is, in many respects, very like the modern English carriages. Its colour is a dark blue, with a light ornament in gold, the imperial arms painted on the doors. The springs, the pole, the wheels, &c. are uncommonly strong, and the whole of very excellent workmanship. But with all that the carriage is of an aukward appearance, because there is a great prominence in the front, which contains the room for bed, the *necessaire*, &c. The interior of the carriage proves that Buonaparte valued convenience and security. The blinds behind the windows shut and open by means of a spring, and may be closed so as to form an impenetrable barrier. They may, besides, be secured by a bolt on each side. On the ceiling of the carriage there is a net-work, to put small travelling requisites into. In the front there are many small compartments, partly, as it seems, for maps, partly for telescopes, &c. By the side of these small compartments there is a writing desk, which may be drawn out so as to write on it whilst riding: an ink-stand, some pens, sealing-wax, &c. were found in it. Beneath the writing desk there is a hole for the end of the patent iron bed, which was found in the carriage; and which may immediately be made up in the carriage. Two Merino mattresses seem to belong to the bed. Beneath the compartments for the maps is the room for the *necessaire*, which shall be described afterwards; and under the seat the room for the liquor case. On one of the doors of the carriage two pistol holsters were discovered, in which two rifled pistols, of the manufactory of Versailles, were found; and in a holster close to the seat a double-barrelled pistol was found too. Both these pistols were found loaded.

The seat is divided by a separation, so that the aide-de-camp sitting in the carriage with the ex-emperor, was never to touch the person of his haughty master. In the back of the coach there is a lanthorn, with a *reverbere*, and a pipe, with a spring before it, to put wax tapers into, of which the victors found a great many in the coach. There are four lamps on the corners of the carriage.

The four horses are of a brown colour, pretty stout Normans. The harness is very little worthy an imperial equipage, and is but to be recognised as belonging to it by the bees, which are to be seen at several places.

The two articles which were found in the carriage most worthy of a more accurate description, are the *necessaire* and the liquor case of the ex-emperor. The former is an elegant mahogany box, like the English writing desks, and has the imperial arms most beautifully engraved on the cover; the whole contains a multitude of articles both of necessity and luxury, all made of silver, and strongly gilt; an elegant tooth brush, razors of mother-of-pearl, an elegant shaving box, a small ink-stand and sand box, a tea-pot, with the sugar box in it, two elegant candlesticks, some small plates for breakfast, and even articles rarely to be met with in a *necessaire*; as, for instance, a gimblet, is to be met with here. That the ex-emperor did not forget to make his toilette *comme il faut* is to be proved, by several bottles with eau de Cologne, eau de Lavande, salt spirit, &c. and though he endeavoured to exclude all the products of the English manufactories from France and the continent, he allowed himself some Windsor soap. All these several articles are arranged in so very compact a manner, and in the limits of a box hardly 1½ feet by 8 inches, that it will excite the admiration of every observer.

The liquor case, made of mahogany, like the *necessaire*, contained two bottles, one of them filled with rum, the other with a sweet wine, now quite evaporated. There are, besides, to be found in it, a pepper and salt box, with the contents, a mustard box, and an oblong case for sandwiches, all of gilt silver; some silver knives, forks, and spoons, and some silver breakfast plates. In a small compartment of the case there was found a musket ball, reduced to the form of a thin lead medal; perhaps a ball by which one of his favourites was killed, or which had missed himself, and had been found in his clothes.

Besides these two curiosities, the contents of the carriage consisted of a pair of red morocco slippers, a green velvet cap, probably to be worn in the carriage, a silver chamber pot, a silver bidet, and his bedstead made of iron and folded together, so as to form a machine about 2½ feet long, and a large silver watch, with a silver chain to it, to hang it up in the carriage: it has an alarum, and on the whole, looks like a silver pocket watch, of uncommon size. A saddle cloth of Jerome Napoleon, of crimson velvet, with his initials, the eagle, and the bees, embroidered in gold, complete the whole.

THE IRISH.

The Irish howl, set up by the Inniskilling dragoons, and other Irish regiments, is reported to have carried almost as much dismay into the ranks of the enemy as their swords. The stubborn bravery and conduct of these regiments contributed much to the success of the day, it having been their lot to find themselves in the hottest part of the action, innumerable opportunities (particularly the Inniskilling) were afforded them of showing their devotion to their country's honour, and exalted sense of gallantry and duty. An officer of the Inniskilling says, "our brigade charged, upset, and completely destroyed, three large columns of infantry; at least 9000. The old Inniskillings behaved most gallantly."

His Royal Highness the prince of Orange, hurried by ardour into the midst of the battle, was surrounded and taken by the French. The seventh battalion perceived the prince's danger, hastened to his assistance, and succeeded in delivering him: his royal highness took off the insignia of his order, and threw it into the midst of the battalion, exclaiming, "Children, you have all deserved it!" It was fastened to their colours on the field of battle, amid cries of "Long live the Hereditary Prince!" All the Belgians swore to defend, even to death, this mark of honour: and, at this sublime moment, many of these brave men fell while pronouncing this patriotic oath.

Towards the close of the day, when he saw the lines were bending, he was at the head of his people, cheering and exciting them, amidst the hottest fire, when his royal highness received a musket-ball in his left arm, which lodged in his shoulder. *(Vide Dutch account.)*

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM AN OFFICER, FROM THE BIVOUACK NEAR LANDRECY.

After our bivouack of the 18th, after the battle, we marched to Nivelles, over the ter-

rible field: so horrible a scene scarcely any man ever witnessed; the ground, for the space of a league, was covered with bodies, absolutely lying in ranks, and horses grouped in heaps, with their riders. Towards our right was a chateau, which, during the battle, took fire from the enemy's shells; and in that state was heroically defended by Saltoun, and afterwards by the 2d brigade of guards. The appearance brought to my mind St. Sebastian; it was equally horrid, though on a smaller scale. I did not mention to you, in my last, that towards the close of the action, we were engaged with the imperial guard. After seven hours' dreadful cannonade, and during which we suffered very much from grape and shells, the French cavalry advanced in a gallop, in masses, up the slope of a gentle hill; they were arrested by a continual échelon of squares, whose cross fire cut them to pieces, our men standing like statues. After this succeeded a tiraillade (sharp-shooting) of about half an hour, when we all imagined the fight was over, and that it would die away with the night; but, to our surprise, the head of an immense column of the old guard appeared trampling down the corn fields in our front: they advanced to within one hundred and fifty yards of our brigade, without attempting to deploy or fire a shot. Our wings threw themselves immediately forward, and kept up such a murderous fire, that the enemy retired, losing half their numbers, who, without any exaggeration, literally lay in sections. Their loss in cannon is estimated at 160 pieces, and the Prussians take more every step they advance. I have now to tell you the lamentable loss of 32 officers of our regiment, which has left the command of the 2d battalion under Saltoun, and the third under Reeve, the two youngest captains. Maitland commands the division, and Fered the brigade, in consequence of general Cooke's wounds. Colonel Cooke was struck by a cannon-shot on the shoulder, about a foot above my head; but I believe his case is not hopeless. Those who were at Vittoria, Albuera, and Leipsic, say, their fire was not to be mentioned, or the carnage to be compared to that of Waterloo. The 73d regiment is commanded by lieutenant Robert Stewart, and the 1st light German battalion has only one captain left. Milnes, not being likely to recover, or Luttrell command for some time, I have this morning accepted the command of the regular light infantry company, instead of the supplementary one, which I commanded in the action. Greville is in company with me. We marched on the 19th to Nivelles, 20th to Binch, 21st to Bavay, and to-day to this place, 15 miles from Cambray, 5 miles from Quesnoy, and 10 from Landrecy. The hussar brigade, and some light troops, with a corps of Prussians, observe Maubeuge, and some Hanoverian cavalry are stationed round Quesnoy. The Prussians advance by Charleroi, Maubeuge, and Landrecy, and Givet. I hope soon to date from Paris.

FROM A CORRESPONDENT AT BRUSSELS, JUNE 22.

After the action of the 16th, which was uncommonly obstinate and bloody, both armies retired a few miles. The French occupied a large wood near Genappe: the English took up a strong position, with a village called Waterloo in their centre (which was head-quarters), about thirteen miles from Brussels, having the fine forest of Soigné, which extends from thence to the very gates of Brussels, in their rear. The Prussians, under general Bulow, were posted on the left of the Anglo-Belgic army, having the small town of Wavre for their head-quarters. All Saturday, the 17th, both sides were busy preparing for the terrible contest. A cannonade was kept up at intervals. The weather was sultry, with heavy showers, and much thunder and lightning. The British artillery and cavalry (the want of which was severely felt on the 16th) had now come up, with the 27th, and some other fresh regiments. The ground being unequal, the little hills and swells were furnished with cannon. These preparations continued till about noon of Sunday the 18th, when the French debouched from their coverts, and were astonished, but not daunted, to find us so well prepared to receive them. They made their attack with more than their usual impetuosity, attempting to cut our line, and turn our left wing; in which, if they had succeeded, they would have separated us from

the Prussians. To effect this, they made the most astonishing and reiterated efforts, column propelling column, whilst their artillery and mortars scattered destruction along our whole line. They, in fact, did succeed in breaking up some of our squares of infantry, notwithstanding the most heroic acts of courage that ever were displayed in any battle. But the enemy's columns were shaken; his men could no longer be made to stand; and his officers fought unsupported by their soldiers, like men in despair. At this critical moment, the grand and general charge was made. Our brave fellows poured down on the enemy with irresistible force; and about nine o'clock the French gave up the well-fought field, and retreated about six miles, leaving the ground thickly strewed with killed and wounded, arms, cannon, and baggage. How our great hero of the battle escaped being killed or taken is wonderful, as he was never exposed so much before.—He was seen with his spy-glass, viewing the manœuvres of the field, with the same *sang-froid* and self-possession that an astronomer might be supposed to view the satellites of Jupiter; whilst showers of balls and shells flew about him with evident direction, and which killed and wounded several of his staff. A select party of French cavalry cut their passage through our line of infantry, and were near succeeding in taking him prisoner. At one critical time, when our lines and squares were wavering, lord Wellington himself, at the head of the 95th, charged and drove back the most advanced of the enemy.

The feats of particular regiments were also remarkable. The 28th, formed into a square, repulsed the repeated efforts of the cuirassiers to break through them. The 73d did the same; it repulsed every thing until its flanks were opened by showers of grape.

The three Highland regiments, the 42d, 79th, and 92d, already thinned in the action of the 16th, and of which they bore the brunt, were now reduced to complete skeletons. Such was also the state of the 44th after the action. Nor were the acts of the cavalry less meritorious, particularly the heavy brigade. The charge was led by the 6th, or Enniskillen dragoons, with lord Ponsonby at their head. They cut down every thing before them, and overturned the French chasseurs like nine-pins. It is said they actually made 3,000 prisoners. They were followed up with equal intrepidity by the guards, the Scotch greys, and the 1st dragoon guards: but to enumerate the particular deeds of each would require the historic page to contain them. Suffice it to say, that all the British did their duty in the most exemplary manner, as they never fail to do: nor shall I tarnish so brilliant a battle by making any remarks on corps who might not have been so steady. As to the enemy, it is but justice to say, his courage and conduct equalled, if not surpassed, the finest of his former exploits. It would be unworthy in us to wish to elevate our own character by traducing our enemy's. For by how much his valour shall have been conspicuous, by so much the more glory will they have acquired who have beat him. History will have a fine and just subject of praise in that of his royal highness the hereditary prince of Belgium. Towards the close of the day, when our lines were bending, he was at the head of his people, cheering and exciting them, amidst the hottest fire; in doing which, his royal highness received a musket-ball in his left arm, which ultimately lodged in the shoulder.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM A GERMAN OFFICER, JULY 16.

I have visited the field of battle. The sleep of the dead is sound. On the spot where, this day-month, thousands thronged and fought, where thousands sank and bled, and groaned and died, there is now not a living soul, and over all hovers the stillness of the grave.

In Ligny 2000 dead were buried. Here fought the Westphalian and Berg regiments.—Ligny is a village built with stone, and thatched with straw, on a small stream which flows through flat meadows. In the village are several farm-houses, inclosed with walls and gates. Every farm-house the Prussians had converted into a fortress. The French endeavoured to penetrate through the village by means of superior numbers. Four times were they driven out. At last they set on fire the farm-houses in the upper end of the village with their howitzers; but the Prus-

sians still kept their ground at the lower end. A whole company of Westphalian troops fell in the court-yard at the church; on the terrace before the church lay 50 dead.

In the evening the French surrounded the village. The Prussians retired half a league; the position was lost; and it is incomprehensible why the French did not follow up the advantage they had obtained, and again attack the Prussians in the night.

This was on the 16th. The same day a French column marched by the high road of Charleroi to Brussels.

At Quatre Bras they found the duke of Brunswick and the prince of Orange. Here the battle was as hot as at Ligny. The duke let himself be carried away by his ardour into the fire of small arms: a musket-ball went through his bridle hand, and entered the belly; the liver was penetrated: he fell, and breathed his last in ten minutes. His sufferings were short.

At the inn by the cross roads at Quatre Bras, the contest was the hottest. Here are the most graves. The wounded reeled into the inn yard, leaned against the walls, and then sank down. There are still the traces of the blood on the walls, as it spouted forth from the wounds with departing life.

Where the battle was the fields are completely trodden down for a circuit of about a league. On both sides of the high road, ways are made about 100 feet broad, and you can still follow the march of the battalions in all directions through the fine fields of maize.

On the 18th, the battle was renewed four leagues nearer Brussels, on both sides of the high road. The spot is a plain, sprinkled with hillocks. The diameter of the field of battle may be about a league and a half.—Buonaparte placed himself near the farm-house of Mont St. Jean, on a rising ground, whence he could overlook the whole. Beside him was one Lacoste, a Walloon, who now lives near the hamlet of Belle Alliance, and who was employed as a guide. This man told me as follows:—When the Prussians came out of the wood of Fritschermont, Buonaparte observed them with his glass, and asked one of his adjutants who they were. The latter, upon looking through his glass, replied, 'they are the Prussian colours.' —That moment his face assumed a chalky whiteness, as if the ghost of the sainted queen of Prussia had appeared to him, whom he persecuted to death. He said nothing, but merely once shook his head.

When he saw that the battle was lost, he rode off with his general staff and the above guide. He had told Lacoste, that he wished to be conducted by a by-road to Charleroi.

Genappe is an open market town, a league and a half from the field of battle, through which runs the Dyle, a small stream. At the lower end of Genappe, lies an iron forge, which it drives. A quarter of a mile lower lies the village of Ways, at which there is a bridge. An officer had arrived at Genappe about five in the afternoon, with orders to withdraw the baggage. He had already considered the battle as lost, because the reserves had been brought into the fire. When the flight became almost universal, the military waggons were driven 16 a-breast on the causeway. In the narrow Genappe they were wedged in together, and Lacoste relates that it took an hour and a half to get through them. It was half-past twelve at night before they got out of the town, with 150 horses of the staff. I asked him why he did not take Buonaparte by the bridge of Ways, where nobody passed; he replied—'I was not aware of this road.'

Thus, with all the maps of the war depôt, with all the engineer geographers, who, with their repeating circles, can set off the geographical position of places even to a second, Buonaparte, with a large staff, here depended on the ignorance of a peasant, who did not know that there was a bridge over the Dyle at Ways. People talk a great deal of military skill and military science, while often, in decisive moments, the whole depends upon the knowledge of a very common man.

In the village of Planchenoit, the fourth of a league from Belle Alliance, the guards were posted. The principal house in the village is nearly burnt down, It is inhabited by a very intelligent farmer of the name of Bernhard. He, like the others, had fled on the day of battle; but witnessed, on an opposite height, the combat between Bulow and the French reserve, and could give a very good description of it. He carried me

to the key of the position, opposite Fritschermont. He told me that the peasant who guided Bulow's army, resolved not to come out of the wood at Fritschermont, but to descend into the valley lower down, and to penetrate by Planchenoit, nearly in the rear of the French reserves. 'Then,' said he, 'we shall take them all.' The period was truly most critical when the Prussians came to the attack. Wellington was hard pressed, all his reserves were already in action, he was already compelled to withdraw some of his artillery, and a countryman from the vicinity of Braine la Leud told me, that he saw some of the army (as he expressed it) *en débandage*. Buonaparte was probably only waiting for the moment when, with his guards, he could decide the day. We shudder when we reflect, that at this important moment, all depended on the local knowledge of a single peasant. Had he guided wrong, had he led them into the hollow way through which the cannon could not pass, had Bulow's army come up an hour later, the scale had probably descended on the other side. Had Buonaparte been victorious, and advanced to the Rhine, the French nation would have been intoxicated with victory, and with what they call the national glory, and a levy *en masse* would have been effected throughout all France.

How great soever the number of killed and wounded in a battle may be, yet as compared with the amount of the armies engaged, it may generally be pronounced moderate. However murderous our artillery are, yet their operation is inconsiderable, as relative to the great number of rounds. At the battle of Leipsic, probably only about one in the hundred of cannon and cartridge balls fired took effect. The battle of Waterloo was more sanguinary, from the smallness of the field of battle. Probably every sixth man fell in it.

The disorder of a battle generally first originates with the runaways, who fly from an impression that all is lost, and who bawl this out to others in order to excuse their own flight. Although the Prussian army, on the 16th, retreated only half a league from Ligny, yet shoals of fugitives passed through Liege and Aix-la-Chapelle, spreading universal alarm. I fell in with some of them 25 leagues from the field of battle; they asserted that the French were within a mile of Brussels, and their light troops already in the suburbs. On the 18th, so early as five in the afternoon, French runaways came to the inn at Quatre Bras, who had fled from the field even at the time when circumstances seemed very favourable to them.

The idea of being cut off operates very strongly upon men; should it get possession of the mass, then all order is lost, and the army destroys itself. Hence may be explained the great defeat of the French on the 18th. In Genappe there was nothing but pell-mell confusion, and they suffered themselves to be cut down like cattle. In Genappe eight hundred lay on the spot.—General Duhesme, who commanded the rear-guard, was cut down by a Brunswick hussar, at the gate of an inn.—'The duke fell yesterday, and thou shalt also bite the dust:' so saying, the black hussar cut him down. The fury of the Brunswickers no longer knew any bounds.

Wellington's army consisted chiefly of young regiments. What supported them was the confidence which they had in the talents of their general.

The Belgians and Dutch, by the common victory in which they participated, have been pretty well amalgamated and fraternised.—Besides, the nation feels itself honoured by its brave prince.

DUKE OF BRUNSWICK OELS.

Among the victims to French perfidy sacrificed in the late gigantic struggle, the duke of Brunswick Oels holds the foremost place, both on account of his elevated rank as a sovereign prince, and his near alliance to some of the most illustrious houses in Europe. Descended from a line of heroes, he closed his career in a manner worthy of their glory, and of the high character which he had previously acquired. Frederic William, duke of Brunswick Luneburg, Oels and Bernstadt, was the fourth and youngest son of Charles William Ferdinand, the late reigning duke of Brunswick Luneburg, who died Nov. 10, 1806, at Ottensen, near Altona, in consequence of the wound which he

received at the unfortunate battle of Jena. He was doubly allied to the illustrious house which sways the British sceptre—his mother being the sister of our beloved monarch, and his sister the wife of the heir apparent to the throne.

He was born Oct. 6, 1771, and received the same education as his brothers, till the military profession, for which he was destined, required a course of instruction particularly adapted to that object. By his father the young prince was beloved with the greatest tenderness. In 1785 he was nominated successor to his uncle, Frederick Augustus, duke of Oels and Bernstadt, in case he should die without issue; an arrangement which was confirmed by the king of Prussia. After a residence of about two years in Switzerland, the prince commenced his military career. He was appointed captain in the regiment of infantry then in garrison at Magdeburg, commanded by lieutenant-gen. Langefeld, governor of that place; a regiment which previously had for its chief the prince's great uncle, the hero of Crevelt and Minden.

His highness, who devoted himself with the greatest assiduity and zeal to the duties of his profession, was rapidly promoted. In 1790, at the early age of 19, he was invested with the grand order of the black eagle. In the war with France, which commenced in 1792, the prince accompanied the Prussian army. He gained experience, and the military talents and intrepidity which he more and more developed, were conspicuously displayed by him on every occasion. This courage, this buoyant sense of youthful energy, which banished every idea of personal danger, impelled him in several instances beyond the bounds of prudence. On the 27th of November, in the last mentioned year, he incurred the most imminent danger of his life in a skirmish which took place in the village of Etch, near Wurbel. He there received two wounds, and it was a considerable time before he recovered from their effects.

The treaty concluded at Basle, in April, 1795, again gave repose to the Prussian army. Prince Frederic William, after being for some time commander of the regiment of Thadden, at Haile, and afterwards of Kleist's regiment, at Prenzlau, was, in 1800, promoted to the rank of major-general. The latter regiment had long distinguished the Prussian army, and, under the prince, who bestowed on it the ous attention and many sacrifices the character and reputation it acquired. In 1802 he received, at the hand of the princess Mary Wilhelmina, grand daughter of the duke of Baden. This union diffused satisfaction and joy over his whole hou The prince and his consort seemed to have been created expressly for each other; and their mutual felicity was augmented by the birth of two sons, Oct. 30, 1804, and April 25, 1806, both of whom are still living.

His uncle, Frederic Augustus, dying on the 8th of October, 1806, he succeeded to the duchy of Oels and Bernstadt. The following year was marked by the breaking out of the long-expected war, the issue of which is so well known. The duke was attached to the corps commanded by gen. Blucher, which, after the most astonishing exertions, and the most obstinate resistance, was obliged to submit to the law of necessity. The capitulation of Lubeck put an end to the duke's military career for this war; and the circumstances of the times, with the peculiar relations resulting from them, induced him to apply for his dismission from the Prussian service.

The unexpected decease of his eldest brother, the hereditary prince, in the month of September of the same year, and the agreement concluded by him with his two next brothers, called him, on the decease of his father, to the government of the patrimonial dominions; which, however, he held but for a short time, Brunswick being, by the treaty of Tilsit, incorporated with the kingdom of Westphalia. After this event the duke resided chiefly at Bruchsal, in Baden; and there he was doomed to experience a misfortune that afflicted him still more severely. On the 20th of April, 1808, he lost his amiable consort, in the flower of her age, having not yet attained her 26th year.

Early in 1809, when circumstances portended a rupture between France and Aus-

tria, his highness concluded a convention with the latter power, by which he engaged to raise a corps of 2000 men, half infantry and half cavalry, at his own expence; and, notwithstanding the difficulties thrown in his way by Prussia, he succeeded in collecting the stipulated number in a very short time. Hostilities soon commenced, and the duke began his new military career by making an incursion into the kingdom of Saxony, in conjunction with a corps of Austrian troops. They were, however, obliged to evacuate Leipsic and Dresden, on the approach of a considerable force, composed of Dutch and Westphalians. The duke, and general Am Ende, retired from Dresden in a western direction, towards Franconia, into which the Austrians had penetrated from Bohemia with a considerable force. The armistice concluded at Znaym terminated the contest in that country also, and deprived the duke of the co-operation of the Austrian troops. They evacuated Dresden, which they had a second time occupied, and withdrew beyond the Bohemian frontiers.

Meanwhile the duke of Brunswick had likewise evacuated some of the places of which he had taken possession, but still remained in the Erzgebirge, without being pursued either by the Saxons or Westphalians. For some time he appeared undecided, whether he should join the Austrians in Bareuth, or adopt a different plan. He at length determined to quit Germany, where fortune did not seem to smile on the cause which he had espoused, and to conduct his corps to the English, who were then preparing for an expedition to the continent.

The difficulties which opposed the execution of this undertaking were innumerable. It was not till he had traversed a space of near 300 miles that he could hope to reach the German ocean, and his route lay through countries not wholly destitute of hostile troops.

The corps of the duke of Brunswick had been described as completely annihilated; the inhabitants of Leipsic were, therefore, not a little surprised, when, very early in the morning of the 26th of July, he entered that city with 1900 men, 700 of whom were cavalry, after a smart action before the inner gates. It is not unlikely that the duke had reason to be dissatisfied with something which had occurred during his former occupation of this city; for a contribution, though a very moderate one, amounting to no more than 15,000 dollars, was imposed; and this was the only requisition of the kind made by the duke during his whole march. His men also exercised the right of retaliation on several persons who had given them offence during and after their retreat.

On the 27th the duke arrived at Halle, and, with unparalleled celerity, pursued his route by way of Eisleben to Halberstadt, which place count Wellingerode, grand marshal of the palace to the king of Westphalia, entered with the 5th regiment of foot, on the forenoon of the 30th. The same evening the duke's corps appeared before the gates with six pieces of cannon. The enemy, though destitute of cavalry and artillery, made an obstinate resistance, but was at length overpowered, after a sanguinary conflict, which was continued for some time in the streets of Halberstadt, and during which the duke fought in the ranks of his black hussars.

He now directed his course towards his native city. Late in the evening of the 31st of July he entered Brunswick, on whose ramparts, wrapped in a cloak, he passed the night. What must have been the feelings of the prince, when he beheld the palace, once the residence of his illustrious ancestors, his own cradle, and the theatre of his juvenile years, when he traversed the streets in which his parent had so often been seen attended by crowds of happy mortals, who awaited the father of his people, to pay him the tribute of grateful tears; when he encountered the anxious and timid looks of those who once hoped to see the prosperity and the glory of their country augmented by him, whom alone, from among his three sons, his father had deemed worthy to be his successor! These were, perhaps, the most painful moments experienced by this high-spirited prince, since the sable genius of Auerstadt eclipsed the splendour of the house of the Welfs. Fate seemed to shew him once more the happy land to which he was the rightful heir, to make him more keenly sensible of his loss. He, nevertheless, retained suffi-

cient strength of mind to conduct himself with exemplary moderation. If he could not confer happiness, neither would he involve others in his own calamity; but, in a proclamation, magnanimously recommended to his countrymen to be obedient to their present rulers.

The duke durst not take any long repose at Brunswick, as he was closely pressed on all sides. The Westphalian general, Reubel, concentrated 4000 men of his division at Ohoff; general Gratien had set out with a Dutch division from Erfurt, and was approaching the coasts of the German ocean; while general Ewald, with a corps of Danish troops, crossed from Gluckstadt over the Elbe into the Hanoverian territory, to cover the banks of that river. General Reubel was nearest to the duke, who, in his rapid retreat, had daily actions with the advanced guard of the Westphalian troops. That which was fought in the afternoon of the 1st of August, at Oelper, near Brunswick, and in which the duke's horse was killed by a cannon-ball, was the *eleventh* since the commencement of his retreat in Saxony.

The next morning he quitted his native city, and the movement which he now made caused it to be generally supposed that he was proceeding to Zell. Thither the troops under Reubel, and others, accordingly directed their course. The duke, however, suddenly made his appearance at Hanover, which he entered on the morning of the 3d of August; and, in the afternoon, pursued his route, by way of Neustadt, to Nienburg, where he arrived early the next day. Here he crossed the Weser. He broke down the bridges behind him, and reached Hoya on the 4th. In this manner he hastened along the left bank of the Weser, while part of his corps, in order to make a false demonstration, turned off to Bremen. On the evening of 5th, this detachment possessed itself of the gates of the city, and hastily departed the next day to rejoin the corps.

The duke, meanwhile, continued his march through Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, where he passed the night between the 5th and 6th of August; and it appeared as if he was directing his course towards East Friezland, with a view to embark on the coast of that province. This opinion, however, proved erroneous, for, crossing the Hunte, a small stream which discharges itself into the Weser at Huntebruck, he seized the corn-ships which had been lying inactive for years at Elsfleth. In these vessels he embarked his men on the night of the 6th, and by force procured a sufficient number of hands to navigate the flotilla. Having hoisted the English flag, he proceeded with part of his corps to Heligoland, and immediately sailed for England, where he and his brave followers were received into the British service.

After the propitious events which changed the destiny of Europe, in 1814, his highness quitted England to take possession of his patrimony, and was devoting his attention to those plans of internal improvement by which his father had rendered himself beloved and adored by his subjects, when the re-accession of Napoleon once more summoned him to assist in the humiliation of the French nation. Though the contingent required of him was no more than 4000 men, he joined the duke of Wellington with 14,000 men, whom he clothed in black, vowing that, with them, he would wear no other colour till he had witnessed the complete destruction of the tyrant who had so basely insulted his dying father. Providence, however, decreed that he should not enjoy that gratification, nor live to see the glorious results of the victory to which his own valour and that of his brave followers largely contributed. He was killed on the spot by a wound in the side, whilst gallantly fighting at their head. His body was conveyed to Brunswick, to be interred in the burial-place of his illustrious ancestors; and the Hanoverian government assumes the administration of his duchy, till his eldest son, now only eleven years old, attains to his majority.

Camp, Bois de Bologne, Paris, July 29, 1815.

SIR,—My departure from England was very sudden; I had not the happiness of seeing you; but I received your kind note, which, amidst the sufferings of my mind, in parting from a beloved wife and very dear children, helped to revive me. I can truly say, I never so much regretted a separation

from my wife and family, and God's church and people. After having been so long absent in Holland, Sicily, Spain, and France, I thought Europe was weary of war, and that I was safe and comfortably situated with my family at home: but the Lord says—"Boast not thyself of to-morrow, and put not confidence in uncertain riches; but trust thou in the living God." Yet, amidst all the sufferings of my mind, in parting from my friends, I felt it my duty to go in search of that enemy of peace, *the tyrant of the world;* and, if it were required, to die in the cause; for I was fully sensible we were defending truth and justice. Our object was Europe's peace and happiness; and I was confident that God had only permitted the evil to bring about the greater blessing, which I hope is nearly accomplished, though it has cost much blood. While we lay at Hovis, near Enghien, in the Netherlands, I opened a place for our religious duties, where many found it their privilege to attend. It was tolerably well filled. I preached three times on the Sabbath, and once on Wednesday. Class meetings were held on Monday, and prayer meetings on Friday. All were refreshing seasons to me; I cannot live without the means of grace. Although when in close contest with the enemy we are obliged to desist from our public meetings on account of our duties, yet we then, as often as possible, commune with each other; and I am happy to say that only one of our society was killed (serjeant Silver, 3d regiment of guards) and three wounded; two are doing well; the other I have not yet heard of. Serjeant-major Dixon, and serjeant Rippon, wounded on the 16th June, are both doing well.

On the 16th June we marched, at four o'clock in the morning, the distance of about twenty-four miles, and then rushed into action. The Lord gave us great strength both of body and mind, on that day, and through the whole of our labours. We arrived just in time, or the enemy would have forced the Belgians. With one hour and a half's hard fighting we maintained our position with some little advantage; but our loss was great. As you have received a more perfect account in the public dispatches, I shall only, as briefly as possible, insert a few facts which have not yet been mentioned. On the 18th of June, the day of Waterloo, we took up a good position; at the same time leaving the enemy one they would accept. We opened on the enemy seven guns before they returned an answer; then most tremendously the action commenced; but God was with us. I addressed my company in a few words: "Be steady and attentive to orders; keep perfect silence; and put your whole trust in God's help, for he is with us. Be strong and determined; use all your skill in levelling; make sure your mark, and in the charge use all your strength; and you shall see, by the close of this day's sun, your enemies fly, and the shout of victory shall be your's." I felt my mind stayed upon God; and my confidence was so firm, that neither the thunder of our enemy's cannon and musquetry, nor the boast of his guards, nor the threats of his cavalry in mail, either alarmed my breast, or concerned my mind: God I knew was my father, my shield, and refuge. I cannot say that I attempted to boast myself with confidence of escape unhurt, as I now experience; but this one thing I knew —my peace was made with God, having a bright evidence in my own soul; and that while I lived I would play my part for the victory. It was the Sabbath-day; and while you were praying to and praising the King of Glory in his church, I was doing the same in the field of blood; I was truly in the spirit of a Christian and of a soldier on the Lord's day. The enemy fired round shot and shell, grape and canister, and *new horse-nails tied up in bundles*, nine bundles in a gun: these I saw and handled on the 19th. Unlawful carnage!—but the portrait of the man is blood, murder, and desolation. My eyes have seen much. Sir, I have the happiness to serve in the 3d battalion of the 1st guards, who in a particular manner distinguished themselves, determined to shout "*Victory!*" or return no more; and God blessed their endeavours. Our 3d battalion of the 1st guards, and a battalion of rifle of the king's German legion (say 1200 men), advanced 300 paces in front of the whole line, into a valley which lay between the two positions, and within 100 yards of about 6000 cavalry and 3000 infantry of the enemy. They

viewed us with astonishment; and, to prove that God had filled them with fear, they formed a square, and neither charged nor fired upon us, except from the heights of their position; but we suffered much from those guns. We remained firing at them for half an hour, and then retired into our post in line. The cavalry in armour charged us many times in the course of the day, but made no impression: we repulsed them with great slaughter. We never fired at the cavalry till they came within 30 yards. Towards the evening Buonaparte directed against us his choice 105th regiment; and in half an hour we cut them all to pieces, and took one stand of colours. He then sent against us his grenadier imperial guards: they came within 100 yards of us, and ported arms to charge; but we advanced upon them in quick time, and opened a brisk file fire by two ranks. They allowed us to come within about 30 yards of them; they stood till then looking at us, as if panic-struck, and did not fire; they then, as we approached, faced about and fled for their lives in all directions: they did not like the thought of the British bayonets, for we had just commenced the charge: they ran very fast, but many of them fell while we pursued, and with them one stand of colours; and I have the honour to wear a colonel's sword of the French imperial guard.

Though not mentioned in the dispatch (they all fought so well), yet it was our 3d battalion of the 1st guards, and the rifle battalion of the king's German legion, that first completely turned the day in our favour.—It was at this moment of the charge that I prayed thus:—"Lord, stretch forth thine arm!" and this I did unceasingly until the enemy was driven. When the imperial guards (the dependence of Buonaparte) ran, his defence departed from him, and his whole line, as has been stated, became confusion. Much to the honour of his grace (as in every case throughout the day) he seized the moment, and in the space of five minutes he formed a line in the valley for a general charge, and then the shout of "Victory! victory!" was heard. The very element rang with voices and cannon on Britain's side—and what was my shout?—in a loud voice I cried out, "Glory be to God! he is with us! I now rejoice; my prayers are answered fully, and my labours crowned." The fight at one time was so desperate with our battalion, that files upon files were carried out to the rear from the carnage, and the line was held up by the serjeant's pikes, placed against the rear—not for want of courage on the men's part, for they were desperate; only for the moment our loss so unsteadied the line.

I lost of my company, killed and wounded, three officers, three serjeants, and fifty-four rank and file, out of ninety-seven: several of them, after their wounds were dressed, returned to the field and fought out the battle.

It will rejoice your heart to hear that the Methodists in this action have completely refuted the slanders propagated against them in that pernicious publication (*The Anti-Jacobin Review*), respecting which Mr. Griffiths wrote to me. Our names are known, and our conduct seen. Our surviving officers may be referred to; and on inquiry it will be found, that we who fear God, love our king, and have fought his battles with undaunted courage, and, according to our rank, have as great a share in the honour of that day as any part of the line; and C. W. is ready to vindicate the character of the religious soldier, on his return from the field of blood to the land of peace. O! how happy was my soul, even in the sea of blood, in Britain's cause and Europe's safety! I do not know that I ever experienced greater peace and serenity of mind, and such confidence that the arm of God was stretched out in our behalf; that he was in the midst of us, and gave wisdom to our commander, strength to our mind and body, and confusion to our enemies. I have, as colour-serjeant, stood by the king's colours from the moment of our march till borne, in Britain's name, within the gates of Paris. Seven of our colour-serjeants entered the field, and there are only myself and one more that stand. What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits? I will take the cup of salvation, and call upon his name; my tongue shall not cease to proclaim his mercy, nor my heart to adore his goodness.

The French behaved very ill to our prisoners on the 16th; several of our wounded

the blood-thirsty cowards ran through with their bayonets and swords. These were not the old soldiers we use to fight with. Some have lived so long as to testify against them, and to shew us their wounds; but the British have in return rescued many of their enemies from death, and given them bread and water, and looked as much to their safety as to our own.

The duke has greatly endeared himself to the British soldiers; more so in these actions than in all before. I ever loved and reposed confidence in him as my commander; but the example he gave us on the 18th, and again on the 26th of June, was sufficient to influence every man with that fortitude and determination—"With Wellington we will conquer, or with Wellington we will die!" He was continually in the first line, and frequently with our battalion. I have seen some of the enemy's cavalry charge within fifty yards of him. I prayed to God most earnestly for his protection, and I bless the Lord for his preservation: I hope his heart will rejoice in the fruit of his labour, giving God the glory due for his many signal victories. I am happy to say that major-gen. Maitland is safe and well: he is an example to all around. I lament the sufferings of my late colonel Cook: he was severely wounded on the 18th: I pray God to spare his valuable life. You have often heard me speak of him. But what shall I say in honour of my late lieut.-col. William Miller, my great friend, my helper?—a servant to the cause of Christ, in the Isla de Leon, and to his latest breath. He is no more to be seen in this world!—he was mortally wounded on the 16th of June, and on the 18th he breathed his last.

As for colonel Miller's attention to his company, none excelled; he was continually inquiring what could be done to make them more comfortable. "I do not care for the expense," he would say; "money is no object to me." On the close of a day's march, his first care was to see his men comfortable, and then he considered himself; and after an absence of any time, his first inquiry was concerning their health and conduct. Before the enemy he was cool and deliberate, vigilant and brave, firm and determined; and on the 16th of June, at the head of his company, in very close action, cheering his men, he received a wound in his breast which proved mortal. As he passed to the rear, borne by four men, he said, "Let me see the colours."—The last office I could do for him was to place the colour in ensign Batty's hand, to pay him his funeral honours while living. He then said: "I thank you, that will do: I am satisfied." His meaning was, that he died for his country, and in a just cause. I have lost my greatest friend, and my company a father; England a valuable officer; his parents a beloved son; and the church of Christ a friend: but may our loss be his eternal gain! Serjeant Clarke, who attended him, informs me that his last breath was prayer. I hope his soul is at rest!—his labours of love and charity follow him! I shall see him no more in this world; but his name will be a lasting treasure to my heart. Believe me, sir, I never felt a loss like this before; I cannot find words to express the feelings of my heart. I should like our friends to know, that an officer, a friend to God and the truth, hath, in the late glorious victory, sealed the justness of our cause with his blood. I am very sorry for the commanding officer of our battalion, and first major, lieut.-col. Stuart, and lieut.-col. the hon. H. Townshend, who are severely wounded; they are most excellent officers and brave soldiers. May God in mercy restore them shortly to health!

On our march to Paris we passed through a most beautiful and fruitful country, with but little opposition. At Peronne, on the 26th of June, after a long day's march, on our arrival, his grace gave the first brigade a job. Our second battalion carried the fascines, and the third battalion stormed the outworks in a most masterly manner, and the citadel surrendered immediately. Major-gen. Maitland commanded, and here again the duke was himself in the midst of it. It has been expressed that our beloved commander is not much exposed: I can fully contradict that assertion; for he is often first, and always in the midst: he will not permit others to do his duty. I believe Britain is his treasure, and his life he has pledged for its safety.

The Prussians fight exceedingly well.—When we arrived off Paris they shouted for

joy, and the French trembled. Several villages on the road were deserted, for which the inhabitants suffered: protection was given to those that remained. Much damage has been done to the corn. France, by her deceit, licentiousness, and abominable wickedness, has gathered this cloud over herself; and it has burst upon her head, and no doubt many now repent their folly. The appearance of religion is not seen, and to speak of it is foolishness to them. The Sabbath is not known by that solemn worship which is due to God; it is only known by pleasure: and as for common decency, it seems to be very trifling. The element of the trades-people is imposition. In Paris all is peace and tranquillity—a good reason why. But the people tell us: "As soon as you are gone we shall be Frenchmen again." I think the only thing we can do is to guarantee the outposts of this country by ourselves and allies, until they have destroyed the fortifications and arsenals, and leave only what may be necessary for internal defence. However, I hope God is with the sovereigns and ministers in Paris, as he was with us at Waterloo, and in all our undertakings; and that peace may be settled upon a good foundation. The entrance into the city and palace is most beautiful, as also the triumphal arches and picture gallery, and Napoleon's brazen monument of ambition, wreathed with trophies of victory and homage paid him from the different countries he conquered. There is a small vacant place near the top, and the people tell us it was intended to place Britannia there. But in his presumptuous thought he falls; his strength and glory depart: he sues at the feet of our sovereign for mercy, and proves himself no more a monarch, but a captive!

We soldiers feel grateful for the gracious thanks given to us by our sovereign, his ministers, and the honourable houses of parliament of our beloved country, for our zealous exertions at Waterloo, and the glorious victory God has crowned us with. Be assured, sir, we feel this as an invaluable treasure: it warms our hearts. There is only one remark made by sir Francis Burdett we avowedly disapprove, which was, at that momentous height of joy, to introduce the subject of flogging. Had the hon. baronet moved, that the house should take into consideration the valuable services of the troops, and the addition of a small pension when they pass the board at Chelsea, sir Francis would have been a friend; but as for the other, as proposed, we disapprove. For instance, if any part of the line had not stood firm, determined to conquer or die, but had left the field and gone to Brussels, sir Francis, I suppose, would not have these men flogged? Well, I will agree then with him, that they should be hanged, and also every coward who quits his post and flies from the face of his enemy, exposing his comrades to their mercy, or leaving them in the field; but the good soldier consents to the law, that it is wholesome and good. I approve of the last amendment respecting cowards, and I think it cannot be amended.

We had a grand review of all the British, Hanoverian, and Belgian troops, on Monday last. It was a beautiful sight. The emperor of Russia was there, and many others of distinction; and his grace the duke of Wellington on his right. The day the emperor arrived, and saw the duke, he fell upon his neck and kissed him, and wept, in the presence of the guard.

I must conclude with noticing the great kindness of our society in Westminster on my departure, and their unceasing prayers and inquiries: I am much indebted to them; my heart is with them. It comforts me to find I have such friends; it proves that God is my friend, and will not leave my family comfortless. I hope soon to see all my friends on that peaceful shore, where the widow and the fatherless are visited, the distressed relieved, the poor comforted, and where his gospel shines in its meridian light among that people in whom God delights to dwell; I shall then be able to give you a better account than at present. I am well in health, and feel my soul alive to God.

I have a hut built, and an altar erected unto the Lord. My few brethren are well: their experiences all agree in the blessed help they received in the late actions; peace with God, and a full persuasion that he had a right to dispose of them as seemed good unto him. Now they are preserved, they agree to live

to and for God. We expect to go into barracks at Paris in a few days, and then I hope to be able to open a place for divine worship; and in my next to give you a more full account of the blessed cause in which my soul delights; but I confess I never felt the separation from God's people in England as I have on this service. Though I am blessed with great strength of body and mind, and union and communion with God, yet my heart is at home. Oh! happy, happy England! if thou didst but know thy exaltation and privileges, both great and small would love and adore the Author of all thy mercies! I am, sir, your most dutiful and obliged servant,

C. W.

Colour-serjeant, 3d batt. 1st ft. gds.

To J. B., Esq. M. P. *London.*

BUONAPARTE'S CONDUCT DURING AND AFTER THE BATTLE, WITH OPINION, CONVERSATION, &c. COLLECTED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES.

The following details will give a correct idea of the dangers which Buonaparte personally underwent on the memorable day of Waterloo. These details were furnished by an eye-witness of the whole, and may be relied on:

From two o'clock until a quarter before seven, Buonaparte commanded all the operations and movements from a position where he remained without any danger whatever to his own person: he was at least a cannon-shot and a half off: nothing in short could reach him.

When he was at length convinced that the corps d'armée, which he had so long and so obstinately taken for that of marshal Grouchy, was in reality a Prussian corps, he seemed to think that the affair was desperate, and that he had no other resource than to make a great effort with the reserve of his guard, composed of 15,000 men. This part he accordingly took.

At this moment he assumed an appearance of resolution, which re-animated a little those who surrounded him.

He advanced, saying—" Let every one follow me," *(Toute le monde en arrière!)* which evidently signified that he wished to be in front. In fact, he made this movement at first, and headed, for about ten minutes, the formidable column which remained to him as his forlorn hope; but when he arrived within 200 toises (1200 feet) from three solid squares of allied troops which occupied a ridge, with a formidable artillery (and which ridge it was necessary to carry), he suddenly stopped under the broken ground of a sand-pit, or ravine, and a little on one side, out of the direction of the cannon balls.

This fine and terrible column, which he had some time headed, found him here, as it passed and defiled before him in order to advance, taking a demi-tour to the bottom of the hillock, and directly in front of the enemy's squares, which Buonaparte himself could not see from the lateral point which he occupied, although it is very true that he was close enough to the enemy's batteries. As the corps passed him, he smiled, and addressed to them expressions of confidence and encouragement The march of these old warriors was very firm, and there was something solemn in it. Their appearance was very fierce. A kind of savage silence reigned among them. There was in their looks a mixture of surprise and discontent, occasioned by their unexpected meeting with Buonaparte, who, as they thought, was at their head.

In proportion as they ranged up the eminence, and darted forward on the squares which occupied its summit, the artillery vomited death upon them, and killed them in masses. This part of the scene came directly under Buonaparte's eyes, without his being able to see what passed on the height itself, as he still kept himself, as it were, enveloped in the corner of the ravine. It was then precisely a quarter of an hour from seven o'clock, and it was at this very moment that the decisive crisis of the battle commenced.

Buonaparte had then six persons close to him—these were, his brother Jerome, and generals Bertrand, Drouet, Bernard, Douhers, and Labedoyere. At every step which he took, or seemed to take, to put his own person in front, generals Bertrand and Drouet threw themselves before his horse's head, and exclaimed in a pathetic accent—' Ah! Sire, what are you going to do! Consider that the

safety of France and the army depends entirely upon you. All is lost if any accident should happen to you.'

Buonaparte yielded to their entreaties with a real or apparent effort, which he seemed to gain over himself. But one thing appeared very singular, namely, that the two men who knew so well how to moderate his ardour, and to retain him, were the only persons whom he never sent to reconnoitre the state of the battle, while he sent the rest twenty times into the midst of the fire to carry orders, or bring him information. One of them having told him, that the duke of Wellington had been for a long time in front, and at the head of one of his squares, he exhibited a sort of grin, which shewed evidently that this part of the narrative vexed him much.

Jerome having thought proper to take aside, and whisper with, one of his brother's aides-de-camp, to whom he spoke his mind very freely, Buonaparte sent him (Jerome) several times into the middle of the fire, as if to get rid of such an importunate critic.—Jerome, in fact, took it greatly to heart, that his brother did not profit of this occasion, to die in a glorious manner; and I distinctly heard him say to general Bertrand—'Can it be possible that he will not seek death here? Never will he find a more glorious grave!'

At nightfall Buonaparte disappeared from us, under pretext of going himself to ascertain the state of things, and put himself at the head of the guards, to animate them.—Before I conclude, there is a peculiarity which deserves to be noticed, namely, that before effecting his personal retreat, in order to get rid of impertinent witnesses, he directed all those around him to carry different orders at once, the result of which could not concern him in the least.

Captain Erskine, who was made prisoner in the battle of the 16th, was brought before Buonaparte for examination. Being asked by Buonaparte, "Who commands the cavalry?" he was answered, "Lord Uxbridge." "No, Paget," replied Buonaparte. The officer then explained that they meant the same person, and Buonaparte nodded assent. He was then asked, "Who commanded in chief?" and was answered, "the duke of Wellington;" upon which he observed, "No, that cannot be, for he is sick." It seems that his grace had received a fall from his horse on the 14th, and was reported to be indisposed in consequence, and Buonaparte had received intelligence to that effect. The conversation continued in this line for a considerable time, during which Buonaparte shewed himself perfectly acquainted with the strength and position of the several divisions of the allied armies, and the names of their several commanders. As they were successively mentioned, Buonaparte occasionally remarked, "Oh! yes, this division cannot be up in time—This division cannot be in a day," and so on. Upon some difficulty in the conversation, one of his aides-de-camp, who spoke English well, interpreted after, and he, it appeared, had been in London about ten days before. On the conversation being ended, a surgeon was ordered to give his attention, and was placed, with another officer, under three guards. On retiring, they were put to quarters, which happened to be the cock-loft of a house; from hence, on the following morning, they looked secretly, and saw the whole of the French army march to their positions: knowing the disparity of force, he trembled to think of the result; and noticing particularly the enthusiasm and devotion of the troops. In this state of anxiety they silently waited some hours, fearing every moment to hear the crisis; at length they heard a great bustle of men and horses; upon coming nearer they discovered them to be French:—all is now lost, victory is gained, and these are the messengers. On coming to the town, they however found them flying French; then was their joy superior to their former dejection: but in their helpless situation they dared not shew themselves, as they certainly would have been shot—but after an hour the black Brunswickers came riding through; then they came out of their lurking-places, and joined their comrades: it is to be observed, that their guards had long left them.

STATEMENT OF THE GUIDE LA COSTE.

Waterloo, August 15.

Opposite the inn, at a cottage where the earl of Uxbridge was carried, you are shewn

a neat garden; in the centre of four paths, a little hillock, with a weeping willow and shrubs planted near the spot, shews the sepulchre of his lordship's leg: you are also shown the chair on which his lordship sat during the operation, exactly as it remained; and they still remember the gallant earl's heroic sentiments at the moment of this severe trial: but he was not seen to wince in the least, not even by contortion of features, consoling those about him in saying, "Who would not lose a leg for such a victory? It is true, I have a limb less; but I have a higher name in the eyes of my country."—The interview between the noble duke and his lordship, upon his visit to Brussels, after the battle, on the Sunday, is described as the most feeling that can be imagined. The duke, in displaying the purest sympathetic affection, had a fine contrast in the heroic firmness of the noble earl. In an inclosure, further behind this cottage, are interred several English officers; one only, colonel Fitzgerald, of the life guards, has a stone with an inscription over him; many have been taken up and transmitted to England: you then proceed to Waterloo, the house of Jean Baptiste La Coste, called Belle Alliance, from whom I obtained the following particulars:—

About five in the morning he was taken prisoner to serve as guide, and conducted with his hands tied behind him (that he might not escape as a former man had done) to another house belonging to him, opposite to which Buonaparte had slept. Observing the French soldiers plundering and destroying this house, he cried. Buonaparte asked what he cried for? "Because your soldiers are destroying all my property, and my family have nowhere to put their heads."—Buonaparte said, "Do you not know that I am emperor, and can recompense you an hundred times as much?" He was placed on a horse immediately between Buonaparte and his first aide-de-camp, his saddle being tied to the saddle of a trooper behind him, that he might not escape. They proceeded a little beyond Belle Alliance, and Buonaparte took the ground on a small eminence on the opposite side; a sort of body guard of twelve pieces of artillery, very light surrounding them. From this spot he could command both lines. He first observed, "How steadily those troops take the ground! how beautifully those cavalry form! *regardez ces chevaux gris! Qui sont ces beaux cavaliers? Ce sont de braves troupes, mais dans une demi-heure je les couperai en piecès.*"—Observing how the chasms in the British squadrons were filled up the instant they were made by his artillery, he exclaimed, "*Quelles brave troupes! comme ils se travaillent, ils trevaillent très-bien, très-bien!*" He asked La Coste the particulars of every house, tree, wood, rising ground, &c. with which he seemed well informed, holding a map in his left hand, and intent upon the action all the day, incessantly taking snuff from his waistcoat pocket, in large pinches, of which he violently snuffed up about half, throwing the other from him, with a violent exertion of the arm, and thumb and finger, as if from vexation: this was all the refreshment he took for fourteen hours: he frequently placed his left hand upon the back of La Coste's horse, to speak to the aide-de-camp on the other side of him. Seeing La Coste flinch at the shower of shot, he replied, "Do not stir, my friend, a shot will kill you equally in the back as the front, or wound you more disgracefully." About eight, hearing the fire of the Prussians on the right of his rear flank, leaning his hand on the neck of La Coste's horse, and seeing the British cavalry, from their right and left flanks, making a tremendous charge that would have encircled his personal position, he exclaimed, addressing himself to Bertrand, "*Il faut que nous nous sauvons,*" retreating, with all his staff, about forty yards along the road; and within about twenty yards of the house Belle Alliance, he halted, and putting the glass to his eye, saw the British cavalry intermingled, *pele-mele*, and furiously cutting the French troops to pieces. He exclaimed, "*Qu'ils sont terribles ses chevaux gris!*" (meaning the Scots greys, which had particularly, during the day, and at that moment, attracted his attention), "*Il faut nous dépêcher, nous dépêcher.*" They, and all the cavalry, commenced a gallop, till they got about three leagues beyond Charleroi, where they halted, and pitched a tent upon a grass-

plat, about nine at night. A fire was kindled, and refreshments placed upon a chair, which Buonaparte took, the first for fourteen hours, standing with his back to the fire, with his hands generally behind him, conversing with a circle of nine, whose horses La Coste had been ordered to hold, till the party, about two in the morning, broke up, when each taking his horse, Bertrand gave La Coste a Napoleon d'or, which he exchanged, after a twenty-four hours fast, to refresh himself and family.

This statement of La Coste contradicts the account of the new guard crying to the old, "*Se sauve qui peut;*" that expression might easily have changed, in running through the army, from the first text, "*Il faut que nous nous sauvons.*" About an hour before the rout Buonaparte exclaimed, "I shall cut them to pieces, yet it is a pity to destroy such brave troops."

LETTER FROM PRINCE BERNHARD, OF SAXE WEIMAR, TO HIS FATHER.

Bivouack near Waterloo, in the Wood between Brussels and Genappe, June 19th, 1815.

Dear Father,

Thank God, I am still, alive and have escaped unhurt from two bloody battles.—The first was on the 16th of June, the second was yesterday. I beg when you read this, to take Ferrari's map in your hand. For four weeks I was in cantonments in Genappe, with the regiment of Orange Nassau, of which I am colonel. On the 15th I was appointed brigadier of the second brigade, of the division Perponcher; my predecessor had had the misfortune to break his leg. Besides my two battalions of Orange Nassau, I now had under my command three battalions of the duchy of Nassau; when my brigade was 4000 strong; to-day I have not 1200 left! On the 15th, the French fell upon the Prussian army, and pressed it very much. My brigade continued on the left wing of the Dutch army, the head-quarters of which were at Braine-le-Compte. My division lay in Nivelles. A battalion of Nassau were at Frasne, and also a battery of Dutch horse-artillery. When the Prussians retreated towards Fleurus, the post at Frasne was attacked and driven back. The infantry threw itself into a wood on the right, and the artillery retired fighting to Quatre Bras. At this important post, I had drawn my brigade together, and cannonaded the enemy, whom I succeeded in keeping off. I maintained this post through the whole night. Towards morning, on the 16th, I was reinforced by a battalion of Dutch yagers, and a battalion of militia. Soon after arrived my general of division and the prince of Orange. With the latter I went to the out-posts, and by his order undertook a reconnoissance, with a battalion and two cannon. Towards noon the enemy shewed strong columns, and began to cannonade us. It is said he had three corps of his army engaged against us on this day. We had only five battalions to oppose to him, and the skirts of a wood to defend to the utmost.

The duke of Wellington himself was present at the beginning of the action. I kept my ground a long time against an enemy thrice my number, and had only two Belgic cannons to protect myself with. The enemy took the point of a wood opposite me, and incommoded my left flank. I, without loss of time, took some volunteers, and two companies of Dutch militia, and recovered my wood at the point of the bayonet. I was at the head of the storming parties, and had the honour to be one of the first in the wood.—In cutting away some branches, I wounded myself with my sabre very slightly in the right leg, but was not a moment out of the battle:—it is in fact not worth while to mention this wound; I write to you about it only that you and my good mother may not be alarmed by exaggerated and foolish reports. While I manfully defended my wood, the enemy drove back our left wing as far as Quatre Bras. It was on this occasion that the brave duke of Brunswick was killed by a ball, which entered his breast.—Strong columns of infantry turned my right flank: I asked for orders how to act, but received none. When I saw myself surrounded on all sides, and my people had expended all their ammunition, I retreated in good order through the wood to the neighbourhood of Hautain le Val. The Hanoverian division Alten supported me, and recovered the wood, but lost it again; at last it was

forced by the English with great loss, and maintained through the night. I bivouacked for the night in the wood. The Prussians retreated this day to Wavre, and on account of this retreat we were obliged to retire to the position near Mont St. Jean, between Genappe and Brussels: this was done on the 17th. We were obliged to bivouack for the night upon a very muddy soil, in the most dreadful rain. Yesterday about 10 o'clock began the decisive battle, which was completely gained towards evening by Wellington over Napoleon in person. A hundred and sixty cannon are the fruit of this bloody victory. I commanded on the left wing, and was charged to maintain a village and a position. With a great loss of men I succeeded. The victory was still doubtful, when, about four o'clock, the Prussians, under generals Bulow and Ziethen, arrived upon our left flank, and decided the battle. Unhappily the Prussians, who were to support me in my village, mistook my Nassauers, whose uniform is still very French, though their hearts are true German, for Frenchmen, and made dreadful fire upon them. They were driven from their post, and I rallied them a quarter of a league from the field of battle. My general of division, whose first brigade was wholly destroyed, is now with me. I must conclude, because I have just received orders to proceed to Nivelles in pursuit of the enemy. Farewell, dear father; salute my mother, my sister-in-law, my brother, and all my friends; and be assured that I will do every thing to be worthy of you.

The colonel and brigadier,

BERNHARD, of Saxe Weimar.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM AN OFFICER IN THE ARMY OF THE LATE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK.

Brunswick, June 29, 1815.

—— On the 15th, in the evening, about ten o'clock, a letter was brought from the duke of Wellington's office, which contained an order, that all the troops might be concentrated at the Allée Verte, near Brussels, on the following morning at day-break.—Orders were accordingly given, and sent off as fast as possible; but, the dislocations being rather at a great distance, the troops could not arrive before five o'clock; when the duke, on the instant, marched through Brussels, and so on to the road to Waterloo. Directly afterwards the duke of Wellington followed, and, after shewing a letter to the duke, changed his horse; they then set off together, and were, as fast as possible, followed by their suites. About 10 o'clock we arrived at Quatre Bras, where we found part of the Nassau troops engaged, and heard that the French advanced very fast, and were exceedingly strong. We then went on a hill to observe their approach; but hardly had they perceived the number of officers, but the rascals fired at us with grenades: so we were obliged to leave the spot, and I narrowly escaped being killed. About twelve o'clock we returned; and the duke strongly expressed his wish of having an opportunity of meeting the French in equal force with his troops. To his great satisfaction, the royal Scotch, the Hanoverians, and his own corps, arrived betwixt one and two o'clock. Tired and hungry as they were, they sang as they passed the duke, abusing and swearing against Buonaparte, wishing that they might soon meet him, and have an opportunity of setting the soldiers of the *grande nation* to rights. Hardly had we marched half an hour, when we saw the French expecting us on a hill. The duke of Wellington then ordered to collect the troops as quick as possible, and to prepare for battle. At two o'clock all was ready, and the attack began. The battle was very bloody, but we compelled the enemy to retreat. About half past four the French advanced again, and appeared double the number of the allied army; but no fear was shewn. The cannonade began most horribly, which in some respects put the train and baggage in confusion: however, the troops stood, and fought like lions; so the French were again obliged to retreat, and were driven back to their position. Here they had a great advantage, being covered by a little wood, where they had placed all their artillery and riflemen.—The duke of Wellington most likely knew this, and ordered a fresh attack, to get the French out of the wood. The troops advanced, the Brunswick division on the left wing. When *they* came near the wood the

French commenced a horrible fire with artillery and case-shot, which occasioned a great loss to our corps. In this attack, which was about seven o'clock in the evening, the duke was unfortunately killed on the spot by a case-shot. At this moment I was not far from his highness, and ordered our small carriage, thinking that he was only wounded—when, alas! to my inexpressible sorrow, I found he was dead. My feelings I cannot describe, but you will be able to form to yourself an idea.

LETTERS WRITTEN FROM FLEURUS.

June 17, 1815.

The French armies have again immortalized themselves on the plains of Fleurus.

We entered Belgium on the 15th. The enemy was overthrown in a first affair upon every point where he attempted to resist us.

Before Charleroi, several of his squares were broken and taken by some squadrons only: one thousand seven hundred prisoners only could be saved out of five or six thousand men, who composed those squares.—Yesterday (the 16th), we encountered the whole of the enemy's army, in its position near Fleurus; its right, composed of English, under the command of Wellington, was in front of Meller, its centre at St. Amand, and its left at Sombref, a formidable position, covered by the little river Ligny.

The enemy occupied also the little village of Ligny, in front of this river. Our army debouched in the plain, its left under marshal Ney, by Gosselies, the centre where the emperor was, by Fleurus, and the right under general Girard, upon Sombref. The actions began at two o'clock upon the left and centre. Both sides fought with inconceivable fury. The villages of St. Amand and Ligny were taken and retaken four times. Our soldiers have all covered themselves with glory. At eight o'clock the emperor, with his whole guard, had Ligny attacked and carried. Our brave fellows advanced at the first discharge upon the principal position of the enemy. His army was forced in the centre, and obliged to retreat in the greatest disorder; Blucher, with the Prussians, upon Namur, and Wellington upon Brussels.

Several pieces of cannon were taken by the guard, who bore down all before them. All marched with cries, a thousand times repeated, of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' These were also the last words of the brave men who fell. Never was such enthusiasm; a British division of five or six thousand Scottish was cut to pieces; we have not seen any of them prisoners. The noble lord must be confounded. There were upon the field of battle eight enemies to one Frenchman.—Their loss is said to be fifty thousand men. The cannonade was like that at the battle of Moskwa.

This morning (the 17th) the cavalry of general Pajol is gone in pursuit of the Prussians upon the road to Namur. It is already two leagues and a half in advance; whole bands of prisoners are taken. They do not know what is become of their commanders. The rout is complete on this side, and I hope we shall not so soon hear again of the Prussians, if they should ever be able to rally at all.

As for the English, we shall see now what will become of them. The emperor is here.

A LETTER TO THE EDITOR, FROM A SCOTCH CORRESPONDENT.

We arrived at Waterloo.—All was now hushed in the stillness of a long line of graves, the consummation which the wounded implored. No one, who has not seen it, can imagine how touching it is to see strewed around their graves fragments of what the brave men wore or carried when they fell. Among the straw of the trodden down corn, which still covered the field, lay caps, shoes, pieces of uniforms and shirts, tufts, cockades, feathers, ornamental horse hair, red and black; and, what most struck us, great quantities of letters, and leaves of books. The latter were much too far defaced, by rain and mud, to make it worth our while to lift any of them. In one letter we could just make out the words, so affecting in the circumstances—"My dear husband." We brought away some leaves of a German hymn book; and probably, had we had time, might have found something curious, in which the peasants seemed not at all to have anticipated us.

We were now in the station of the prince

of Orange, and where he received his wound. The Dutch and Belgians, under his immediate command, behaved very gallantly.—The prince is said, in a moment of chivalrous feeling, when applauding their valour, to have torn the star from his breast and thrown it into their column, adding, that he did not know who best deserved it, and therefore he gave it among them.

A very gay regiment of gentlemen light horse volunteers were in the battle of Waterloo, all inhabitants of a continental city which I shall not name. An opportunity occurred for them to charge the French cavalry, and an aide-de-camp came to them with an order or request to that effect from lord Wellington. Their colonel, in great surprise, objected the enemy's strength—their cuirasses—and the consideration, which had unaccountably, he said, escaped the commander in chief, that his regiment were all *gentlemen*. This diverting response was carried back to lord Wellington, who dispatched the messenger again to say, that if the *gentlemen* would take post upon an eminence, which he pointed to in the rear, they would have *an excellent view* of the battle; and he would leave the choice of a proper time to charge entirely to their own sagacity and discretion, in which he had the fullest confidence! The colonel actually thanked the aide-de-camp for this distinguished post of honour, and, followed by his gallant train, with their very high plumes (the present great point of continental military foppery), was out of danger in a moment.

A regiment of light dragoons (the 12th) was posted near the prince of Orange. Their charges were of the most spirited kind; and nothing but the cuirasses enabled the French dragoons to resist them. For the account of so much pure valour, without trick or cover, against so much iron, it is not difficult to decide where honour would award the balance. Many brave men were sacrificed to the iron cases, and taffeta flags, which frightened their horses. A gallant young friend of my own lay near the spot we had now reached. He had just joined the 12th dragoons; and in the first charge of his regiment, in which he bore a very distinguished part, received a wound which was instantly fatal. There was a melancholy satisfaction in beholding the spot of his honourable grave: a prouder sepulchre, the turf on which the soldier falls, than the proudest mausoleum in consecrated ground.

No part of the field was more fertile in impressive associations than the ground of the 30th, and, I believe, the 73d regiments, brigaded under our gallant countrymen, severely wounded in the battle, sir Colin Halkett. I had already heard much of the firmness of these brave troops, and was to hear still more. To no square did the artillery, and particularly the cuirassiers, pay more frequent and tremendous visits; and never were they shaken for a moment. Their almost *intimacy* with these death-bringing visitants increased so much, as the day advanced, that they began to recognise their faces. Their boldness much provoked the soldiers. They galloped up to the bayonet points, where, of course, their horses made a full stop, to the great danger of pitching their riders into the square. They then rode round and round the fearless bulwark of bayonets; and, in all the confidence of panoply, often coolly walked their horses, to have more time to search for some chasm in the ranks, where they might ride in. The balls absolutely rung upon their mail; and nothing incommoded the rider except bringing down his horse, which at last became the general order. In that event he generally surrendered himself, and was received within the square, till he could be sent prisoner to the rear; a generosity ill-merited, when it is considered that the French spared very few lives which it was in their power to take. Many officers were murdered, *after* giving up their arms; and when many prisoners were collected, cavalry were sent to cut them down, when circumstances at the moment prevented their removal!

In the revolutionary demoralization, produced by an education of violence and selfishness, nothing is more frightful than the want of feeling which characterizes the French soldiery. Their prisoners could hardly expect to be spared by the men who, lying wounded themselves in the hospitals at Antwerp, were often seen mimicking the contortions of countenance, which were pro-

duced by the agonies of death, in one of their own comrades in the next bed. There is no curse to be compared to the *power* of fiends like these. Europe entire was forced to put them down; and they made a gigantic effort at Waterloo to rise again. It makes one nervous to think that they were within a hair's breadth of succeeding; and often I experienced a movement, in which it was hard to say whether there was most of indignation or ridicule, when I heard Frenchmen and French *women* lamenting, in pathetic and *sentimental* terms, their failure, with scraps about "*Vertu malheureux, mais toujours respectable.*"

The cuirassiers were repeatedly driven off by the 30th, and the comrade regiment; reduced themselves by painful degrees more and more every attack. The line was always again formed with unwearied alacrity; no complaint escaped the patient soldier's lips, if we except an occasional cry to be led on. The storm was seen again gathering and rolling on. The serious command, "*re*-form square, prepare to receive cavalry," was promptly and accurately obeyed. The whole were prostrate on their breasts, to let the iron shower of artillery fly over, and erect in an instant, when the artillery ceased and the cavalry charged. Their country does not know one-tenth of the merit of the "The *men* of Waterloo."

This gallant brigade was honoured with several visits from the illustrious chief. In one he enquired "how they were?" The answer was, that two-thirds of their number were down, and that the remainder were so exhausted, that leave to retire, even for a short time, was most desirable; some of the foreign corps, who had not suffered, to take their place. General H. was told that the issue depended on the steady unflinching front of the British troops; and that even a change of place was hazardous in the extreme. He impressively said, "Enough, my lord, we stand here till the last man falls."

One anecdote more of this glorious brigade I cannot withhold. I have no apology to make for the length of my narrative; I feel that every one who reads of Waterloo will agree with me in opinion, that it is impossible to dwell too long upon the engrossing theme. A gleam of the gentler affections is hailed with tenfold sympathy, when, for a moment, it gilds an interval of the empire of the sterner virtues in the warrior's bosom. It is like the breathing of the softest flute after the clang of a thousand trumpets; or the downy contact of the halcyon's breast, which stills the stormy sea. In the midst of their dangers, this band of heroes had their attention called to a very affecting scene of private friendship. Two of the officers were the more closely attached to each other, that they were not on terms of perfect good understanding with the rest of the mess; owing to their having opposed some arrangements which the rest thought expedient, but which it was expected would be attended with some expence; and at the same time concealed, most honourably, the real grounds of their opposition to the general voice; that, besides their own families, they had each two sisters to support; a consideration which, assuredly, they could not have *pleaded* in vain. The similarity of their circumstances most naturally cemented their friendship, which was quite a bye-word in the regiment. After doing their duty calmly through nearly the whole of the murderous day, they found themselves both unhurt at a late hour in the evening; when one of them playfully called to the other, who stood at a little distance, "I always told you they never would hit me. They never did it in Spain, and they have not done it to-day." He had hardly spoke when he was shot dead on the spot. His friend stood for a few moments motionless, then burst into tears, flew to the body, threw himself down beside it, and sobbed over it, inarticulately repeated several times, "My only friend." The officer who related the affecting story told me, that so completely did the scene overcome every one who witnessed it, that there was not a dry eye among them.

There were not wanting some striking instances of individual heroism at Waterloo.

General Halkett had a brother in the field, who was colonel of a Hanoverian corps, or a regiment of the German legion. A trait of spirit is related of him which has few examples in modern warfare; and is not ex-

ceeded by the far-famed achievement of Robert Bruce, in his short combat with sir Henry Bohun, in that memorable battle, which stood foremost on history's brightest page, till Waterloo was fought. A French general was giving his orders with great confidence to a large body of French troops; and had come to their front unattended.—Colonel Halket made a dash at him, having seized a favourable opportunity, at full gallop, and putting a pistol to his breast, seized his horse's reins, and brought him off from the very beards of his wonder-struck soldiers! I had the good fortune to spend an evening at the Hague with the mother and sister of these gallant men; from whom, it is needless to observe, I heard not one word of their deeds, which were quite new to me when I arrived at Brussels.

I had seen, as formerly mentioned, a young officer, at Antwerp, who had received twenty-four sabre wounds. The 69th, his regiment, with another, was the square next on the right of general Halkett's. In one of their formations the French cavalry was unfortunately too soon for them, penetrated into the midst of them, and almost cut them to pieces.

We saw the point where a Belgic corps was stationed on the right, where the French called out, "Brave Belgians, come over and join your old comrades." It is well known that they did not comply with the invitation.

We next, in our interesting round, arrived at the memorable post of Hougoumont, for ever associated with the name of the British foot guards. To them exclusively belongs the glory of having foiled the persevering and desperate attacks of at least 30,000 of the enemy; and they were just the *first*, *second*, and *third* regiments of guards. Here again national feelings were not to be resisted: lord Saltoun, colonels Home and M'Donnell, being of the "North Countrie," a nation (says the sweetest of their bards)

> "Patient of toil; serene amidst alarms;
> "Inflexible in faith; invincible in arms."

We were surprised to find Hougoumont (or, more correctly, Goumont, a mistake, it is believed, of lord Wellington's, destined now to perpetuity, and very naturally arising from hearing rapidly pronounced, *le chateau de Goumont*), a country seat, with garden neatly laid out in the Dutch taste, and extensive offices. A small wood was on the outside, close to the high garden wall, which is of brick, perforated in two tiers for musketry; and shattered with the enemy's cannon balls. The light companies of the three regiments were in this wood, and were of course driven into the house.

The French officers' "Relation" admits that the place was not taken; that his countrymen suffered dreadfully in their unavailing attempts upon it, and at last endeavoured to shell it on fire. This they only partially effected; but they did leave the place a scorched and shattered inheritance, first to its brave defenders, and ultimately to its proprietor.

We could not resist picking up some small fragments even of the bricks and slates of this sacred spot; and we found some pieces of the bombs by which the chief havoc was occasioned. For some time after the battle, the accumulation of dead in and round this post presented, perhaps, the most shocking spectacle in the whole field. When in the garden, where fruit trees and shrubberies seemed as if they were blighted, and the neat alleys of holly and yew have been much torn and deranged, we saw the poor gardener, who had remained in his garden all the time of the furious storm; because, as he candidly owned, after the battle was begun he could not venture out of it. He confirmed the fact that the enemy never were within the premises, house, offices, or garden.

It is said that two ladies, deeply interested for some relative, were in a carriage the greatest part of the action, on the great road; certainly repeatedly under fire. And an old woman remained in her cottage, almost in the midst of the fight, as she said, to *save* her cows and pigs! We did not see this heroine.

The natural idea of the indemnification of the owner of Hougoumont occurred to us when we surveyed his roofless walls and desolate domain. One of the farmers of the field, the progress of which to harvest had been so tremendously interrupted, asked us whether the British government was to pay him for his corn, which had been trodden

down? We told him that the said government has sometimes paid much less reasonable costs; and that he should at least make the trial, by putting in his claim.

The wood on the outside had been choaked up with the French dead; and more wreck lay here than on any other part of the plain.

We crossed diagonally to the hovel of *Belle Alliance*, a name of superstitious coincidence; on which it is the custom of the French, more than ours, to lay much stress. Certainly they never had three such names as *Fuentes d'Honore*, *Vittoria*, and *Belle Alliance*, to boast of! The house is of the poorest description; consisting of two rooms, with two smaller back rooms, a passage, and some miserable holes up stairs. There are also some ruinous outhouses, and a well, into which several dead bodies were thrown. On the gable of the house, the owner has painted, in very large and rude letters, in black, on a white wash ground, "*Hotel de la Belle Alliance!*"

Our officer assured us that Wellington and Blucher did *not* meet in this house, as generally believed; but some hundred yards further on in the pursuit. He had himself seen the meeting and the parting of these two great men, on that never to be forgotten occasion. It is possible the duke may have entered the house; and the people shew a straw-bottomed chair on which they say he sat down; but at any rate, it was the headquarters of Buonaparte during the battle.—The latter had supped in one house, and slept in another, not far from Belle Alliance. The first of these houses had been unroofed and nearly destroyed, for no very assignable reason.

We entered the house, hovel as it was, with great respect, got some refreshment, and drank a bumper on the spot to the alliance. A party of Brussels' inhabitants, whom we had often met in the field, were sharing the same bread and cheese, and *vin du pays*.—There was no resisting a toast for them, "*Vive le brave Prince d'Orange, et les Belges qui se battirent à ces côtés sur ce champ même.*"

Their return was, "*Vive le puissant Wellington et ses brave Anglais, nos meilleurs amis.*"

We were so much in the spirit of the moment and place as to read, while we rested, both lord Wellington and Buonaparte's account of the battle, which we had with us; and in the same paper there happened to be the account of the proceedings of the Edinburgh meeting for the Waterloo subscription. The speeches of several well known characters, and, among the rest, of Mr. Walter Scott, we read aloud; and certainly they could not have been read upon a more impressive spot. One extravagance further, and no more, we committed within the memorable walls of Belle Alliance. The passage was white washed, and many names were written upon it; we quoted the following lines from the Vision of Don Roderick, on the very spot of Napoleon's final defeat and ruin, on his first trial of strength with "the Wellington." The poet apostrophises Massena after the battle of Fuentes d'Honoro,

"Tell him thy conqueror was Wellington;
"And if he chafe, be his *own* fortune tried,
"God, and our cause, to aid, the venture we'll abide."

As we were so far advanced, we wished, before visiting Buonaparte's station, and returning to the position of the left wing, to have one glance of the country over which the panic-struck enemy had fled. Nothing meets the eye but extensive uninclosed corn fields, with very little wood; as if Soigné had rendered all further plantation in its region unnecessary. There could not have been a clearer field for fight, and well the advantage was appreciated by every *individual* French soldier. It was in this quarter the Prussian stragglers were most dangerous for several days after the battle.

The officer who was with us belonged to the 23d. His regiment passed close to Genappe, on the opposite side of the road; by which means he was witness to what lord Wellington even *said* to Blucher. He saw them meet on the road, and walk their horses for some hundred yards in earnest conversation, when lord Wellington wished the veteran good night, and success in the pursuit, and turned his horse back again to Waterloo, to write his important dispatches.

For a great breadth along the road, our officer pointed out to us the station of the reserve of the cavalry of the old guard; with

which a desperate final effort was made to retrieve the battle. The marks of the horses' feet in the deep ground, hardened again when we saw it, gave an amazing idea of the immensity of the force which had stood there. The reserve of the young guard was posted in a hollow, between *Belle Alliance* and Mon Plaisir. To the right of the 23d, advanced in the pursuit, the 52d and 71st regiments. It fell to them to meet the young guard. Numbers were more than ever out of the question—panic had spread through the vast host of the enemy. The two regiments, weakened as they had been, rushed upon the guards, and routed them in an instant: the same guard, with whose spirit and equipment Napoleon had so lately before made all Europe to resound. A most admirable manœuvre was here performed by the two victorious regiments. They separated, and running on two sides of an oval for a considerable way, met again, and thus cut off several thousand prisoners.

Returning by *Belle Alliance*, we advanced about 150 yards to rising ground, on the left hand side of the road, looking to the British army, from which Napoleon viewed the field; and a very complete view he had of it. He had no scaffold erected where he stood, and certainly never went, after the battle had commenced, to the telegraph in the rear, which was at the distance of at least a mile. The "Relation" says, that he was generally dismounted, walking backwards and forwards in his usual attitude, with his hands behind his back, and looking stedfastly at the conflict. Lacoste, the farmer, or rather proprietor, of La Belle Alliance, it was well known, was pinioned, set on horseback, and placed beside the emperor; very often exposed to fire, and laughed at for manifesting very natural alarm; carried off for some miles in the flight, when the emperor used the freedom to forget him; and ultimately dismissed with the high reward, for all he had undergone, of one Napoleon d'or, about 20 shillings sterling. We had the good fortune to see this man. By the concurring testimony of friends as well as enemies, the great Napoleon forfeited his name on the spot of ground where we now stood. With all his pretensions to consummate skill, he had but one *tactique*, and that was furious onset with overpowering masses of force; a system which had in no previous battle, Leipsic excepted, ever failed him. He was well aware of the numerical inferiority of the British army, and making every allowance for their determined valour, well known, but yet untried by him, he concluded confidently, that as they must remain on the defensive, a sufficient quantity of grape shot would, in a certain number of hours, entirely cut them down.

His surprise has already been mentioned, and pretended joy to see the English face about at all; his exclamation, "Ah! I have them yet," evidently shewed that he had never fought them before. Lacoste describes his agitation as extreme, and his consumption of snuff inordinate, when the three mighty armies which he had rolled on to Hougoumont, La Haye Sainte, and the British left, failed to produce the result of French onset to which he had been accustomed. Two were defied and visited with frightful carnage; and one was recoiling in confusion; and they comprised more than half his vast army. He became cross and short in his answers, and furious in his commands. He had, however, no want of troops. For six hours more, with his usual profligate disregard of human life, he varied not the mode of attack, but poured his devoted enthusiasts on, though again and again driven back with immense slaughter. La Haye Sainte was taken, half a mile in his front along the road. It was of no use but to enclose the captors for the well directed range of the British howitzers. A message came from the general, for orders about that useless post, which could not be kept because of *a battery* which commanded it; what would it please his majesty to order the general to do? "Sieze it!" was the laconic answer, and the emperor turned his back on the aid-du-camp.

He could not restrain occasional compliments to the British troops. "How they form—how they move—how they do their work—what beautiful troops."

About this time, nearly four o'clock in the afternoon, a British officer was brought into his presence a prisoner. He was severely

wounded, but as it is an important rule in battle to transmit prisoners of rank to head-quarters, he was detained till several questions were put to him by the emperor, and, as I was informed, with great politeness.

1st. "Is lord Wellington himself in the field?"—Answer. "He is."

2d. "What is the state of the spirits of the English troops?"—Ans. "As determined as ever."

3d. "Where are the Prussians?"—Ans. "It is believed they are at hand."

Buonaparte was observed to look thoughtful. He, however, politely dismissed the officer, to have his wounds taken care of.

The British keeping their defensive position, the entire French army, as the assailants, naturally found themselves very considerably advanced on the plain; an advance which Buonaparte falsely called occupying the British *line*. This very advance was their ruin. The British artillery now played from their higher ground upon the *whole* French army, with the exception of the reserve of guard, old and young; and every opportunity of attack was seized by the British, both infantry and cavalry. "The combat deepened," and fresh spirits rushed "to glory or the grave." It was now the tug of battle: the impetuosity—the high spirit—the "stern joy" of first onset—was gone by; now was come the murderous strain of of the mighty armies, the poise and balance of the day.

"The affair is kept up," *(se sautient)* says the "Relation"—"not a foot on either side is yielded; new columns are advanced; charges are renewed; three times the position is on the point of being forced; and three times, after prodigies of valour, the French are stopped short."

Nothing can be more descriptive than what follows of the reaction, the languor, which succeed over-excitement, the depression of baulked enthusiasm.

"Hesitation appeared in the French army, and marked uneasiness *(de vives inquiétudes)*. Some dismounted batteries retired, multitudes of wounded separate from the columns, and spread alarm for the issue of battle.—Profound silence had succeeded to the acclamations and cries of joy of the soldiers, sure of being led to victory. At the moment *all* the troops, with the exception of the infantry of the guard, were engaged, and exposed to a fire the most murderous. The action continued with the same violence, but led to no result."

"It *was near seven o'clock*. Buonaparte, who till that moment had remained on the ridge which he had chosen, and from which he saw well all that passed, contemplated with a look of ferocity the hideous prospect of so frightful a butchery. The more the obstacles multiplied, the more he became obstinate. He was indignant at the unforeseen difficulties, and, far from having fears to devote an army, whose confidence in him had no bounds, he persevered in sending on fresh troops, with orders to march forward, to charge with the bayonet, to sweep away.—Several times he was told, from different points, that the affair was against him, that the troops appeared shaken; '*en avant*,' *repondit il*, '*en avant*,'—forward, forward."

Another British officer was brought prisoner at this rare juncture; and witnessed the unexpected demeanour of this hitherto idolized man, in the presence of an enemy so new to him. He raved and stormed, and, regardless of witnesses, threw away in a moment the character founded on fifteen years of miracles. A British officer witnessed this suicide of Napoleon's fame. It was, it may be believed, delightful to this officer, to hear the answer given to Buonaparte's general wholesale commands, to *destroy* and *break*, and sweep away the English. "*Sire, il est impossible*." Yet at the very moment he was sending off estaffettes with dispatches; and, true to the last gasp of his political existence, and to that policy which has itself roused the vengeance of united Europe, he repeated several times, "*avec distraction, Qu'il n'oublie pas de dire partout que la victoire est à moi*." Several officers near him expressed their wonder, by saying, "*Il a perdu la tête*." How different this melancholy scene of the fury of disappointed oppression, from the *calm* he displayed at *Jena!* when he played the unruffled god, far above the passions of the war below, and its vulgar risks; on a safe eminence, waving his baton, and columns of the enemy disap-

peared! It is indeed time that this mummery, this serenity of triumphant profligacy, should be exposed in all its hollow worthlessness and naked deformity.

The Prussians appeared. From the ground on which we stood, the wood seemed about three miles off, from which they began to debouche about seven o'clock in the evening. Lacoste witnessed the information repeatedly brought to Buonaparte, and heard his persevering assertion, that it was the corps of marshal Grouchy. This, however, was not his real belief; for, instead of waiting for it, he immediately resolved to throw his last stake, before the *possible* Prussians might arrive. The old and middle guard were now ordered forward, as the last column of attack. It was led by Ney, as he himself narrates, in mournful silence, to make a *last* desperate effort on the British centre and left: he well knowing all the time that the battle was already lost, and could not be retrieved by a mere reserve, if the whole army had failed to make any impression on the British position.

The Picton warriors, with the gallant Kempt at their head (for Picton was no more), were to meet and confound this last effort of rage and despair.

We left the station of Buonaparte, and in imagination, as we proceeded, attended the sullen march of this column to the point of its destined defeat. The whole French army had been premonished of the movement of the old guard; and new and desperate efforts were called for. All eyes were fixed on the old guard, which had never before failed.—New efforts *were* made, in a surprising degree, by this inflammable volatile soldiery. The flame of honour burned, however, much more steadily in the British army. Great efforts in their enemies, as usual, produced still greater in them, and not an inch of ground was gained by the assailants. The track of ground over which the guard moved, and over which they fled, was still, when we passed it, covered by their spoil, and marked by horses' feet, cannon wheels, and the deeper furrows of balls and bombs. Ponsonby fell here.

As usual, the artillery of the guard poured its iron shower, and the cavalry followed with its desperate charge. It is in vain for Buonaparte to say that his old guard were not beaten, or that the cry to which he attributes his defeat, "the old guard are driven back," was not true. The bold movement of Picton, with his favourite Highlanders, was tried by his brave successor; and the boasted cavalry of the old imperial guard were charged and routed by the Scottish bayonet! We stood with exquisite national feelings here. From this point, as lord Wellington's dispatch states, commenced that final and fatal recoil, which determined him to give the order for a general attack by the whole army. The infantry of Kempt's division rushed down the slope, in pursuit of their advantage. An immense mass of the grenadiers of the guard stood yet unbroken in their front. The greys once more appeared; and, impatient to support their countrymen, leapt their horses, almost one by one, through the hedge, hardly waiting to form, but galloped down in the middle of the Highlanders, cheering, "*Scotland for ever!*" The watch-word excited a phrenzy of ardour, and the old guard fled before them. Ney, by his own account, dismounted, escaped on foot, from what *he* calls this *terrible* battle; a worse fate than that of the noble Picton, whose "life blood stained a *spotless* shield," when he fell, and

"With his back to the ground, and his feet to the foe,
"Leaving in battle no blot on his name,
"Look'd proudly to heaven, from the death-bed of fame."

A thousand French *dead*, alone, lay on this spot; and even yet it exhibited holsters (one we observed which had been filled with blood), standard holders, pieces of bridles, straps, girths, &c. all denoting a tremendous conflict of cavalry, and the ground seemed quite cut to pieces with the marks of the struggling exertions of horses' feet. The well known caps of the grenadiers of the French guard lay yet in considerable numbers, with rags of their uniforms. Some more affecting remains were also there, pieces of tartan and of black ostrich feathers, the plaids and plumes of Scotland.

A loud cheer, we were informed by our officer, now ran along the whole British line. He was much struck by observing the sun shine out at that moment, after having been some hours under cloud In an instant the

whole was on the forward move. The British foot guards had destroyed a column of the old guard, in their own front, near Hougoumont. The enemy were already in irretrievable rout. The feeble attempt, made in despair, by Buonaparte, with the young guard, is not worth mentioning: the "Relation" says, they turned with the torrent.

The anxieties of the British chief were now over. They had been almost too much to be borne. Often, it is said, he had prayed in agony, for the Prussians or the night! When their guns commenced, it is described by officers who heard it, as something like a *yell* of rapture, with which he called out, "There goes old Blucher at last," and, unable to bear up any longer, burst into tears. Fifteen hundred of his friends lay on the ground about him; and before him was the spectacle of his powerful enemy, who were within a hair's breadth of destroying him, in full rout and ruin—and the world delivered! The moment was too overpowering, the feeling was too big for any heart to contain. In an instant the great Napoleon and France were levelled in the dust—Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, Wagram, "fell like stars from the firmament cast,"—"the star of Peace" arose—Its enemies were a mass of panic and impotency—"The meteor flag of England" was burning terrific, and had consigned to insulted injured Prussia, a ripened harvest of revenge.

The mind has scarcely buoyancy sufficient to allot to England a pinnacle of glory high enough for this crisis. The account is too complex, as well as too vast, to allow at one grasp, a view of all its elements. One feature is in prominent and brilliant light—the steadiness of England for five and twenty years, concentrated into a focus at Waterloo, to which eternal justice denied not the victory.

What would Cowper have said, when he did such justice to the constancy of his country, when bearing up against the jealousy and hostility of the world; instead of engrossing, as she now does, their gratitude and admiration—

"O England, thou art a devoted deer,
"Beset by every ill but that of fear.
"The nations hunt, all mark thee for a prey,
"They swarm around thee, but thou stand'st at bay,
"Undaunted still, tho' wearied and perplex'd.
"Once Chatham sav'd thee—Who shall save thee next?"

A noble proof occurred, in the evening of the battle, of the generous candour of the brave Prussians themselves, on the question of British ascendency. A regiment of light dragoons overtook a corps of Prussian cavalry in the pursuit. The latter instantly formed line to give the British the lead; and, as they passed to take the compliment, the Prussian trumpets sounded "God save the King," with loud huzzas! There are some junctures in human affairs which are almost too much for the feelings.

We saw the extreme left; the well defended post of the brave men who had "whetted their swords on Brunswick's tomb." Their conduct in the battle was not surpassed even by that of the British. They had lost their gallant prince two days before, and mourning, which their uniform is, still worn for the aged duke, who died of his wounds and a broken heart after the day of Jena, well became the double vengeance which was claimed from them at Waterloo; and honourably they paid the debt.

There is no better witness to the entire rout of the French army than the author of the "Relation." "The army now quit spontaneously, and at the same instant, its ground, and scatter like a torrent; the cannoneers abandon their guns, the soldiers of the train cut the traces of their horses, the infantry, the cavalry, all the arms, are mingled and confounded, presenting now only an unformed mass, which nothing could arrest, and which was intent on saving itself by the road and across the fields. A vast number of carriages in park, along the sides of the road, followed the movement with precipitation, crowded to the road, and encumbered it to such a degree that not a wheel could move.

"No point of direction had been given, and no word of command could now be heard. The generals, and other chiefs, lost in the crowd, and carried along with it, were separated from their troops. There was no longer a single battalion to rally upon: since nothing had been provided to insure a reasonable retreat, how was it possible to resist

a derout so complete, of which no idea could have been formed, and which was, *till then* unheard-of in the French army, already visited by so many disasters.

" The guard, that immoveable phalanx, which in the greatest catastrophes had been the rallying point of the army, and its rampart; the guard, in fine, the terror of the enemy, was overthrown *(terrasée)*, and fled dispersed with the multitude! Every one saved himself as he best could *(au hazard)*, &c."

I found myself on the field, nearly half an hour after the rest of our party, with imagination even yet unsatisfied, and associations as active as ever. I was now alone on the silent scene; with a distant view of some poor peasant still patiently plying the trade of relic hunting. It was the grave of 20,000 men, who little more than a month before, had descended in the magnificent arena, full of life and hope. It is impossible to describe the sort of feeling resulting from the idea of the vast charnel house around.

All about lay the melancholy remains of the clothes, accoutrements, books, and letters of the dead. The two last, after the interment, were spread over the field, like the rubbish of a stationer's shop.

One moment more, on the probable spot where lord Wellington took refuge in a square for a considerable time, with the French cuirassiers on the outside, and I left the field, prouder of the name of Briton, than on any moment of self gratulation, on the same score, during my life.

On joining my friends, I found one of them had bought a cuirass and brace of beautiful pistols, of very considerable value, which the poor woman who sold them had found in the cloak case of a French general. She paid a compliment to England, the sincerity of which she proved by the act with which it was accompanied. We happened to have no other coin but guineas to pay the purchase. The price was three. When she saw the coins she refused them; not because she thought them bad money, but because she had never seen them before. We assured her that in Brussels she could, at the time, exchange them for twenty-six francs each. She still hesitated, and urged her poverty if we should deceive her. All at once, however, she took the money, adding, " *Eh bien! Vous êtes Anglais, et les Anglais ne trompent jamais.*"

For a nation of which such an impression prevailed so universally, as to have reached a poor Belgic peasant, was reserved, in the justification of the ways of Heaven to man, the victory of Waterloo.

J. Simpson.

CHAP. XV.——1815.

Napoleon leaves Phillipeville, on his road to Paris.—Enthusiastic attachment of his troops.—He arrives in the capital.—Conferences with the ministers, Fouché, and the Princess Hortensia.—Tumultuous meeting of the deputies.—Patriotic conduct of La Fayette.—Meeting of the deputies.—Proposed forfeiture of the crown.—Irresolution of Napoleon.—His final abdication in favour of his son.—Napoleon II. acknowledged by the deputies.—Retirement of Buonaparte to Malmaison.—New tumults at Paris.—The ex-emperor departs for Rochefort, with his faithful attendants.

The intelligence of Napoleon's arrival at Phillipeville was the signal of assemblage at that place, to all the fugitives who had been dispersed in so many directions. Confidence in the talents of their general, and attachment to his person, were the obvious motives of their conduct, notwithstanding the late disaster. Under every circumstance, in the most abject distress, groaning beneath the most excruciating agonies, and on the verge of death, the French soldiers pronounced his name in accents of the most affecting enthu-

siasm. A man in the hospital at Antwerp, who was seen a few days after the battle by an English traveller, tossed his own amputated arm in the air, with a feeble shout of "The Emperor for ever." Another, at the moment of the preparations to take off his leg, declared that there was something which would cure him on the spot, and save his limb and the operator's trouble. When asked to explain this wild remark, he said, "A sight of the Emperor." The amputation did not save him: he died in the surgeon's hands, and his last words, as he steadily looked on his own blood, were, that he would cheerfully shed the last drop in his veins for the great Napoleon. An individual in the same hospital was undergoing, with matchless steadiness, the extraction of a ball from his left side. In the middle of the operation he exclaimed, "An inch deeper and you will find the Emperor!"

After passing some hours at Phillipeville, Napoleon continued his route to Mezieres, and at the approach of night arrived at Rocroi. His defeat was yet unknown at Paris. The dispatches of his aide-de-camp had alone arrived, and contained the most favourable representations. On the next day bulletins were received from the field of battle, stating that the English had been overthrown at every point, that the Prussians were dispersed, and that the columns of the French were advancing to Brussels. The delusion, however, was of short existence. On the afternoon of the 20th it began to be whispered that affairs had assumed a disastrous aspect.. that the army had sustained a great and decisive defeat, that Jerome was wounded, the emperor killed, and Wellington and Blucher in full march for Paris. The people assembled to the number of 20,000 in the Thuilleries. Every arrival of travellers and couriers from the north weakened the hopes of Napoleon's partizans; and the entrance of the emperor himself within the gates of the capital was almost dreaded as the indication of some great and irretrievable misfortune. At nine o'clock three travelling chariots entered the court of the Palace d'Elysee. They were not immediately recognised by the crowd, and the gates were rapidly closed behind them. From the first descended general Drouet, who advancing to a friend that stood by, squeezed him convulsively by the hand, and exclaimed, "We are all ruined." The third carriage drew up, and prevented all further explanation. In the bottom lay a person, pale, exhausted, and his arm in a sling. As this person slowly alighted, Napoleon, who was behind him, pushed him along, threw him down on the steps of the palace, sprung forward, rushed up the stairs, and entered the apartments without speaking a word, or looking at a single person. His attendants hastened after him. As he approached the door of the saloon he suddenly stopped, cast a look of inexpressible anguish on Drouet, exclaimed, "Dishonoured! Disgraced!" and, hurrying into the apartment, threw himself upon a sofa, and covered his face with his hands. These were the first words he had spoken within the last twenty-four hours.

The night was far advanced—Maret sat in a corner of the room, with an alarmed countenance—Regnault stood before a table, making pencil-marks on a piece of paper before him—Buonaparte walked up and down, biting his nails and taking snuff. He stopped all at once. "Where is the bulletin of Mount of St. Jean."

Regnault.—There it is, corrected.

Buonaparte.—Let us see. (Regnault began reading it.)

Buonaparte.—(During two-thirds of it), It was gained. When Regnault had finished, he said with a sigh—It is lost!

Buonaparte.—It is lost, and—my glory with it.

Regnault.—You have fifty victories to oppose to one defeat.

Maret.—The defeat is decisive; the emperor is in the right.

Buonaparte.—They are not accustomed to conquer. They will abuse the victory.

Maret.—Those whose cowardice Wellington's bravery has made triumphant are more dangerous, and more your enemies, than the English and Prussians.

Regnault.—The republicans will grieve; but they will try to profit by the circumstance.

Buonaparte.—They will do well; at least the glory and liberty of the country will re-

main untouched. If the royalists succeed, it will be by the support of foreigners.

Maret.—The courage of the royalists is in the head of Wellington, and the arm of Blucher.

Regnault.—What most presses is, to stop Blucher and Wellington.

Maret.—How? The army exists no more, and the frontier is uncovered.

Regnault.—The frontier is uncovered, but the army exists; it requires only being rallied.

Buonaparte.—It will rally itself; we must reorganize and repair its losses.

Maret.—Are you sure of Soult and Grouchy?

Buonaparte.—Grouchy is an honest man, but feeble. Soult has given pledges.

Regnault.—The army will re-organize itself, but the corps are incomplete.

Buonaparte.—Assemble the ministers.—I will have the chambers know all to-night.

Maret.—Parties will be agitating.

Regnault.—The parties, agitated for a long time, will know each other, measure their strength, and make efforts.

Buonaparte.—So much the better. The masks will fall off. For the public I mean. As for me, a long time has ——. Summon the ministers. We will make a report—tell the truth. If all patriotism and honour are not dead, the chambers will not refuse men and money.

Maret.—They will speak of sparing water and engines, when the house is on fire.

Regnault.—They have stupidly reproached dictatorship. It is now that it will save all!

Buonaparte.—I have recommenced a constitutional monarchy—convoke the ministers.

Maret.—No dictatorship. But also no indignities. If we are attacked, we will defend ourselves,

Buonaparte.—Ah! my old guard! will they defend themselves like thee?

They separated.—Maret remained with the emperor, who, in spite of his fatigue, received several visits, and especially from Cambaceres, Decres, Caulaincourt, and the two Carnots.

The fidelity of his ministers had always been suspected, and, distrusting the attachment of Fouché, he had established a private police under his own direction. By an individual of this small band, he was presented with a statement of the conduct of the different parties during his absence, and their actual numbers and designs. He had only begun to examine this important document when Fouché was announced. The latter had long determined that, if reverses attended Napoleon, he would abandon his cause, and court the favour of the Bourbons. He feared that the emperor might once more assume all the attributes of unlimited despotism, and dissolve the chambers before any resistance could be made. His object, on this visit, was to deceive his master by a false report of the state of parties; and he succeeded so effectually in his representations, that Napoleon, without regarding the report of his agent, pledged himself to obey the wishes of the nation. The favourable moment for assuming the dictatorship was lost, and the duke of Otranto congratulated himself upon the treachery and atrocity of his deception.

The princess Hortensia next obtained an interview. The enemies of Buonaparte have accused him of incestuous connection with his beautiful relative, but have adduced no proof to justify the aspersion. She was pale, faint, and agitated. With an air of sorrow and of sisterly affection, she painted in sad and melancholy colours his own danger, and the calamities of France. She exhorted him, by every national and every domestic tie, and by a regard for his own safety, to dismiss all ambitious projects, and to save his country and himself. He only replied by incoherent mutterings and unconnected sentences. The Bourbons!—The English!—Dishonour!—was his continual exclamation: till at length, in a moment of ungovernable anger, striking the table with his hand, the accident threw some books on her foot, which was severely hurt. Uncertain whether this violence was intentional, she burst into tears, and was about to faint, when Napoleon, who was deeply agitated, took her affectionately by the hand, expressed his sorrow for the consequences of his unruly temper, and promised that he would consider, and, if possible, grant her request. The cloud for a moment

left Napoleon's brow. One of these expressive and insinuating smiles played upon his lips, which sometimes formed so singular a contrast to the general gloom and sternness of his countenance. He courteously led her to the door, and bade her adieu.

The ministers were now assembled in council. After much deliberation they determined that the evil impression made on the public mind, from the disaster occasioned by the pretended panic of the army, would best be neutralised by proclaiming himself dictator. Lucien, his brother, was peremptory in this opinion, but it was opposed by Fouché, on the ground that the loyal and patriotic sentiments of the chambers rendered such a measure quite unnecessary. Fouché, and others, declared their doubts whether the instruments of such an act could be found, either among those called the jacobins, or any part of the military. The discussion was not so secret but that some intimation of its purport reached a member of the house of representatives, who had been too early skilled in revolutions, and had known Buonaparte too well, not to feel that no time was to be lost.

M. de la Fayette gaining further assurance, from two of the ministers, of the act that was meditating, hurried to the house, which had assembled at an earlier hour than usual, and the president had no sooner taken the chair than he presented himself at the tribune. The president began by correcting some defects of grammar in the procés verbal of the preceding day. "Leave your *erratas*," he exclaimed, "there is other matter of discussion: hasten to open the sitting, and give me the parole." La Fayette had hitherto taken no share in their discussions. His unexpected appearance, therefore, and his commanding demeanour, excited the greatest surprise, and the most lively expectation, and a profound silence reigned through the whole assembly.

"Gentlemen," said he, "for the first time during many years you hear a voice, which the old friends of liberty may yet recognize. The country is in danger, and you alone can save it.

"The sinister reports which have been circulated during the last two days, are unhappily confirmed. This is the moment to rally round the national colours,—the tri-coloured standard of 1789,—the standard of liberty, equality, and public order. It is you alone who can now protect the country from foreign attacks, and internal dissensions.—It is you alone who can secure the independence and the honour of France.

"Allow a veteran in the sacred cause of freedom, and a stranger to the spirit of faction, to submit to you some resolutions, which the dangers of the present crisis demand. I am assured that you will feel the necessity of adopting them:

"Art. I. The chamber declares that the independence of the nation is menaced.

"II. The chamber declares its sittings permanent. All attempts to dissolve it shall be considered high treason. Whosoever shall render himself culpable of such an attempt shall be considered a traitor to his country, and condemned as such.

"III. The army of the line, and the national guards, who have fought, and still fight, for the liberty, the independence, and the territory of France, have merited well of the country.

"IV. The minister of the interior is invited to assemble the principal officers of the Parisian national guard, in order to consult on the means of providing it with arms, and of completing this corps of citizens, whose tried patriotism and zeal offer a sure guarantee for the liberty, prosperity, and tranquillity of the capital, and for the inviolability of the national representatives.

"V. The minister of war, of foreign affairs, of police, and of the interior, are invited to repair to the hall of the assembly."

No opposition was made to these resolutions, so alarming and so bold. The court party was taken by surprise. The leading members were now with the emperor, and the others had not the courage to face the impending storm.

After a short observation from M. Flaugergues, who expressed his wish "that the minister ought to be summoned without delay, and required to communicate every particular of the defeat which the army had sustained, and the real designs of the emperor,"—and a still bolder remark from an-

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other member, "that in a few moments the chamber might be dissolved, and that they would have the regret of losing, by their delay, an opportunity which might not be regained," the propositions were all carried by acclamation, except the fourth. This was for the present suspended, as conveying an invidious distinction between the troops of the line and the national guards, and imputing to Napoleon an intention to avail himself of the assistance of the troops, which they had no doubt existed in his mind, but of which he had not yet given any actual proof.

Although the fourth resolution was not adopted by the chamber, the national guard availed themselves of the hint. They immediately assembled at their respective rendezvous, and a piquet was sent from every arrondissement to do duty at the hall of the deputies, and to charge themselves with the protection of the national representation.

The resolutions of the deputies were transmitted to the chamber of peers, and there adopted with scarcely more discussion, and without amendment.

These steps decided the fate of Napoleon. All, except himself, predicted the speedy termination of his reign, but he was yet unconscious of danger. He saw in these measures only the expression of the fears which the deputies entertained lest he should dissolve them, and re-establish his former despotism, and he did not doubt, that when these apprehensions were removed, they would zealously co-operate with him in endeavouring to save their country.

The day passed over without any event of consequence. The chambers exacted from the ministers the most positive assurances that no designs were harboured against them: and the minister of war, especially, was compelled repeatedly to deny that the troops had received orders to intimidate, or dissolve the assembly. The different parties regarded each other with distrust. They were mustering their respective forces, and it was easy to foresee that a speedy explosion was inevitable.

The discussion respecting the dictatorship was yet proceeding at the Elysée palace, when intelligence was brought to Napoleon that M. de la Fayette was then at the tribune, and haranguing the assembly. Buonaparte was trifling over his cup of coffee.—"La Fayette at the tribune!" said he. The spoon dropt from his hand: he assumed an attitude of indignation, and hastened to his council chamber. The lofty attitude which the assembly had now taken rendered all hopes of success fruitless, and recourse was therefore had to negociation. The ministers, who had loitered in the council of the Elysée by the emperor's order, at length appeared, on a second requisition, before the assembly, accompanied by Lucien Buonaparte, as imperial commissory, who required a committee of the whole house, to communicate an imperial message. At night the imperial committee assembled. It was composed of members holding departments; the ministers of state; the president, and four members of the chamber of peers; the presidents, and four vice-presidents, of the representatives; the heads of the civil and military authorities of Paris; and state counsellors, peers, representatives, and citizens, who were invited by the emperor. The friends of Napoleon were the most numerous party. When the emperor, attended by his three brothers, entered the room, all the assembly rose. He saluted them respectfully, but with some embarrassment. —He attempted to speak: his hand was clenched with the violence of his mental agony; and the distress under which he evidently laboured awakened the pity of his audience, and conciliated their forbearance Many who attended with the design of upbraiding his recent conduct abandoned that intention. He spoke at first in a low tone, and unintelligible sentences; but, encouraged by the evident approbation of his friends, he became calm, collected, and impressive. He confessed the misfortunes which the army had experienced: he descanted on the bravery and attachment of his troops with the most animated eloquence, and frankly acknowledged the faults which he had committed in the course of the campaign. He praised, in the highest terms, the unconquerable bravery of the British, and the unrivalled talents of their commander. He confessed that his only remaining resource was the loyalty and affection of his people, and entreated the advice of the committee for the

direction of his conduct. His eloquence, and apparent sincerity, made a deep impression on the minds of his auditors; and many, who had visited the assembly with feelings inimical to his interests, became converts to his cause.

Count Regnault (de St. Jean D'Angeley), a name well known in the annals of the revolution, commenced the debate.

"The glory of France," said he, "is in the army. Her honour depends on the restoration of our losses. Her liberty and independence are connected with the strength of her defenders. The safety of the country consists in their number, their discipline, and their exploits. A great reverse is to great souls but a salutary warning. Let us turn to the triumph of principles, that misfortune which at first sight may appear to compromise them. If victory has ceased to crown our standards, are there not other palms besides those which are sprinkled with blood. The olive of peace may still flourish upon our menaced frontiers; but that it may bear permanent fruit, it must be planted by heroic hands. Already does the army rally; but our astonished eagle, afflicted at the absence of its defenders, demands that we should fill up those glorious vacancies, which unheard-of sacrifices have made in their ranks. Will you refuse to recruit with heroes this heroic army? By enlarging its battalions, or, at least, by filling them up with devoted men, you will second the public enthusiasm—you will crown the wishes of the nation. Far, however, be from us the desire of revenge. The only conquest for which we fight is that of peace; but in order that we may not be compelled to beg it on our knees, it is necessary that the number of our soldiers should correspond with their courage. A nation defeated, but which never will be utterly vanquished, should not present the reed of peace, but when leaning upon the massive club of her combats. I conclude with moving, that the chambers make an appeal to French valour, whilst the emperor is treating of peace in the most steady and dignified manner."

La Fayette next rose. Every eye was fixed upon him, and the most profound silence reigned in the assembly. Napoleon was agitated to a great degree, but he speedily recovered himself, and assumed the appearance of indifference and unconcern.

"In love for my country," said he, "and ardent wishes to save it from the dangers which threaten to overwhelm it, I will not yield to the last speaker. The sincerity of his patriotism I am not disposed to doubt; but it is with pain that I am compelled to say, that the measures which he proposes would hasten and aggravate the calamities that we all deprecate. The fine army with which our northern frontiers were covered is no more. It can oppose no effectual resistance to the hordes of foreigners who have already passed our borders, and whose course is marked with devastation and blood. It is under the walls of Paris alone that our scattered troops will be able to unite, and dispute with the enemy the possession of the capital of the empire.

"Of the issue of the contest I should not be doubtful. At the voice of their government, and to defend the liberty, the integrity, and the independence of his country, every Frenchman would fly to arms, and the invaders would be chased from our soil with sad discomfiture. But though the triumph would be certain, the contest would be long and dreadful. Our fruitful fields would be laid waste, and our rivers run with blood. Is it necessary to expose our country to these calamities? Is it necessary to fill it with widows and orphans? Are there no means by which peace may be obtained without compromising our honour?

"The last speaker has proposed that pacific overtures should be made to the allies; that while an appeal is made to French valour, the emperor should treat for peace in the most dignified manner. But with what prospect of success will he, or can he treat? Have not our enemies pledged themselves to a line of conduct which, adopted when the issue of the contest was uncertain, and while all France appeared to have rallied round the emperor of their choice, will not be readily abandoned now that victory has crowned their efforts?

"Mingled sentiments of affection and respect prevent me from being more explicit. There is but one measure which can save the

country, and if the ministers of the emperor will not advise him to adopt it, his great soul will reveal it to him."

The duke of Bassano was the chief opponent of the speech thus delivered. He suggested the expedience of placing beneath the restrictions of a severe police, the members of the different factions who had insulted, or disturbed, the government of Napoleon.—"Let those chiefs," said he "be punished, who, coming from the various cities of La Vendee, and the frontier provinces, cherish the hopes of the court of Ghent, and the animosity of Europe. Exclude their accomplices from official authority. Restrain the inferior agents with more strictness, and you will have produced the double effect, of disconcerting the foreign enemy, and of strengthening the government and its friends. Had this measure been adopted, a person who now hears me, and who well understands me (La Fayette), would not smile at the misfortunes of the country, and Wellington would not be marching on Paris." This harangue was received with continued clamour, and the duke of Bassano was compelled to sit down in the midst of hisses and execrations. Another member, in describing the necessity of a change in the form of government, vehemently exclaimed, "The liberties of the nation should not be mere chimeras, and her rights words without meaning." Before the assembly separated, one of the members, who had taken no part in the debate, exclaimed, with a voice purposely meant to reach the emperor's ear, "M. de la Fayette has struck at the root of the evil. I admire Napoleon, but in order that all France, and that posterity may think as I do, one great act is still wanting. Is there no one so much a friend to our happiness and glory, as to point out to him in what manner he may still add to them."

At the meeting of deputies on the following morning, they received a visit from general Grenier, who stated, that after a deliberation of five hours, the imperial committee had resolved, "that the safety of the country required the consent of the emperor to the nomination, by the two chambers, of a commission, charged to negociate directly with the coalesced powers, stipulating only that they should respect the national independence, the territorial integrity, and the right which belongs to every people of framing their own constitution. These negociations," it was added, "must be supported by the developement of the national force." Murmurs of disapprobation were heard from every part of the hall. The members expressed themselves in the most indignant terms upon the project of the emperor's treating for peace, when he himself was the only obstacle to its accomplishment. "Give us," said they, "some idea of your new policy. What are your plans, your combinations? Europe has declared war against Napoleon alone.—Let us have no secrets. Shew us the depth of the abyss. We shall find means to fathom it: but how can the emperor pretend to save the country." "We have followed your brother," said M. de la Fayette, "across the sands of Africa, and the deserts of Russia; the bones of our countrymen, that whiten the plains in almost every quarter of Europe, bear witness to our patience and fidelity.—It is our perseverance that we have to regret, and the blood of three millions of Frenchmen. Go (addressing Lucien Buonaparte), tell your brother that we will trust him no longer: we will ourselves undertake the salvation of our country." After much tumultuous discussion, and an elaborate harangue by Duchesne, the latter continued, "I freely express my opinion. What may be the consequence of the late events? We have only one certain means left, which is to engage the emperor, in the name of the safety of the state, in the sacred name of a suffering country, to declare his abdication." The applauses were tumultuous. The vote of abdication was carried, and the ministers, with the counsellors of state, and some deputies, repaired to the palace of the Elysée. The duke of Otranto, M. Constant, and two of the representatives, employed all their eloquence to convince Napoleon of the necessity of the measure.

The following statement is from the pen of M. Didier:—

For two days and nights, meetings and committees succeeded each other in the Elysée palace, without producing any result.

The emperor's anxiety seemed to increase. Much business seemed to be doing, and yet nothing was determined. The time was, however, pressing. The chambers had assembled, and, from the violence of the discussions, it was plain that the parties stood opposed to each other; the necessity of an abdication was already spoken of with much freedom.

I heard the noise of a carriage which stopped at the palace; it was prince Lucien's.—Napoleon turned pale on seeing him; he went down, however, and met his brother in the garden. The prince drew the emperor aside into the closest walk in the garden. I followed at a distance, by turnings which I knew, and I arrived behind a thicket of verdure which concealed me from them. It is probable I heard only the last part of their conversation.

Prince Lucien.—Where is your firmness now? Abandon this irresolution. You know the consequence of not having the courage to dare.

The Emperor.—I have dared too much.

The Prince.—Yes, too much, and too little. Dare once again. You deliberate when it is proper you should act. Others are acting and not deliberating; they will pronounce your forfeiture.

The Emperor.—Forfeiture! Let us see Davoust.

They returned into the palace, and the prince of Eckmuhl was sent for. I am not certain what was proposed to him, nor what he replied; but it appeared that he would attempt nothing against the independence of the national representation.

Prince Lucien, much agitated, soon drove off in his carriage. I heard him say to his secretary, "What can I say to you? The smoke of Mont St. Jean has turned his head."

The emperor shut himself hermetically in a retired cabinet, and did not come out for an hour. He had asked for a jelly and coffee, and a valet-de-chambre sent it in to him by a boy, who, during his service in the palace, had been particularly noticed by Napoleon, and of whom he seemed very fond. The boy looked seriously at the emperor, who was sitting motionless, with his hands over his eyes.—"Eat some," said the boy, "it will do you good." The emperor asked—"Are you not from Gonesse?"—"No, Sire, I come from Pierre Fite."—"And your parents have a cottage and some acres there?" "Yes, Sire."—"That is a happy life!" His head, which he had for a moment raised, he then sunk again upon his hands.

Napoleon soon after returned to his great cabinet, where he found me opening a dispatch. "Is there any thing new there?" said the emperor.—"It contains a letter addressed to his majesty himself." Buonaparte read what follows:—

"The chastisement of a hero consists in his fall. Your's is resolved on, and in order that history may consider it as legal as your contemporaries will believe it just, the public authority is about to pronounce it. Your accomplices will not then have it in their power to describe it as the work of the bayonets of the Kalmucks. You may, however, prevent this. Take to yourself the honour of descending from a throne from which you may be dragged. This is the advice of a candid enemy who has often admired you, who never feared you; and who, at the price of his blood, would have wished to have had to revere, in you, the saviour of that world of which you have been the scourge. That enemy cannot leave him whom his genius and the national will have raised to sovereignty, without saying to him what his friends, if any yet remain to him, ought to say—*Abdicate.*"

"That I should abdicate?" biting his lips, and crushing the letter in his hand. "What think you of it?" said he, to two of the ministers, the duke of Bassano and Regnault St. Jean d'Angeley, who had just entered—the former was silent.—"I understand you," said Napoleon, affecting gaiety, "you agree with the anonymous writer. Well, count Regnault, what is your opinion?"—"With men and money you might still repel the attacks of your assailants; but without them, what can you do but yield?"—"I am able to resist."—"Public opinion is with the chambers, and it is the opinion of the chambers that a sacrifice is required."

Here general Solignac, member of the chamber of deputies, was announced. "So-

lignac!" exclaimed the emperor—"he has not spoke to me these five years, what can he want?" The ministers withdrew, and Solignac was immediately admitted.

I was not present at the conversation, I shall therefore quote the words in which the general has stated it himself:—

"It was settled; the chamber had determined to exclude Napoleon from the throne; but it was wished to shew regard for the army in proceedings concerning the person of its chief, whose power and glory the troops had so long been accustomed to respect. There was also reason to fear, that the decree of its forfeiture might be made the pretext of an insurrection. The capital might become the scene of serious troubles, and the country be involved in a civil war. It appeared necessary, therefore, in order to avoid these evils, that the abdication of Napoleon should proceed from himself, and be considered as a voluntary act of devotedness for the country.

"To obtain this object, I employed the means of persuasion which appeared to me best calculated for success. After an hour and a half's conversation, Napoleon at last yielded to my urgent recommendations. He appeared touched with the frankness and energy with which I spoke, while at the same time I preserved the respect which was due to his rank, and still more to his misfortunes. In a word, I left the emperor with the assurance that he would transmit his act of abdication, and I arrived at the chamber of representatives before the forfeiture, which was then under consideration, became the subject of positive decree."

A secretary was immediately summoned, and the following declaration drawn up:—

"Frenchmen! In commencing war for maintaining the national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. I had reason to hope for success, and I braved all the declarations of the powers against me.

"Circumstances appear to me changed. I offer myself a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they prove sincere in their declarations, and have really directed them only against my power! My political life is terminated, and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon II. emperor of the French.

"The present members will provisionally form the council of the government. The interest which I take in my son, induces me to invite the chambers to form the regency by a law without delay.

"Unite all for the public safety, in order to remain an independent nation.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

Solignac hastened to the assembly with this important paper. It was received with every mark of respect They who had been most eager in their cries for his abdication or forfeiture were the foremost in expressing their gratitude for the sacrifice which Buonaparte had made. La Fayette proposed that his person and interests should be placed under the protection of the national honour, and the resolution was carried by acclamation. Regnault, who had already proved his love to his country by the advice which he had lately given Buonaparte, was eager to shew that no change of circumstances could diminish his affection for his former sovereign:—

"Gentlemen," said he, "I am no longer a minister, I am a citizen; I am a representative of the people, and I have a right to claim this title, for I have proved myself such even in the cabinet of the prince, towards whom you have still a duty to perform; and here I am certain that no one will disavow the sentiments which I am about to express.

"You have had at your head a man whom you have proclaimed great. This man posterity will judge. He was invested by the people with sovereign power. He has laid it aside without reserve, without personal consideration. The chamber should become the interpreter of the sentiments which are due to him, and which the nation will preserve towards him. I propose that the president and his bureau shall proceed to Napoleon, to express to him, in the name of the nation, the gratitude and respect with which it accepts the noble sacrifice which he has made for the independence and happiness of the French people."

The motion was unanimously carried, and

the president, Lanjuinais, attended by the vice-presidents and secretaries, proceeded to the palace. Buonaparte received them surrounded by all his former ministers, by all the grand officers of his household, and by a strong body of his guard. At no former audience had he exhibited so much imperial state. It was an excusable vanity, which made him wish once more to appear as a sovereign, before he retired for ever into the private walks of life. Buonaparte was firm and collected. He was pale and exhausted, from the effect of previous agitation, but was now serene and even cheerful.

Lanjuinais approached with more than usual respect. His countenance was agitated, and his voice trembled. He said that he was commissioned to express the deep sense of gratitude which the deputies unanimously felt for his generous compliance with their wishes, and the imperious demand of circumstances. When his throne was connected with the glory and the happiness of France, or while it could be supported without the hazard of the utter destruction of their native land, they had rallied round him, and would have defended him with their lives. But the reverses of Waterloo had again exposed their beloved country to the invasion of a million of armed foreigners, who had sworn never to make peace with Napoleon, but who had otherwise solemnly promised to respect the independence of the French, and to acknowledge the prince of their choice. Napoleon's resignation of the imperial power was the only expedient which could disarm the fury of the enemy, who, when the object against whom alone they professed to set themselves in array had ceased politically to exist, could no longer consistently carry on the war; and in proportion as the sacrifice which he had made was important to France, their gratitude to him increased. The termination of his political life constituted the most glorious period of his whole career. No longer, by his own generous abdication, their sovereign, they loved and honoured him as the first and most illustrious of their citizens. His safety, and his dearest interests, would be the object of their most tender solicitude, and be ever considered as the most sacred deposit committed to their care.

Buonaparte replied, "I thank you for the sentiments you express. I recommend the chambers to reinforce the armies, and to place them in the best state of defence.—Those who wish for peace ought to prepare for war. Do not expose this great nation to the mercy of the foreigner, lest you be disappointed in your hopes. In whatever situation I may be placed, I shall be happy if France be free and independent. In transferring the right which France has given to my son, I make this great sacrifice only for the welfare of the nation, and the interest of my son, whom I therefore proclaim emperor."

The president observed that the assembly had not deliberated on this point, and had charged him with no commission.

"I told you so," said Buonaparte aside to Lucien, "I did not think that they could or would do it." "Tell the assembly," he continued, turning to the president, "that I recommend to them my son: that I abdicate in favour of my son."

The assembly, without attending to the article respecting the young Napoleon, accepted solemnly, in the name of the French people, the abdication of Napoleon Buonaparte, and named a deputation, composed of the president, the vice-president, and the secretaries, to offer him the thanks of the chamber. It was an interesting spectacle to behold these nine representatives of the people, invested only with the force of public opinion, and the decree of the assembly, entering the palace of a man against whom a million of soldiers were in arms, who had given orders to all the sovereigns of the continent, who still commanded the French armies, the guards which surrounded him, and a numerous party in the suburbs, to announce to him that he was no longer emperor, and that the nation resumed the government. He received the deputation surrounded by all the great officers of his household, and those of his guard, with all the pomp suitable to the imperial dignity, of which he was about to be deprived. His figure and deportment were calm: he said that a great disaster had happened, but that the territory was yet untouched; he spoke of the sacrifice which he made at the desire of the chamber, in the

consideration of public circumstances, and of his tenderness for his son. The president observed to him, in a respectful tone, that the assembly, whose decree he had just read, had not deliberated on that part of his message, but that he would render an account of his majesty's observations. "I thought so," said Buonaparte aside to his brother, "I did not suppose they could do it;" but, resuming, he answered, "Tell the assembly that I recommend to it my son." The deputation then withdrew, still observing the most respectful ceremonies.

The condition of the direct nomination of Napoleon's son to the succession was eluded by the deputies with much dexterity; the house passing to the order of the day, since a son naturally succeeds to his father, but stating, at the same time, by the reporter, that the safety of twenty millions could not be put in competition with the fortune of a child. The assembly thought it imprudent to come to a more open declaration. Buonaparte, though clothed with no legal authority, was still at his palace in the Champs Elysée, surrounded by soldiers, and by multitudes, who saluted him with cries of "Long live the Emperor! Give us arms, we are ready to support him." These effusions of popular sympathy operated on the sensibility of the fallen hero. He testified his gratitude by smiles and courtesies, and a certain number of arms were delivered to the populace. The assembly meanwhile convoked the chiefs of the national guard, and these citizen soldiers formed a formidable and numerous phalanx around them.

The debates of the upper house, or chamber of peers, were not conducted with the same order and decent observance. An opposition arose from a quarter least expected. Marshal Ney, who had commanded the right wing at the battle of Waterloo, rose in his place, and gave the lie direct to the whole of Carnot's favourable report of the state of the army. The deliberations of the house were likewise interrupted by Labedoyere, who said, "If you do not acquiesce in the accession of the young Napoleon, the emperor will draw his sword, and he will yet be unsparing of blood. The nation is unworthy of his affection towards it." The speech of this officer was answered by Massena: "You are much too young M. le General." M. Lameth added, that M. Labedoyere had forgotten he was no longer in the guard house. Nothing further was decided in this discussion on the succession of the king of Rome.

It being impossible to carry on business without an executive government, the first care of the chambers was to select a committee, who should provisionally assume the chief command. Three were appointed by the lower house, and two by the peers. They consisted of the duke of Otranto, minister of police, M. Carnot, minister for home affairs, M. de Caulaincourt, the minister of the foreign department, general Grenier, and M. Quinette. They commenced their proceedings by the following proclamation:—

"Frenchmen! Within the period of a few days, glorious successes and a dreadful reverse have agitated your destinies. A great sacrifice appeared necessary to your peace and the tranquillity of the world, and Napoleon abdicated the imperial power. His abdication forms the termination of his political life. His son is proclaimed.

"Your new constitution, which possesses, as yet, only good principles, is about to undergo its application, and even those principles are to be purified and extended.—There no longer exist powers jealous of each other. The space is free to the enlightened patriotism of your representatives, and the peers feel, think, and vote, as the public opinion directs.

"After twenty-five years of political tempests, the moment has arrived when every thing wise and sublime, that has been conceived respecting social institutions, may be perfected in yours. Let reason and genius speak; and from whatever side their voices may proceed they shall be heard.

"Plenipotentiaries have departed, in order to treat in the name of the nation, and to negociate with the powers of Europe that peace which they have promised on one condition, which is now fulfilled. The whole world will, like you, be attention to their reply. Their answer will make known whether justice and promises are held on earth in any estimation.

"Frenchmen! be united. Let all rally

under circumstances of such great importance. Let civil discords be appeased: let dissensions be silent at this moment, in which the great interests of nations are to be discussed. Be united, from the north of France to the Pyrennees, and from La Vendée to Marseilles. Who is he that, born on the soil of France, whatever may be his party and political opinions, will not range himself under the national standard, to defend the independence of the country? Armies may in part be destroyed, but the experience of all ages, and of all empires, proves that an intrepid nation, combating for justice and liberty, cannot be vanquished.

"The emperor, in abdicating, has offered himself a sacrifice; and the members of the government devote themselves, in accepting from your representatives the reins of state.

"The Duke of OTRANTO.

"T. BERLIER, Secretary.

"*June* 24."

The sentence in which this production declares that the young Napoleon is proclaimed, produced a debate in the chamber of peers, in which prince Lucien opened the discussion. "We have to consider," said he, "how civil war is to be avoided. Is France an independent or free nation? The emperor is dead: let the emperor live. The emperor has abdicated: let the emperor reign. There can be no actual interval between the emperor who dies, or abdicates, and his successor. Such is the maxim which forms the foundation of a constitutional monarchy. All interruption is anarchy. I move that, in conformity with the constitutional act, which has been for the second time sanctioned by the chamber of peers, that we recognise Napoleon II. as the emperor of the French. I shall give the first example, and swear fidelity to him. If a factious minority should attack the dynasty and the constitution, it is not in the chamber of peers that traitors will be found. It is not in that chamber that factions will be supported."

The proposition was supported by many of the members, but was strenuously opposed by count Pontecoulant. This respectable senator was nobly descended. At the breaking out of the revolution he was sub-lieutenant in the body-guards, of which his father was major. He espoused the popular cause with all the violence of youthful ardour, and underwent considerable persecution from his family on that account. He was elected a member of the national convention for the department of Calvados. He there connected himself with the enlightened and patriotic advocates of rational and moderate liberty. He voted that the king was guilty, but proposed that he should be imprisoned until a general peace, and then banished. When the mountain party prevailed, he narrowly escaped the destruction in which the leaders of the liberal party were involved, and made his escape from Paris. After the deserved fall of Robespierre he resumed his seat in the convention, and gained much credit for the zeal with which he defended the colleagues of the monster who had so lately thirsted for his blood. In that he was assisted by Carnot, and they succeeded in laying that spirit of re-action which threatened to deluge France with blood.

Under the directory he was elected a member of the council of five hundred, and distinguished himself by his watchful and zealous opposition to every arbitrary and unjust measure. When he perceived the despotism at which the directory aimed, he was so deeply implicated in a plot to overthrow them and preserve the liberties of his country, that he was sentenced to be deported to Cayenne, with Pichegru and Barthelemy.—He again effected his escape, and never afterwards deemed it prudent to resume his seat in the council.

Buonaparte knew how to estimate his worth, and recalling him from his retirement, appointed him prefect of Brussels, which situation he filled during many years, with honour to himself, and advantage to those over whom he presided. He was equally beloved and respected by all parties, and was one of the very few who have passed through the various stages of the revolution, and taken an active part in them, without one stain on his honour.

In 1805 he was appointed senator, and on the return of Louis created a peer. This selection gave universal satisfaction. Towards the latter part of the short reign of Louis he took little share in the discussions of the

under circumstances of such great importance. Let civil discords be appeased; let dissensions be silent at this moment, in which the great interests of nations are to be discussed. Be united, from the north of France to the Pyrenees, and from La Vendée to Marseilles. Who is he that, born on the soil of France, whatever may be his party and political opinions, will not range himself under the national standard, to defend the independence of the country? Armies may in part be destroyed, but the experience of all ages, and of all empires, proves that an intrepid nation, combating for justice and liberty, cannot be vanquished.

"The emperor, in abdicating, has offered himself a sacrifice; and the members of the government devote themselves, in accepting from your representatives the reins of state.

"The Duke of Otranto.

"T. Bertrand, Secretary.

"June 22."

The sentence in which this proclamation declares that the young Napoleon is proclaimed, produced a debate in the chamber of peers, in which prince Lucien opened the discussion. "We have to consider," said he, "how civil war is to be avoided. Is France an independent or free nation? The emperor is dead: let the emperor live. The emperor has abdicated: let the emperor reign. There can be no actual interval between the emperor who dies, or abdicates, and his successor. Such is the maxim which forms the foundation of a constitutional monarchy. All interruption is anarchy. I move that, in conformity with the constitutional act, which has been for the second time sanctioned by the chamber of peers, that we recognise Napoleon II. as the emperor of the French. I shall give the first example, and swear fidelity to him. If a faction minority should attack the dynasty and the constitution, it is not in the chamber of peers that traitors will be found. It is not in that chamber that factions will be supported."

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peers. He deeply lamented the folly of the court, and the ill-concealed intentions of the royal family, and would not sanction those proceedings whose evident tendency was to prepare the way for the establishment of the ancient despotism. He shared in the general uneasiness, but no one has accused him of being implicated in any plot against the state, or of being privy to the design of recalling Napoleon.

He was one of the peers of Napoleon, and in the short sessions of that parliament still shewed himself the determined friend of justice and liberty. The opposition which he led in this debate against the proposal of Lucien does him credit. He was afterwards appointed one of the commissioners to treat with the allied powers for peace. The friends of their country lamented to see his name erased from the list of peers when Louis returned from Ghent.

The following is an accurate copy of his speech on the present occasion:—

"It is painful to me to give an opinion in opposition to the last speaker. What I would not have said during the prosperity of the emperor, I shall now state when adversity has struck him. Napoleon is my benefactor. I am indebted to him for every thing. I remained faithful to his person until he released me from the obligations of my oath, and gratitude for his benefits will bind me to him until I draw my last breath. But it is proposed that we should act in a manner contrary to the practice of every deliberative assembly. If I rightly understood what was said, it is wished that we should adopt a proposition without deliberating on it. But I ask the prince by what title does he speak in this chamber? Is he a Frenchman? I cannot recognise him as such. I should doubtless be ready to own him as a Frenchman, on account of his sentiments, his talents, and the services he has performed for liberty and national independence. I wish to adopt him as a Frenchman, but he who invokes the constitution has no constitutional title. He is a Roman prince, and Rome forms no part of the French territory.

Lucien.—"I wish to reply to what is personal to myself."

Pontecoulant.—"You may reply when I have concluded. Respect, prince, the equality of which you have often set an example.—The preceding speaker has advanced an inadmissible proposition. We cannot adopt it without renouncing public esteem, without betraying our duty, and the country whose safety is placed in our hands. The first thing to be considered is, whether, when a resolution has passed one chamber, and been adopted by the other, it can be changed by one of the fractions of the legislative authority, while the only question is its execution. The deliberation of this morning is conformable to the laws, to the emperor's declaration, and to the interests of the French people.—What is it that is proposed? The proclaiming of Napoleon II. I am far from objecting to that course, but I firmly declare that, great as is my respect for the emperor, I cannot recognise an infant for my king, or one residing out of France as its sovereign. In such a situation some old senatus consultum would soon be revived. We should be told that the emperor was to be considered either as a foreigner or a captive, that the regency was foreign or captive, and another regency would be formed, which would light up a civil war. I propose that the question be taken into consideration, unless it be of such a nature that it may be put aside by the order of the day, which prejudges nothing. A factious minority has been mentioned.—Where is that factious minority? Are we who wish for peace the factious? I am far from supposing that it can be a minority which thinks it right to reject a resolution which would shut the door against negociation, and which would tend to make us recognise as a sovereign an individual who is not in France. I move that the chancellor do either proceed to the discussion, or pass to the order of the day."

Lucien.—"If not in your's, I am in the eyes of all the nation a Frenchman.—The moment that Napoleon abdicated, his son succeeded him. All that is to be done is to publish a simple declaration. There is no ground for any deliberation. The emperor has abdicated in favour of his son. We have accepted his sacrifice. Are we now to make him lose the fruit of that sacrifice? We want not the opinion of foreigners. In recognis-

ing Napoleon II. we shall do our duty. We call to the throne him whom the constitution and the will of the people have already called to that station."

Boissy d'Anglais also delivered his sentiments. This person was born at Anonnay in 1756, and was an advocate of the parliament of Paris, and *maître d'hotêl* to monsieur, now Louis XVIII. He is a man of letters, and in early life distinguished himself for some excellent papers presented to the academy of inscriptions. He was successively member of the constituent assembly, the national convention, and the council of five hundred. He was named a peer of France by Louis XVIII. and afterwards by Napoleon. He was some time president of the convention, and his conduct in that situation cannot be justified. He was president on the day in which his colleague Ferrand was assassinated. He was the author of the preliminary discourse to the constitution of the year 3.

"I foresaw," said he, "the difficulty which has arisen, but I expected that our decree of this morning would have averted it. Have we not had enough of foreign war, and is it wished to give us civil war also. Let us not divide ourselves. We accepted the abdication unanimously. The only thing now to be done is to appoint a provisional government. I hope we shall be able to stop the progress of the foreigner, but we must not risk the chance of treating with him."

Labedoyere.—"I repeat what I said this morning. Napoleon abdicated in favour of his son. If the chamber of peers—if that of the representatives, do not proclaim Napoleon II. the abdication is null and void. I have heard voices surrounding the throne of the prosperous sovereign, but they withdraw from it, now that he is in misfortune. There are persons who will not acknowledge Napoleon II. because they wish to receive the law from foreigners, to whom they give the name of allies. The abdication of Napoleon is indivisibly connected with the succession of his son. If his son be not recognised he ought to draw his sword, surrounded by Frenchmen who have shed their blood for him, and who are still covered with wounds. He will be abandoned by some base generals who have already betrayed him. The emperor owes this to the nation. We have abandoned him once; shall we abandon him a second time? We have sworn to defend him even in his misfortunes. If we declare that every Frenchman who quits his standard shall be covered with infamy—shall have his house rased, and his family proscribed, we shall then have no more traitors; no more of those manœuvres which have occasioned the late catastrophes, and some of the authors of which perhaps sit here."

A great tumult now arose, and universal cries of Order! Order!

The prince of Essling.—"Young man you forget yourself!"

Lanieth.—"You forget, general, that you are no longer in the guard-house."

Labedoyere.—"Hear me!"

Valence.—"I will not hear you until you have disavowed what you have said."

Labedoyere.—"It was not to you, count, that I referred."

Here the tumult increased, and the voice of Labedoyere was drowned amidst violent exclamations. The president covered himself, and tranquillity was at length restored.

Cornudet spoke next. He was an advocate before the revolution, a member of the legislative assembly, and afterwards of the council of ancients in 1797. He was afterwards concerned in the 18th Brumaire, which invested Buonaparte with the supreme power. For this Napoleon was grateful, and bestowed on him many honours and emoluments. It should be added that Cornudet, though zealously attached to his benefactor, was no servile instrument of tyranny, and sometimes had the boldness publicly to oppose the arbitrary measures of Napoleon. By a curious coincidence, he was created a peer by Louis on June 4th, 1814, and recreated by Napoleon June 4th, 1815. His name is now erased from the list of peers.

The following are the most remarkable passages of his speech:—"We are disputing on words. The members of the chamber recognise the abdication of Napoleon. They will also record the claim of prince Lucien. That precaution will suffice to guard the rights of Napoleon II.—but he is out of France. To speak plainly, he is a prisoner

Under these circumstances what ought to be done? What does the public safety and the national independence require? The establishment of a provisional government, capable of adopting measures for the public safety." The suggestion was adopted, a provisional government was appointed, and the question respecting the succession of Napoleon dismissed by passing the order of the day.

It was with the utmost astonishment that the Parisians saw their senators engaged in discussions of abstract theory, or frivolous points of form, when active preparations to oppose the progress of the invaders were indispensably necessary, and observed with deep regret that Napoleon apparently despaired of the safety of the capital. The populace once more assembled in crowds, and proffered their services against the common enemies of Napoleon and themselves; but as his acquiescence in their wishes would have excited the resentment of the chambers, and prevented the vote in favour of his son's succession, he declined their services. The officers and soldiers became impatient and ungovernable. They compelled every one whom they met to shout, "The Emperor for ever." They insulted the leading members of the chambers. The shops were shut, and some dreadful explosion was hourly apprehended. At the solicitation of his body-guard, Napoleon was at length persuaded to have recourse to force, and prepare to sally out and seize his enemies. But the earnest representations of Carnot, and others of his friends, induced him to abandon his resolve. In answer to their petitions and affectionate advice, he replied with violence—"I abdicated in favour of my son. Have they proclaimed him, or will they proclaim him? They break their faith with me, and my resignation is null and void. Have I not the army—have I not the federates at my command. Can I not now crush them in an instant? And shall I suffer myself and my family to be betrayed and destroyed?"

"Your majesty may certainly accomplish the purpose which you intend. You may disperse the chambers, and the resistance of the national guard would be insufficient to oppose you; but be assured that your power would not last three days. Besides, the peers constitute but one chamber. You know not what course the deputies may pursue. Indeed you have reason to expect better things from them, and their example will be speedily followed by the peers. At least wait the result of to-morrow's debate, and do not be guilty of the injustice of violating the independence of the representatives, when probably you would have had no reason to complain of them."

This forcible and just appeal had its effect. Buonaparte had absolutely started at the denunciation that he would not retain his power three days, and he appeared deeply to meditate on it.

"Well!" said he, at length, "I will wait the event of to-morrow; but let them beware how they trifle with me, or forget the terms of my abdication."

The night passed over without the expected explosion. More than thirty thousand national guards were under arms at their respective depôts, and strong patroles paraded every street, and behaved with the greatest firmness and moderation. They dispersed every group, compelled every loiterer to walk on, and instantly arrested all who were disposed to cause disturbance, whatever party they espoused.

At an early hour on the following morning, the chamber of deputies met After disposing of the orders of the day, M. Berenger moved that the provisional government should be declared collectively responsible.

M. Berenger was originally a physician to the hospital at Grenoble. He did not appear on the political theatre until 1797, when he was elected a member of the council of five hundred, for the department of Isère. He opposed the despotism of the directory, and was deeply concerned in the plot of the 18th Brumaire, which established the little expected, but more dreadful despotism of Buonaparte. In 1801 he was appointed counsellor of state, and afterwards count of the empire, and commandant of the legion of honour. He had the character of being an honest man, and a friend to rational liberty. On the return of Louis, in 1814, he was again named counsellor of state, and director general of the indirect taxes.

M. Defermon immediately ascended the tribune. "That the provisional government," said he, "should be responsible to the nation cannot admit of a doubt; but in whose name does this government act? Do we, or do we not, acknowledge an emperor of the French? There is not a man among us who does not answer we have an emperor in the name of Napoleon II. (Yes! yes! exclaimed the greater part of the members.) I am a representative of the people, and devoted to the interests of my country. My opinion is, that the constitution should be our rallying point. How shall we look in the eyes of Europe and the nation, if we do not faithfully observe our fundamental laws? Napoleon I. reigned in virtue of these laws. —Napoleon II. is therefore our sovereign. (Yes! yes!) When it is seen that we rally zealously by our constituents, and that we have pronounced in favour of the chief whom they indicate to us, it can no longer be said to the national guard that we deliberate, because we expect Louis XVIII. Let us reassure the army, which desires that our constitution should be preserved. There is no longer any doubt as to the maintenance of the constitutional dynasty of Napoleon."

The liveliest enthusiasm prevailed through the assembly. The deputies all rose, and waving their hats, long continued to shout, "The Emperor for ever!" It was afterwards moved, and ordered, that the general emotion which had been manifested, should be mentioned in the minutes.

M. Boulay de la Meurthe next presented himself. His speech is curious, and throws considerable light on the state of parties.

"The abdication of the emperor, such as you have accepted it, is indivisible, and cannot be taken only in parts. I respect my colleagues, but I have my eyes open. I perceive that we are surrounded by a multitude of intrigues, of factions, and many who wish to have the throne declared vacant.

"Gentlemen, if the throne should be declared vacant, you may reckon on the absolute ruin of France. This country would soon experience the miserable fate of Poland (A member observed—and of Spain). The allied powers would divide our finest provinces, and if they assigned to the Bourbons a corner of the empire, it would still be in the hope of possessing themselves of that last portion.

"I appeal to the sentiments of all good Frenchmen. Nothing can prevent me from speaking the truth. I fear nothing. It is long since I have offered the sacrifice of my life. I will now go further, and lay my finger on the sore! An Orleans' faction exists. Yes! I know it. It is vain to interrupt me. I speak from certain information. It is however doubtful whether the duke of Orleans would accept the crown, or if he did, it would perhaps be to restore it to Louis XVIII. (A member.—I can positively assert it.) I move that the assembly declare and proclaim that it recognises Napoleon II. for emperor of the French. (Yes! yes!)"

Many members now spoke, and M. Manuel concluded the debate, in a speech containing the soundest reasoning, and breathing the purest patriotism.

"Gentlemen, opinions are divided on the question which occupies our attention. Some think that it is necessary immediately to proclaim Napoleon II.—others believe that political circumstances require delay, and that the chamber ought not to explain itself till negotiations shall have acquainted us with our true interests. The powers who have already once declared that they will not treat with Napoleon, nor with his family, will they consent to see his son reign? Such is the objection made.

"But in thus publishing our fears before all Europe, in a discussion which may be regarded as a real calamity, are we not teaching them to require such a sacrifice? Is there need of enlarging on this point?

"I love to believe that in this assembly there is but one object, that of saving the country. But it must not be dissembled that France contains more than one party. Would you suffer each of them to flatter itself that your secret intention is to labour for it? Would you desire, that in order to determine your decision, the different parties should raise each their standard, and collect their adherents? What then would become of the safety of the country?

"Yes! gentlemen, since this discussion

has been opened, it is necessary, it is urgent upon us to recognise Napoleon II. emperor; but at the same time it is fit that France should know the motives which influenced us in the nomination of the executive commission, and that in composing it of wise and upright men, we intended to form a council of regency."

The promulgation of this act, however just and generous to Napoleon, precluded every hope and possibility of peace with the confederates. They had distinctly and repeatedly declared that they would not treat with Napoleon or his family, and they could not, therefore, enter into arrangements with an executive committee governing in the name of his son. They naturally suspected that the act of abdication was secretly intended to avert the immediate danger, and, by sowing the seeds of dissension among the allies, to prepare the way for the resumption of the throne. Under the pretended government of the son the father would be the sole possessor of the imperial power, and the reasons for war would have continued precisely the same. Conscious of these truths, Fouché was deputed to represent, in the name of the committee, that his continuance in Paris kept alive a dangerous fermentation in the minds of all parties, and that he would best consult his own happiness, and the tranquillity of the city, by removing to some palace at a distance from the metropolis. As Napoleon II. had been now acknowledged, Buonaparte had no longer a pretext of complaint: he consented to retire from the capital, and in compliance with the suggestion of Fouché, issued the following proclamation to the army:—

"Soldiers! While obeying the necessity which removes me from the French army, I carry with me the happy certainty that it will justify, by the eminent services which the country expects from it, the praises which our enemies themselves have not been able to refuse it. Soldiers! I shall follow your steps though absent. I know all the corps; and not one of them will obtain a single advantage over the enemy, but I shall give it credit for the courage it may have displayed.

"Both you and I have been calumniated. Men very unfit to appreciate our labours have seen in the marks of attachment which you have given me, a zeal of which I was the sole object.

"Let your future successes tell them that it was the country, above all things, which you served in obeying me; and that, if I had any share in your affection, I owed it to my ardent love for France, our common mother.

"Soldiers! Some efforts more, and the coalition is dissolved. Napoleon will recognise you by the blows which you are going to strike.

"Save the honour, the independence of the French. Be the same men which I have known you for these last twenty years, and you will be invincible.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

After issuing this proclamation, the conduct of Buonaparte became visibly altered. The anxiety of the government, and of the chambers, was singularly contrasted by the extreme indifference of him who had been the origin of all the turmoil and bloodshed, and who continued for some time to travel from the palace of Bourbon Elysée to Malmaison and back again, to give fetes there, and to prepare for a journey, no one could say whither, with as much composure as if the general distraction concerned him as little, or less, than any other temporary sojourner in France. To complete the scene, he sent a message to the chambers, to request copies of two books, which he desired might be placed at his disposal. But the near approach of the allies at length accelerated his departure, and on the 29th of June, when they were within three leagues of the city, he set out for Avesnes.

His ministers had secretly provided a swift sailing vessel, in which he might now have fled from Rochefort, and sought refuge on the hospitable shores of America. He displayed the utmost reluctance to depart, but as a pretext for delay, was busily employed in making preparations for his voyage. He wrote at the same time to the government, and solicited to be named generalissimo of the army, to defend Paris and save the country. The offer was rejected, and several members of the government were dispatched to urge the necessity of his departure for Rochefort. With all the insolence of vulgar ingratitude, they addressed their former sove-

reign in terms of the grossest abuse, and with the most outrageous demeanour. Napoleon replied to their taunts and reproaches with equal vehemence. He accused them of violating their solemn promise to respect his person and interests. "Could this," he exclaimed, "be reconciled with their present wish and endeavour to hurry him from the kingdom like a transported felon? Was this the gratitude which they owed, to banish him for ever from his family and friends, and drive him to seek a precarious asylum in a foreign and distant land?" The conference broke up without any amicable result, and the commissioners departed. When the first emotions of resentment had subsided, and Napoleon had leisure to reflect that his personal safety had been threatened by these unwelcome emissaries, he determined to evade the impending danger, and announced his determination to depart for Rochefort.—He then set out with a train of faithful officers and domestics, amounting to forty persons, who had determined to remain the devoted partners of his fortune. Two frigates had by this time been prepared at Rochefort, with which he might be enabled to force his way through the British cruizers, who were already stationed off every port, to watch the motions of the imperial fugitive.

CHAP. XVI.——1815.

Retreat of general Grouchy.—Battle of Namur.—Operations of Blucher.—His proclamation to the army.—Excesses of the Prussians.—Operations of Lord Wellington.—Good conduct of the British.—Connection of Louis with the operations of the allies.—Capture of Cambray.—Advance of the king.—Journey of the commissioners to Hagenau.—Progress of the allies.—Siege of Paris.—Operations of the Bavarian, Austrian, and Russian armies.—Convention for the surrender of the capital.—Popular feeling at Paris.—Conduct of the chambers.—Re-entry of the king.—Influence of that event on the fate of Murat.—His melancholy and untimely death.

While the capital was disturbed by the tumult and anxiety attending the late convulsions, the scattered fragments of the French army rallied in the environs of Laon and of Rheims, but, weak and discouraged, were incapable of opposing the immediate entrance of the allies into the capital. Grouchy had scarcely begun his retrograde march, after learning the result of the battle of Waterloo, when the Prussians, whom that intelligence had inspired with fresh confidence, turned on their pursuers, and commenced an incessant series of impetuous attacks. The French were thrown into confusion, a dreadful slaughter ensued, the fugitives abandoned some of their artillery, and retired upon Namur. Vandamme remained at that place, while Grouchy continued his retreat. The Prussians pressed closely on their rear, and attempted to enter the gates at the same moment with the enemy. The French, however, succeeded in barricading the city, and the efforts of the pursuers against it were unavailing till the arrival of Thielman, who had himself been reinforced by numerous detachments from the troops who had been employed in the pursuit of the grand French army. After many impetuous but unsuccessful assaults, they carried the gates, decided the conflict in the streets, and drove the enemy from the place. In the defile between Namur and Dinant, on which the French were retiring, the contest was renewed with aggravated fury; the retreat of the enemy was delayed by the narrowness of the defile, and rendered the fire of the pursuers terribly destructive. Generals Grouchy and Vandamme again united, and entered Rocroi with no more than 25,000 men, having lost 14,000 in the affair of the 18th, and the subsequent retreat. It was in vain that Soult, who was stationed at Mesieres, endea-

voured to rally the fugitives who had been dispersed, till he had formed a junction with Grouchy, at Laon, when he found that the united army amounted to 40,000 men, with a scanty allowance of ammunition and artillery.

On the day after the battle of Waterloo, Blucher circulated the following address to his army:—

"Brave officers and soldiers of the army of the Lower Rhine!—You have done great things. Brave companions in arms! You have fought two battles in three days. The first was unfortunate, and yet your courage was not broken.

"You have had to struggle with privations, but you have borne them with fortitude.—Immoveable in adverse fortune, after the loss of a bloody battle, you marched with firmness to fight another, relying on the God of battles, and full of confidence in your commanders, as well as of perseverance in your efforts against presumptuous and perjured enemies, intoxicated with their victory.

"It was with these sentiments you advanced to support the brave English, who were maintaining the most arduous contest with unparalleled firmness. But the hour which was to decide this great struggle has struck, and has shewn who was to conquer and to reign in Europe, whether an adventurer, or governments who are the friends of order. The fate of the day was still undecided, when you appeared issuing from the forest which concealed you from the enemy, to attack his rear with that coolness, that firmness, that confidence, which characterises experienced soldiers, resolved to avenge the reverses they had experienced two days before. There, rapid as lightning, you penetrated his already wavering columns. Nothing could stop you in the career of victory. The enemy in his despair turned his artillery upon you; but you poured death into his ranks, and, rushing upon him with resistless fury, you threw his battalions into confusion, scattered them in every direction, and put them to complete rout.

"The enemy found himself obliged to abandon to you several hundreds of cannon; and his army is dissolved. A few days will suffice to annihilate these perjured legions, who were coming to consummate the slavery and the spoliation of the universe.

"All great commanders have regarded it as impossible immediately to renew the combat with a beaten army: you have proved that this opinion is ill founded; you have proved that resolute warriors may be vanquished, but that their valour is not shaken.

"Receive, then, my thanks, incomparable soldiers!—objects of all my esteem! You have acquired a great reputation. The annals of Europe will eternize your triumphs. It is on you, immoveable columns of the Prussian monarchy! that the destinies of the king, and his august house, will for ever repose. Never will Prussia cease to exist, while your sons and your grandsons resemble you.

(Signed) "BLUCHER."

AUSTRIAN PROCLAMATION.

Frenchmen!—Twenty years of trouble and misfortunes had oppressed Europe.—One man's insatiable thirst of dominion and conquest, while depopulating and ruining France, had desolated the remotest countries; and the world saw, with astonishment, the disasters of the middle ages, reproduced in an enlightened age.

All Europe rose. One cry of indignation served to rally all nations.

It depended on the allied powers, in 1814, to exercise upon France a just vengeance, which she had but too much provoked; but great monarchs, united for an only and sacred cause—the re-establishment of peace in Europe—knew how to distinguish between the promoter of so many evils and the people whom he had made use of to oppress the world.

The allied sovereigns declared, under the walls of Paris, that they could never make either peace or truce with Napoleon Buonaparte. The capital rose against the oppressor of Europe. France, by a spontaneous movement, rallied itself to the principles which were to restore and to guarantee her liberty and peace.

The allied armies entered Paris as friends. So many years of misfortunes, the spoliation of so many countries, the death of millions of brave men, who fell on the field of battle,

or victims of the scourges inseparable from war, it was buried in oblivion.

Buonaparte solemnly abdicated a power which he had exercised but for the misfortunes of the world. Europe had from that time no enemy more to combat.

Napoleon Buonaparte has re-appeared in France; he has found all Europe in arms against him.

Frenchmen!—It is for you to decide on peace or war. Europe desires peace with France—it makes war only upon the usurper of the French throne. France, by admitting Napoleon Buonaparte, has overthrown the first basis on which its relations with other powers were built.

Europe does not wish to encroach on the rights of any nation, but she will never allow France, under a chief but lately proscribed by herself, again to threaten the repose of its neighbours.

Europe desires to enjoy the first benefit of peace; it desires to disarm, and it cannot do this as long as Napoleon Buonaparte is on the throne of France. Europe, in short, desires peace, and because it desires it, will never negociate with him whom it regards as a perpetual obstacle to peace.

Already, in the plains of Brabant, Heaven has confounded this criminal enterprise.—The allied armies are going to pass the frontiers of France; they will protect the peaceable citizens—they will combat the soldiers of Buonaparte—they will treat as friends the provinces which shall declare against him—and they will know no other enemies than those who shall support his cause.

Field-marshal Prince SCHWARTZENBERG.

Head-quarters at Heidelberg,
June 23, 1815.

AUSTRIAN ORDER OF THE DAY.

Carlsruhe, head-quarters, June 24.

Soldiers of the Austrian army of the Rhine!—Napoleon, whose ambitious plans, and lust of conquest, armed all Europe against him, was conquered by you and your allies. Returning from the exile into which the generosity of the victors had sent him, he again attacks the repose, the welfare, the peace, the security of all states; provokes, by his guilty arrogance, the armies of united Europe to combat for the inviolability of their frontiers, the honour of their country, the happiness of their fellow-citizens—these most sacred of all possessions, which this man, to whom nothing is sacred, and who has become the scourge of humanity, has been attacking and endeavouring to destroy for so many years. Thus, brave soldiers of the Austrian army, a new and vast career of glory is opened to you. I know that you will distinguish it by new victories, and that your new deeds in arms will render still more dear to me the proud satisfaction of calling myself your general. It is as honourable to you as agreeable to me, that I have only to recal the remembrance of your ancient exploits to animate you to new ones. The victories of Culm, Leipsic, Brienne, and Paris, are so many illustrious garlands that crown your standards: continue worthy of your glory by combating, as you did formerly, and by adding fresh laurels to those you have already gained.

Great things have been already performed: your brethren in Italy have, with their arms, opened themselves a way into the heart of the enemy's country, and their victorious banners wave in the capital of the kingdom of Naples. Those in Flanders gained, on the 18th instant, one of the most memorable victories recorded in history. Those victorious armies have their eyes fixed upon you, and summon you to similar exploits. Let the recollection of what you have been on so many a hard-fought day—let the feeling of what you owe to yourselves animate you to become constantly more worthy of your ancient glory, by embarking for your emperor, your honour, and your country.

SCHWARTZENBERG, Field-marshal.

BAVARIAN ORDER OF THE DAY.

Soldiers! In three days you have marched from the Rhine, in hopes of contributing to the operations of the allied armies in the Netherlands. These victorious armies have anticipated you. A great and decisive victory crowned their efforts in the battle of the 18th. It is now for us, and the allied armies on the Upper Rhine, to annihilate the enemy's corps which oppose us. Soldiers! to-morrow we attack the enemy; march against

him with courage and perseverance. His royal highness our Crown Prince is among us; his royal highness, his younger brother, is with the van-guard. The Crown Prince will be witness to your actions. Honour and protect the property of the peaceable French inhabitants; it is not upon them that we make war: it is against Napoleon and his adherents that our swords are drawn.

Come on, then, against him and them! Come on, then, for king and country, for our allies, and for Germany!

Given at our head-quarters, at Hoinburg, June 22, 1815.

(Signed) Prince WREDE, Field-marshal.

BAVARIAN PROCLAMATION.

Frenchmen! The manner in which we yesterday entered your country, may prove to you that we are not the enemies of the peaceable inhabitants. I have pardoned even such of your fellow-countrymen as have been taken with arms in their hands, and also might have been deservedly shot as banditti. But, considering that these armed ruffians, who scour the country, under the name of free corps, to plunder their fellow-citizens, are a scourge which Buonaparte has brought upon France, which has been already made sufficiently unhappy by the unbounded ambition of this enemy of the repose and happiness of the world,—I command,

I. That every one who belongs to these free corps, or is taken with arms in his hands, without belonging to the troops of the line, and wearing their uniform, shall be brought before a court-martial, and shot in twenty-four hours.

II. That every town or commune, in which any of the allies shall be murdered, shall be punished; for the first offence, the town with a contribution of 200,000 francs, and the village one of 50,000. On a repetition of the offence, the town, or village, shall be plundered and burnt.

III. Within twenty-four hours after the entrance of the allied armies, every town, or commune, shall deliver up its arms and military effects at the chief place of the prefecture, or subprefecture.

IV. Every town, or commune, in which, twenty-four hours after the entrance of the allied troops, arms or military effects shall be found, shall pay a contribution, the town of 200,000, the village of 50,000 francs. The house of the owner of these arms shall be plundered and pulled down, and the owner brought before a court-martial, and shot in twenty-four hours. If the owner of the arms should have absconded, his family, or the mayor, or the principal inhabitants, shall be punished in a military manner, as protectors of highwaymen.

Frenchmen! make yourselves easy. Our victorious armies will not disturb the repose of the peaceable citizen. Europe has taken up arms again only to conquer, for itself and for you, the peace and the happiness of which a single usurper threatens to rob it for the second time.

Given at my head-quarters, at Sargemines, 24th June, 1815.

Field-marshal Prince WREDE.

From Beaumont the Prussians advanced to Avesnes, occupied the town by escalade, and captured 45 pieces of cannon. The event was announced by Blucher, in a letter which accompanied the escort of the prisoners of war, and which sufficiently indicates the principle of revengeful retaliation on which hostilities were now conducted. "As for the prisoners," says he, "the officers are to be marched to Wesep, and strictly guarded in the citadel. The soldiers are destined for Cologne, that they may be employed in working on the fortifications. All are to be treated with the necessary severity." From Avesnes Blucher proceeded towards La Fere and Laon, on the direct road to Paris, and, detaching a corps to his right, took possession of St. Quintin, which had been evacuated by the enemy. During the 19th the army of the duke of Wellington reposed at Waterloo, from the fatigues of their victorious struggle, and on the next day were moved forward to Binche, a distance of 30 miles. From this place he issued the following proclamations, of which the assurances were as punctually observed as they were honourable to his humanity:—

ORDER OF THE DAY.

June 20, 1815.

As the army is about to enter the French

territory, the troops of the nations which are at present under the command of field-marshal the duke of Wellington are desired to recollect that their respective sovereigns are the allies of his majesty the king of France, and that France therefore ought to be treated as a friendly country. It is then required that nothing should be taken either by the officers or soldiers, for which payment be not made. The commissaries of the army will provide for the wants of the troops in the usual manner, and it is not permitted, either to officers or soldiers, to extort contributions. The commissaries will be authorised, either by the marshal, or by the generals who command the troops of the respective nations, in cases where their provisions are not supplied by an English commissary, to make the proper requisitions, for which regular receipts will be given; and it must be strictly understood, that they will themselves be held responsible for whatever they obtain in the way of requisition, from the inhabitants of France, in the same manner in which they would be esteemed accountable for purchases made for their own government in the several dominions to which they belong.

(Signed) J. Waters, A. A. G.

I acquaint all Frenchmen, that I enter their country at the head of a victorious army, not as an enemy, the usurper excepted, who is the enemy of human nature, and with whom no peace and no truce can be maintained. I pass your boundaries to relieve you from the iron yoke by which you are oppressed. In consequence of this determination I have given the following orders to my army, and I demand to be informed of any one who shall presume to disobey them. Frenchmen know, that I have a right to require that they should conduct themselves in a manner that will enable me to protect them against those by whom they would be injured. It is therefore necessary that they should comply with the requisitions that will be made by persons properly authorised, for which a receipt will be given, which they will quietly retain, and avoid all communication or correspondence with the usurper and his adherents. All those persons who shall absent themselves from their dwellings, after the entrance of this army into France, and all those who shall be found attached to the service of the usurper, and so absent, shall be considered to be his partizans and public enemies, and their property shall be devoted to the subsistence of the forces.

Issued at head-quarters, from Malplaquet,

(Signed) Wellington.

June 21, 1815.

The conduct of the English presented a striking and honourable contrast to the licentious ferocity of the Prussians. They punctually and liberally paid for every article obtained from the inhabitants. At the approach of the Prussians, who marched in a parallel line with the British, the inhabitants abandoned their habitations, and fled into the woods, and on their return frequently discovered that their dwellings were in flames. The British, on the contrary, as they advanced into the country, and the report of their good conduct had preceded them, were received with respect and kindness, and supplied with every necessary and convenience by the citizens, who frequently refused the proffered remuneration. The harvest was advancing to maturity. Where the path was so narrow as to impede their progress, they uniformly halted, and broke into files of two or three a-breast, that the corn might remain uninjured. The admirable demeanour of the troops, in an enemy's country, and amidst so many temptations to riot and lawless licentiousness, does the highest honour to the commander, beneath whose auspices they were marching to the capital.

The intentions of the allies were uncertain, but suspicious. It was known that Blucher was averse to the execution of any pledge which might imply the restoration of the Bourbons; and, had he been left to his own discretion, would have marched directly to Paris; have levied a contribution equal to the expenses of the war; have wrested from them their frontier towns; have deprived them of every vestige of their former triumphs, and then have left them to choose what government they pleased, and to fight it out among themselves.

Notwithstanding the silence of the confederate sovereigns, in their recent proclamations,

with respect to the re-accession of the Bourbons, it would appear that they had already, and mutually, agreed to hasten that event. It cannot be supposed that the duke of Wellington would identify the interests of Louis with those of the allied monarchs without their concurrence: yet, immediately after the battle of Waterloo, the duke espoused his cause, not only in the proclamation which has been inserted, but by other proceedings which will presently be related. On the 20th he continued his march to Malplaquet, a distance of 17 miles, and there crossed the French frontier, advancing to Cateau Cambrensis, whence he dispatched a corps to the right to enter Cambray. General Colville, to whom this enterprise was confided, executed his commission with exemplary skill. He first summoned the town, in the *name of Louis XVIII.*, and on the refusal of the governor, fired a few cannon-shot, with the purpose of intimidation rather than of destruction. Finding that these demonstrations had no effect on the resolution of the governor, it was determined to carry the place by escalade. Notwithstanding the walls were fifty-eight feet in height, the British troops attacked the place at four different points, obtained possession of the town, and compelled the garrison, with the loss of 130 prisoners, to retire to the citadel. The inhabitants materially favoured the success of the assailants, and, unobserved by the troops, handed ladders to the British over the walls, or assisted them to ascend the battlements.

Intelligence of the battle of Waterloo arrived at Ghent on the 19th of June. On the entrance of the allies into France, Louis had signed a secret treaty, in which he had purchased their alliance, by granting them all the guarantees which they could desire.—He consented to surrender the most formidable bulwarks of the French frontier, and thus enable the confederates, at any future period, to effect an immediate irruption into the territories of France. Secure in the attachment of the allied sovereigns, he disregarded the persuasions of his ministers to reside for some time at Ghent, and to persevere in remaining at a distance from the melancholy scene of France reconquered.

Let it appear, said these enlightened statesmen, that the war is carried on between the coalesced sovereigns and the adherents of Buonaparte, and not between the king of France and his subjects. The allies are sufficiently strong to overcome all your enemies; and your presence, while it could add little to their numerical force, would impede their operations, throw suspicion on the sincerity of their professions, and raise against them an unnecessary and murderous opposition. Your unwillingness to appear, while the blood of Frenchmen continues to flow, will be attributed to an amiable and honourable feeling, and will make a favourable impression on the minds of your subjects. But, were you to advance in conjunction with the allies, it would shew that you are determined to be king again, whether they will have it so or not, and would infallibly cause much indignation and disgust. You have friends enough among the allies, and secret friends enough at Paris, to take care of your interests there, while you will have the merit of being recalled by the affection and fidelity of your subjects, and not forced upon them by the bayonets of foreigners.

The indifference of the king to the advice of his most enlightened counsellors was confirmed by a message from the duke of Wellington, felicitating Louis on the victory which again assured his crown, and requesting him to join the armies of the confederate sovereigns, as their acknowledged friend and ally. On the 22d of June he quitted Ghent, and on the 23d arrived at Mons, in the direction of Cateau Cambrensis. From the latter place he dispatched an officer to summon the citadel of Cambray in his name. The garrison obeyed the summons, and on the following day he entered the city. On the entrance of the king the inhabitants, who had on former occasions exhibited the most devoted attachment to Napoleon, displayed the usual versatility of the French character, selected from the young men of the most respectable families a guard of honour, and erected a triumphal arch, while the female gentry of the town scattered flowers before the carriage of the monarch, as he passed to the *hotel de ville*. The same populace who, within less than a fortnight, had hailed with universal acclamations the troops of Buonaparte, as they has-

tened to the frontiers, now abandoned themselves to a delirium of joy at the arrival of the Bourbon sovereign, testified their attachment by general illuminations, and drew the monarch in triumph to the mansion-house. Elated by his reception, he endeavoured to confirm the supposed enthusiasm of the towns and provinces by the circulation of the subjoined address:—

LOUIS XVIII. TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

The gates of my kingdom at last open before me. I hasten to bring back my misled subjects to their duty,—to mitigate the calamities which I had wished to prevent,—to place myself a second time between the allies and the French armies, in the hope that the feelings of consideration of which I may be the object, may tend to their preservation.

This is the only way in which I have wished to take part in the war. I have not permitted any prince of my family to appear in foreign ranks, and have restrained the courage of those of my servants who had been able to range themselves around me.

Returned to the soil of my country, I take pleasure in speaking confidence to my people. When I first re-appeared among you, I found men's minds agitated and heated by conflicting passions. My views encountered on every side nothing but difficulties and obstacles. My government was liable to commit errors; perhaps it did commit them.—There are times when the purest intentions are insufficient to direct, and sometimes they even mislead. Experience alone could teach; it shall not be lost. All that can save France is my wish.

My subjects have learned, by cruel trials, that the principle of the legitimacy of sovereigns is one of the fundamental bases of social order;—the only one upon which, amidst a great nation, a wise and well-ordered liberty can be established. This doctrine has just been proclaimed as that of all Europe. I had previously consecrated it by my charter, and I claim to add to that charter all the guarantees which can secure the benefits of it.

The unity of the ministry is the strongest that I can offer. I mean that it should exist, and that the frank and firm march of my council should guarantee all interests, and calm all inquietudes.

Some have talked latterly of the restoration of tithes and feudal rights. This fable, invented by the common enemy, does not require confutation. It will not be expected that the king should stoop to refute calumnies and lies. The success of the treason has too clearly indicated their source. If the purchasers of national property have felt alarm, the charter should suffice to re-assure them. Did I not myself propose to the chambers, and cause to be executed, sales of such property? This proof of my sincerity is unanswerable.

In these latter times, my subjects of all classes have given me equal proofs of love and fidelity. I wish them to know how sensibly I feel them, and that it is from among all Frenchmen I shall delight to choose those who are to approach my person and my family. I wish to exclude from my presence none but those whose celebrity is matter of grief to France, and of horror to Europe.

In the plot which they contrived, I perceive many of my subjects misled, and some guilty. I promise—I who never promised in vain (all Europe knows it)—to pardon, to misled Frenchmen, all that has passed since the day when I quitted Lille, amidst so many tears, up to the day when I re-entered Cambray, amidst so many acclamations.

But the blood of my people has flowed in consequence of a treason of which the annals of the world present no example. That treason has summoned foreigners into the heart of France. Every day reveals to me a new disaster. I owe it, then, to the dignity of my crown, to the interest of my people, to the repose of Europe, to except from pardon the instigators and authors of this horrible plot. They shall be designated to the vengeance of the laws by the two chambers, which I propose forthwith to assemble.

Frenchmen, such are the sentiments which he brings among you, whom time has not been able to change, nor calamities, fatigue, nor injustice made to stoop. The king, whose fathers reigned for eight centuries over your's, returns to consecrate the remainder of his days in defending and consoling you.—Given at Cambray, the 28th of June, 1815, and of our reign the twenty-first. LOUIS.

This ill-timed and injudicious proclamation did much injury to the cause of the Bourbons. While it abounds in professions of moderation and philanthropy, it denounces as the objects of grief and horror the very individuals in whose wisdom and energy the French confided for deliverance from their sufferings. Had the aspersion been true, it was at least imprudent; but its falsehood was too obvious not to excite a feeling of general indignation among all ranks of the Parisians. By placing himself "a second time between the allies and the French armies," Louis insultingly assumed the sole merit of every pacific and generous arrangement which might be granted by the belligerents. The cant of legitimacy was hateful to the nation, and the ancient monarchs of the Bourbon family, with the exception of Louis XIV. and Henry IV., were remembered with aversion. To assert, therefore, that the principle of legitimacy was the basis of all social order, and to remind the people that the fathers of Louis had reigned over the French nation, had no other tendency than to exasperate resentment, and to excite unpleasing recollections. The menace of inflicting signal vengeance on the authors and abettors of the plot for the return of Buonaparte, applied to individuals who now held the reins of power, and whom it would have been prudent to conciliate.

In the meantime the troops of Blucher continued their advance to Paris, while the French army, under Soult and Grouchy, hastened, in a parallel direction, to outstrip the enemy, and assist in the defence of the capital. The two armies came in contact at Villars Coterets, and a severe engagement ensued, in which the French were defeated with the loss of six pieces of cannon and one thousand prisoners. They then endeavoured to retire by the road of Soissons, but were intercepted, and attempted to escape in the direction of Meaux. At that place they received a severe repulse from the corps of Bulow; but they succeeded in arriving at the metropolis before the invaders, with much of their artillery. The Prussians continued to advance, and on the 29th of June arrived before the walls of Paris.

The duke of Wellington had halted at Cateau, to allow the pontoons and the necessary stores to come up, and on the 26th attacked Peronne. The hornwork which covered the suburb was carried with trifling loss, and the town surrendered. On the 28th Wellington was at St. Just; on the 29th and 30th he passed the Oise, establishing his right at Rochebourg, and his left at the forest of Bondy.

It will now be necessary to revert to the proceedings of the provisional government. As soon as the avowed object of the war, the abdication of Napoleon and his brothers, had been accomplished, and the nomination of an executive committee had destroyed all plans for a regency, an embassy was immediately sent to the allied powers, to stop the march of their armies, and gain information of their intentions relative to peace. The plenipotentiaries were general La Fayette; M. le Forest, a veteran in diplomacy, and the friend of Talleyrand; general Sebastiani; M. D'Argenson, a descendant of one of the most illustrious families of France; M. Pontecoullant, member of the Bourbon chamber of peers, and of the imperial chamber, where he had resisted, with great energy, the proposal of a regency; and M. Benjamin Constant.

The plenipotentiaries first repaired to the French advanced posts, to ask of the duke of Wellington and Blucher a suspension of hostilities. Blucher, who was the nearest, charged himself with the answer. He demanded not only that the fortified posts before and around him should be given up, but that all those of the Ardennes, and in Lorraine, should be evacuated. The plenipotentiaries could not accept these conditions; they wrote to Paris to send other commissaries to the two generals, and, furnished with a passport from general Blucher, they reached, amidst many difficulties and delays, the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns, at Haguenau. Neither the monarchs, nor even their first ministers, were visible, but lord Stewart, the English ambassador, count Capo d'Istria for Russia, count Walmoden for Austria, and general Konesbeck for Prussia, held conferences with them. In the consultation, general Sebastiani declared that the only object of the war existed no longer, that

Buonaparte, now become a private individual under the care of the government, desired only a passport to go to the United States, or to England; that M. Otto was gone to London to ask this permission; that the brothers of Buonaparte were not of the government; that the name of the young Napoleon, detained at Vienna, was so much the less obnoxious to the allies, as a provisional government had been named altogether opposed to an imperial regency; that nothing prevented an immediate suspension of arms, or conference for a peace; that the plenipotentiaries had extensive powers; and that if the allies should propose any measures which they (the French commissioners) had not authority to guarantee, they would immediately refer to the government. Sebastiani's colleagues adhered to his declaration.

Two conferences passed, and nothing was decided. In a third conference the commissioners earnestly demanded some specific proposal, or ultimatum, on the part of the allies; a request which, however reasonable, was only answered by the assurance that the English ambassador was not invested with power to treat with the new government.—Lord Castlereagh, however, ventured, in conformity to the tenor of his instructions, to demand that Buonaparte should be unconditionally delivered into the hands of the allies. This proposition excited the utmost indignation and astonishment. La Fayette immediately replied, that Napoleon having voluntarily abdicated, that he might be no obstacle to the welfare of France, his person was under the protection of the national gratitude and honour; and that when it was proposed to the French people to commit an act of unexampled treachery, they should not have addressed themselves in preference to the *prisoner of Olmutz.*

All discussion was rendered unavailing by this unexpected requisition, and the commissioners, departed perfectly unacquainted with the demands of the allies, but having received a positive assurance, that the foreign courts made no pretensions to interfere with the form of the French government: a declaration falsified by the whole tenor of their subsequent conduct, by the tone of their manifestoes, and by the proceedings of the duke of Wellington. The plenipotentiaries were treated with great respect, but were accompanied on their return by two Prussian officers, and the road they were obliged to take was so prolonged that they did not reach Paris till the 5th of July, two days after the capitulation was signed. They found Wellington and Blucher preparing to enter the city, by virtue of a convention.—The populace were waiting the arrival of Louis with apparent satisfaction, and every offensive caricature against him and his family had disappeared. The commissioners were not prepared for a change so singular and unexpected. But resistance was unavailing, and they individually acquiesced in the stipulations of the treaty.

The siege of Paris was regarded by the populace as a chimerical and dangerous enterprise. When Buonaparte, before leaving Paris for Avesnes, consulted Carnot on the means necessary for the defence of the metropolis, the latter estimated them at two hundred millions of livres, and the labour of three years. "And when that sum of labour and treasure has been expended, sixty thousand good troops," continued the ex-director, "and a sustained assault of twenty-four hours, may render it all in vain." Nevertheless, Buonaparte undertook preparations for this gigantic and hopeless task. The heights of Montmartre were fortified with extreme care, and amply supplied with artillery. The village of St. Denis was also strongly garrisoned; and a partial inundation being accomplished, by means of stopping two brooks, the water was introduced into the half completed canal de l'Ourcq, the bank of which being formed into a parapet, completed a formidable line of defence on the northern side of the city, resting both flanks upon the Seine. The populace of Paris had laboured at these lines with an enthusiasm not surpassed during the frenzy of the revolution, nor were their spirits or courage at all depressed by the approach of the conquering armies of England and Prussia, supported by the demonstrations of Austria and Russia. They confided in the belief which had been carefully and repeatedly impressed upon their minds; and boasted that they now had Massena, Soult, and Davoust, to direct the de-

fence of the capital, instead of Marmont, by whom, in the preceding year, they were taught to believe it was basely betrayed.

But though the line of defence to the north was such as to justify a temporary confidence, the city on the opposite side was entirely open, excepting the occupation of the villages of Issy, and the heights of St. Cloud and Meudon. These two points, if they could have been maintained, would have protected for a time that large and level plain which extends on the south side of Paris, and which now presented no advantages for defence excepting an imperfect attempt at a trench, and a few houses and garden walls, supplied with loop-holes for the use of musketry. On this defenceless side, therefore, the allied generals resolved to make the attack; and prince marshal Blucher, on the 30th of June, crossed the Seine at St. Germains, and, occupying Versailles, threatened the French position at Meudon, Issy, and the heights of St. Cloud; while the duke of Wellington, holding Gonesse, opened a communication with the Prussians, by a bridge at Argenteuil. The French, though their situation was desperate, did not lose courage, and one gleam of success shone on their arms. General Excelmans, by a well conducted assault, surprised the Prussians who occupied Versailles, and made some cavalry prisoners. But the French were assaulted in their turn, driven from the heights of St. Cloud, from Issy, and from Meudon, and compelled to seek refuge close under the city itself. This happened on the 2d of July, and Blucher had already sent to the British general, to request the assistance of a battery of Congreve's rockets, an ominous preparation for the assault which he meditated.—Meanwhile the wealthy and respectable Parisians were equally apprehensive of danger from the defenders and from the assailants. The temper of the French soldiers had risen to frenzy, and the mob of the fauxbourgs, animated by the same feelings of rage, indulged in threats and execrations both against the allies and against the citizens of Paris who favoured the cause of peace and legitimacy. Such was the temper of this motley garrison, as formidable to the capital as the presence of an incensed enemy, when, upon the 3d of July, the terms of capitulation between the allies and Massena, who acted as commander in chief of the French, were arranged and signed; Paris was once more subjected to the mercy of Europe, and the *Queen of Provinces* a second time made a bondswoman.

The duke of Wellington had prudently determined to follow up, as a general, the advantages he had obtained, and for the present to leave the discussion of political subjects to the allied sovereigns and their ministers. The following appeal, therefore, of the prince of Eckmuhl, and of the army, to Wellington and Blucher, and a memorial to the former of these generals, transmitted by the duke of Otranto, were equally ineffectual, and were returned unanswered. The mission of M. Otto to England was received with the same degree of contemptuous neglect.

Paris, June 27, 1815.

My Lord,—You have just illustrated your name by new victories over the French. It is you especially who can appreciate the French nation.

In the council of sovereigns, united to fix the destinies of Europe, your influence and your credit cannot be less than your glory.

Your law of nations has always been justice, and your conscience has ever been the guide of your policy.

The French nation wishes to live under a monarch, but it wishes that that monarch should live under the empire of the laws.

The republic made us acquainted with the extreme of liberty. The empire with the extreme of despotism. Our wish now (and it is immoveable) is to keep at an equal distance from both these extremes.

All eyes are fixed upon England. We do not claim to be more free than she—we do not wish to be less.

The representatives of the nation are incessantly employed on a civil compact, of which the component powers, separated but not divided, all contribute by their reciprocal action to harmony and unity.

From the moment this compact shall be signed by the prince called to reign over us, the sovereign shall receive the sceptre and the crown from the hands of the nation.

In the existing state of Europe, one of the

greatest calamities is hostility between France and England.

No man, my lord, has it more in his power than yourself to replace Europe under a better influence, and in a finer position.

Accept, &c.

Head-quarters, at La Villette, June 30, 1815.

My Lord,—Your hostile movements continue, although, according to their declarations, the motives of the war which the allied sovereigns make upon us no longer exist, since the emperor Napoleon has abdicated.

At the moment when blood is again on the point of flowing, I receive from marshal the duke of Albufera a telegraphic dispatch, of which I transmit you a copy. My lord, I guarantee this armistice on my honour.—All the reasons you might have had to continue hostilities are destroyed, because you can have no other instruction from your government than that which the Austrian generals had from their's.

I make the formal demand to your excellency of ceasing all hostilities, and that we proceed to form an armistice, awaiting the decision of congress. I cannot believe, my lord, that my request will remain ineffectual; you will take upon yourself a great responsibility in the eyes of your fellow-countrymen.

No other motive than that of putting an end to the effusion of blood, and the interests of my country, have dictated this letter.

If I present myself on the field of battle with the idea of your talents, I shall carry the conviction of there combating for the most sacred of causes—that of the defence and independence of my country; and whatever may be the result I shall merit your esteem.

Accept, my lord, the assurance of my highest consideration.

The Marshal Prince of ECKMUHL, minister at war.

The subjoined address was likewise published by the army:—

Representatives of the people!—We are in presence of our enemies. We swear, before you and the world, to defend, to our last breath, the cause of our independence and the national honour.

It is wished to impose the Bourbons upon us, and these princes are rejected by the immense majority of Frenchmen. If their return could be subscribed to, recollect, representatives! that you would sign the annihilation of the army, which for twenty years has been the palladium of French honour.—There are in war, especially when it has been long conducted, successes and reverses. In our successes we have been seen great and generous. If it is wished to humble us in our reverses we shall know how to die.

The Bourbons present no guarantee to the nation. We received them with sentiments of the most generous confidence, we forgot all the calamities they had caused us, in their rage to deprive us of our most sacred rights. Well! what return did they make for this confidence? They treated us as rebels and vanquished. Representatives! these reflections are terrible because they are true.—Inexorable history will one day relate what the Bourbons have done to replace themselves on the throne of France; it will also tell the conduct of the army, of that army essentially national, and posterity will judge which best deserved the esteem of the world.

Camp at Vilette, June 30.

(Signed) The Marshal Prince of ECKMUHL, minister at war.
Count PAJOL, commanding the first corps of cavalry.
Count D'ERLON, commanding the right wing.
Count VANDAMME, general in chief,
And fifteen other generals.

The mania of proclaiming, addressing, and haranguing, had now obtained complete possession of the French, and the following document was issued by the chambers:—

Frenchmen!—The foreign powers proclaimed in the face of Europe that they were only armed against Napoleon, and that they wished to respect our independence, and the right which belongs to every nation to choose the government suitable to its manners and its interests.

Napoleon is no longer the chief of the

state. He has renounced the throne, and his abdication has been accepted by your representatives. He is removed from us. His son is called to the empire by the constitutions of the state. The coalesced sovereigns know this; and the war ought to be terminated, if the promises of kings be not in vain.

While plenipotentiaries have been sent to the allied powers to treat for peace in the name of France, the generals of two of those powers have refused any suspension of arms. Their troops have hastened their marches under favour of a moment of hesitation and trouble. They are at the gates of the capital, and no communication has informed us for what object the war is continued. Our plenipotentiaries will soon declare whether we must renounce peace. In the meantime resistance is as necessary as legitimate, and humanity, in requiring an account of the blood uselessly shed, will not accuse those brave men who only combat to repel from their houses the scourges of war, murder, and pillage, and to defend with their lives the cause of liberty, and of that independence, the imprescriptible right of which has been guaranteed to them even by the manifestoes of their enemies.

Amidst these grave circumstances your representatives cannot forget that they were not chosen to stipulate for the interests of any party whatever, but for the whole nation. Every act of weakness will dishonour them, and will only tend to endanger the future tranquillity of France. While the government is employing all the means in its power to obtain a solid peace, or, should that not be obtained without compromising our honour, to repel the battalions of foreigners, what more advantageous to the nation can be done than to collect and establish the fundamental rules of a monarchical and representative government, destined to secure to all citizens the free enjoyment of those sacred rights, which sacrifices so numerous and so great have purchased; and to rally for ever under the national colours that great body of Frenchmen who have no other interest, and no other wish, than an honourable repose and a just independence.

Meanwhile the chambers conceive that their duty and their dignity require them to declare, that they will never acknowledge, as legitimate chief of the state, him who, on ascending the throne, shall refuse to acknowledge the rights of the nation, and to consecrate them by a solemn compact. The constitutional charter is drawn up; and if the force of arms should succeed in temporarily imposing upon us a master—if the destinies of a great nation are again to be delivered up to the caprice and arbitrary will of a small number of privileged persons—then, in yielding to force, the national representation will protest, in the face of the whole world, against the oppression of the French people.

Your representatives will appeal to the energy of the present and future generations, to renew their claim both to national independence and the rights of civil liberty. For these rights they now appeal to the reason and the justice of all civilized people.

It will now be necessary to revert to military operations.

While the English and Prussians were availing themselves of all the advantages which resulted from the decisive affair of Waterloo, and rapidly marching on Paris, the other troops of the allies were advancing in various directions. The Bavarians forming the advanced corps of the Russian army, and the Austrian army of the Rhine, passed that river at Manheim on the 19th of June, and on the 24th had reached the Saare without opposition.

At Sarreguemines they found some resistance. The place was carried by storm; the French were so closely pursued that they had not time to destroy the bridge, and the Bavarians crossed the Saare with trifling loss. On the 25th, prince Wrede, who commanded this advanced corps, advanced to Chateau-Salines, and on the 26th arrived in the neighbourhood of Nancy.

A deputation from the city here met him, consisting of the municipality and officers of the national guard, who professed the good disposition of the inhabitants, and offered the keys of the place. The Bavarians entered amidst the shouts of "The Bourbons for ever!" On the 27th he secured the passages of the Upper Moselle and the Meurthe, and on the 28th had his head-quarters still at

Nancy. On the 29th a detachment of his army fell in with a body of French between Metz and Longvion, consisting of three thousand infantry, with cuirassiers and artillery, and after a desperate encounter drove them into Metz.

The commanders of Toul and Marcsall having refused to surrender, prince Wrede took measures to invest them. This delayed his progress, and many free corps having assembled in his rear, and attacked his baggage with success, he was compelled to disperse them before he penetrated further into the country. It was therefore the 2d of July before he was able to push his advanced guard to Châlons. A brilliant affair took place here. One hundred cavalry who had been dispatched to reconnoitre, surprised the guard at the gate of Châlons, and charged into the town. The alarm was instantly given, the garrison ran to arms, the gate was shut, and their retreat cut off. The Bavarians then dashed on, overthrew all opposition, and effected their escape at the Paris gate, at the other extremity of the town, with inconsiderable loss.

The commanding officer of the advanced guard, seeing that his detachment was thus committed, dismounted some Bavarian light horse, brought up some cannon, and soon battered down the gates. The whole of his corps then entered at full speed, cleared the streets, dispersed the garrison, and captured the town. Six hundred prisoners and six pieces of cannon were taken.

Another corps, under the prince royal of Wirtemberg and general Walmoden, crossed the Rhine at Philipsburg on the 24th, and proceeded to Bergzabern, where they met with some opposition. Then blockading Landau, they passed the Queich on the 25th without much resistance, and on the 26th advanced between Selz and Surbourg, where they were vigorously opposed by the enemy. The prince had advanced as far as the heights which conceal the village of Surbourg, and was considerably separated from his main body, when the enemy suddenly appeared and commenced a violent attack. The advanced guard of the prince was taken by surprise, and retreated before the French with considerable loss, until they fell in with the main body of their infantry. A sanguinary contest now ensued. The French were driven to the banks of the Sur, where they rallied and maintained themselves till night, when, under protection of the darkness, they effected their passage and destroyed the bridge. The prince royal did not think it prudent to pursue the enemy that night, but established himself with general Walmoden on the banks of the Sur.

On the 27th he continued his march, and again fell in with the French between Haguenau and Brumath, under the command of general Rapp, amounting to about eleven thousand men. The French were once more repulsed with considerable loss, and some brilliant charges of cavalry took place. The prince briskly pursued the retreating enemy, and overtook him again at Vendenheim on the 28th. Rapp occupied an advantageous position, with his left on the villages and heights of Lambertheim and Mundenheim, and his right supported by the Rhine, with a rivulet in front, which was fordable only at two points, and by a bridge over the high road.

At these fords the prince directed his principal attack, and the French made an obstinate defence, and kept up a most destructive fire of musketry and artillery; but the bravery of the Wirtembergers and Austrians, and the superiority of numbers, soon prevailed. The fords were carried at the point of the bayonet; the cavalry crossed the bridge at full speed, and bore down all before them. Five pieces of cannon were taken, some hundred prisoners, and the French sought protection under the walls of Strasbourg, the guns of which fortress saved them from absolute destruction. The prince royal then proceeded to invest and blockade Strasbourg, in which operation he was employed at the capitulation of Paris.

An Austrian army under the archduke Ferdinand threw some pontoon bridges over the Rhine at Grenzach, which he crossed on the night of the 25th and 26th. Basle was immediately occupied, and advanced guards were pushed forward to Altkirch and Parentrai. On the 27th he had a sharp action with the French general Lacourbe, in investing the little fortress of Neubreisach. The

village of Wickelsheim was strongly occupied by the French, but the Austrians bringing up an overwhelming superiority of numbers, Lacourbe was driven from his position with immense slaughter.

He however rallied, and on the following day halted at a strong position between Donnemarie and Belfort. The nature of the ground enabled him to make an obstinate defence, and he kept the Austrians in check during the greater part of the day; but his troops being at length worn out with fatigue, and his opponents having received considerable reinforcements, he retreated with the loss of some pieces of cannon, and more than one thousand men killed, wounded, and prisoners.

From this place the archduke pushed on to Remiremont, to maintain his communication with the Bavarians and Russians, and to operate on the flank and rear of Lacourbe. On the 29th he carried a strong fortified position near Montbeillard; but the enemy, with great intrepidity, retook it in the evening, and maintained possession of it during the night. The Austrians, being strongly reinforced, again advanced to the attack on the following morning, and, after a dreadful slaughter, succeeded in finally dislodging the French and occupying the position.

On the 1st of July, Chevremont and Besencourt were carried by storm, and the French were driven from the heights of Beaumont, which they had strongly fortified.

On the 2d, the town and citadel of Montbeillard were taken by assault. Several guns and a considerable quantity of stores were found in the place, and the number of prisoners was very great. The army of Lacourbe had been reduced to four thousand men by these sanguinary encounters, yet he still continued to make head against the invaders.

On the 3d, at the period of the capitulation of Paris, the Austrians were on the road to Langres and Chaumont.

Another Austrian corps, under general Frimont, crossed the Arve, near Geneva, on the 28th, and attacked Carouge. The French were unable to resist the overwhelming force which poured upon them, and demanded an armistice for 24 hours, in which time they evacuated the valley of the Arve, which could not have been carried without immense loss. Geneva was occupied on the same day, and the French driven from the heights of Savonen. This corps afterwards advanced towards Paris, by way of Châlons.

Another army, under count Bubna, released from the war with Murat, passed Mount Cenis on the 28th. The French occupied the *tête du pont* of Arly, near Conflans, with about three thousand men. While the Piedmontese occupied the attention of the enemy on the right, the Austrians attacked the position in front, and attempted to carry it by assault. The contest was long and bloody. The assailants were often driven back with loss, and as often returned to the charge with increased fury, and at length they succeeded in carrying the position, but not until more than half the garrison was destroyed, and the Austrians had lost nearly two thousand men. While these formidable armies were advancing from so many points, and directing themselves on one common centre, the capital of France, the allied sovereigns followed with another numerous corps. On the 27th of June they crossed the Rhine at Spires, and had their head-quarters at Rheinzabern on the 28th, at Weissenburgh on the 29th, at Haguenau on the 30th, at Savern on July 1st, at Saarebourg on the 2d, and at Hall on the 3d.

The British and Prussian forces now pressed close on the capital, and on Monday the 3d of July were assembled on the plain of Grenelle, to the south west of the city.—The French army was in possession of the plain directly under the walls; the allies were ranged on the heights of the villages of Issy, Venores, and Meudon. The morning passed in preparations and manœuvres for battle. Many persons went in their carriages to the bridge of Jena, which is the passage to the field. Their vehicles were immediately put in requisition. The persons within were desired to alight, were told that the battle was about to begin, and that their carriages were borrowed to transport the wounded. The citizens were informed that the signal of battle would be given at four in the afternoon; and the horror of the moment was heightened by the circumstance that the great

magazine of powder was placed in the plain of Grenelle. The action began about twelve o'clock, and the troops fought with the fury of despair. The French were driven beneath the walls of the capital, and the city resounded with the cries of alarm and dismay. The surrender of the capital was now the only remaining means of saving it from spoliation and destruction. It was determined, on the suggestion of Carnot, that commissioners should be immediately sent to the allies, proposing a capitulation, on condition of a universal amnesty, and the safe retreat of the army behind the Loire. Should this be refused, the army was desperately to cut its way through the enemy, and retire behind that river, while the provisional government and the municipal body should admit the entrance of the allies on the best terms that they could gain. Some doubts arose with respect to the form in which the proposals should be made; whether in the name of Louis, or in that of the provisional government, confining its negociations to a military treaty, and excluding all political considerations. The last of these forms was adopted, after some discussion. As soon as the government perceived that the engagement was taking an unfavourable turn, they dispatched a herald to the allied generals, demanding a suspension of arms for a few hours, while commissioners could be appointed to treat of the surrender of the city. The duke of Wellington, in return, invited the French generals to a conference, led them through his ranks, displayed his positions, his plans, and his resources, and granted them the necessary time for deliberation. Both parties were in earnest. The allies were anxious to secure the interests of the king, by obtaining possession of the capital, and the French were eager to bring the negociation to a close before the city should be carried by assault.—An honourable capitulation was granted, and the conqueror received the most glorious recompense of his forbearance—the gratitude of the vanquished.

CONVENTION.

This day, the 3d of July, 1815, the commissioners named by the commanders in chief of the respective armies, that is to say, the baron Bignon, holding the portefeuille of foreign affairs; the count Guillemot, chief of the general staff of the French army; the count de Bondy, prefect of the department of the Seine, being furnished with the full powers of his excellency the marshal prince of Eckmuhl, commander in chief of the French army, on one side; and major-general baron Muffling, furnished with the full powers of marshal prince Blucher, commander in chief of the Prussian army, and colonel Hervey, furnished with the full powers of the duke of Wellington, commander in chief of the English army, on the other side, have agreed to the following articles:—

Art. I. There shall be suspension of arms between the allied armies commanded by prince Blucher and the duke of Wellington, and the French army under the walls of Paris.

II. The French army shall put itself in march to-morrow, to take up a position behind the Loire. Paris shall be completely evacuated in three days; and the movement behind the Loire shall be effected within eight days.

III. The French army shall take with it all its materiel, field artillery, military chest, horses, and property of regiments, without exception. All persons belonging to the depôts shall also be removed, as well as those belonging to the different branches of the administration which belong to the army.

IV. The sick and wounded, and the medical officers whom it may be necessary to leave with them, are placed under the special protection of the commanders in chief of the English and Prussian armies.

V. The military, and those holding employments to whom the foregoing article relates, shall be at liberty, immediately after their recovery, to rejoin the corps to which they belong.

VI. The wives and children of all individuals belonging to the French army, shall be at liberty to remain at Paris. The wives shall be allowed to quit Paris for the purpose of rejoining the army, and to carry with them their property, and that of their husbands.

VII. The officers of the line employed with the *federes*, or with the tirailleurs of the national guard, may either join the army,

or return to their homes, or the places of their birth.

VIII. To-morrow, the 4th of July, at midday, St. Denis, St. Ouen, Clichy, and Neuilly, shall be given up. The day after to-morrow, the 5th, at the same hour, Montmartre shall be given up. The third day, the 6th, all the barriers shall be given up.

IX. The duty of the city of Paris shall continue to be done by the national guard, and by the corps of the municipal gens-d'armerie.

X. The commanders in chief of the English and Prussian armies engage to respect, and to make those under their command respect the actual authorities, so long as they shall exist.

XI. Public property, with the exception of that which relates to war, whether it belongs to the government, or depends upon the municipal authority, shall be respected; and the allied powers will not interfere in any manner with its administration and management.

XII. Private persons and property shall be equally respected. The inhabitants, and in general all individuals who shall be in the capital shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties without being disturbed or called to account either as to the situations which they hold or may have held, or as to their conduct or political opinions.

XIII. The foreign troops shall not interpose any obstacles to the provisioning of the capital, and will protect, on the contrary, the arrival and the free circulation of the articles which are destined for it.

XIV. The present convention shall be observed, and shall serve to regulate the mutual relations until the conclusion of peace. In case of rupture, it must be denounced in the usual forms at least three days beforehand.

XV. If difficulties arise in the execution of the articles of the present convention, the interpretation of it shall be made in favour of the French army and of the city of Paris.

XVI. The present convention is declared common to all the allied armies, provided it be ratified by the powers on which these are dependent.

XVII. The ratifications shall be exchanged to-morrow, the 4th of July, at six o'clock in the morning, at the bridge of Neuilly.

XVIII. Commissioners shall be named by the respective parties, in order to watch over the execution of the present convention.

Done and signed at St. Cloud, in triplicate, by the commissioners above named, the day and year before mentioned.

The Baron BIGNON.
Count GUILLEMINOT.
Count de BONDY.
The Baron de MUFFLING.
T. B. HERVEY, colonel.

The tranquillity of the city was not disturbed by any triumphant entry, as on the last year. The national guards, who kept the barriers, were relieved by foreign troops, and observed the same order and good humour as if these soldiers had been their comrades. About a thousand people assembled at the Champs Elysées to witness the ceremony, which they did with a careless air, and seemed disposed to receive the allies as Catharine of Medicis received the bleeding head of admiral Coligny; like one "without fear, without pleasure, mistress of herself, and *accustomed to such spectacles!*" The only disappointment they seemed to feel was that of having no grand procession; for, "Is this all?" was everywhere repeated, when the guard was exchanged. The martial pomp of the last year was admirably adapted to the taste of the Parisians. A procession opened by emperors and kings, with crowds of finely accoutred generals, and closed by two hundred thousand men parading along the Boulevards, was a sight for which the populace of the capital would gladly sacrifice their own liberties and the welfare of their country.—On the present occasion the conquering army was distinguished by no other sign of victory than a branch of laurel which decorated their hats, and even this slight badge of success was softened by a white scarf tied round the arm of every soldier, as the proffered pledge of amity and peace.

There are indeed fervent politicians who have expressed an ardent wish that Paris had been burnt to the ground. These are words soon spoken in the energy of patriotic hatred, or a desire of vengeance for outraged morality. But if we can picture to ourselves,

without shrinking, those horrid scenes which ensue,

> "Where the flesh'd soldier, rough and hard of heart,
> In liberty of bloody hand shall range,
> With conscience wide as hell,"

we ought yet to remember on how many thousands such dreadful vengeance must have fallen, who can only be justly considered as common sufferers with their countrymen, without the possibility of having been sharers in the offence. It is impossible to look round on this splendid capital without remembering the affecting plea which the deity himself condescended to use with his vindictive prophet: "Should I not spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are six score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left, and also much cattle?" Least of all ought we to wish that any part of the British forces had been partakers in the horrid license that must have attended such a catastrophe, during which the restraints of discipline and the precepts of religion are alike forgotten, in the headlong course of privileged fury. It was observed of the veteran army of Tilly, that the sack of Magdeburg gave a death-blow to their discipline; and the troops of France herself were ruined by their licentiousness at Moscow. In every point of view, therefore, the prevention of the destruction of Paris, when it appeared nearly inevitable, added to the glories which the duke of Wellington has acquired in this immortal campaign. It is not to be denied, that to his wise and powerful interference was chiefly owing the timely arrangement of the articles of capitulation, and that the allied armies became the peaceful garrison of Paris.

The army, who had determined to perish at their posts, received intimation of the convention with feelings of resentment and despair. Disregarding their orders, they rushed on the columns of the allies, who nobly refrained from any warlike retaliation but that which was necessary for their own defence. The persuasions of the superior French officers were at length effectual; and though, during the whole of the 4th of July, the streets were crowded with intoxicated soldiers, who compelled the passengers to join in their furious cries of "Vive l'Empereur," preparations were made to fulfil the convention. The federates, however, or irregular bands of the rabble, assembled on the bridges, and in the squares, wantonly firing on every one whom they suspected, and almost on every passenger. For a while the destruction of the capital appeared inevitable, but the firmness of the national guard saved Paris in that awful moment, when, in all human probability, the first example of plunder would have been followed both by the populace and by the foreigners, and a scene of universal blood, rapine, and conflagration, must have become the necessary consequence. Every man of these armed citizens, amounting to thirty thousand, appeared at his proper rendezvous, and their peaceable yet decided conduct intimidated the intoxicated troops and the refractory populace. Early on the next day it was reported that the Prussians had sacked and burned Malmaison, the favourite palace of Buonaparte. They endeavoured to retaliate by the destruction of the Thuilleries, and were aided by the federates: but the national guard, with its wonted intrepidity, occupied every avenue to the palace, and by threats and entreaties dispersed the assailants. In the course of the day it was discovered that the palace of Malmaison had not been attacked, and the regiments of the imperial guard, in sullen silence, but with haggard and ferocious looks, marched through the suburbs to their place of destination. Some of the regiments could not suppress their favourite cry of "The Emperor for ever!" and, as they passed the outposts of the Prussians, wantonly fired upon their sentinels. The fire was not returned, and the hostile armies were soon widely separated.

The prince of Eckmuhl, who had been appointed to the command of the retiring troops, assembled a council of war, consisting of fifty general officers: forty-eight gave their opinion that resistance beyond fifteen days was impossible. With an army originally amounting to 73,000 men, and somewhat diminished on their retreat behind the Loire, he could not, therefore, be justified in hazarding an action with, at least, 150,000 of the enemy. The future movements and disposition of the troops are described in his letter of conciliation:

The marshal prince of Eckmuhl, commander in chief of the army on the left bank of the Loire, to lieutenant-gen. Maæ. Lamarque, commander in chief of the army of the Loire.

Orleans, July 11, 1815.

The army, on quitting Paris, and retiring behind the Loire, according to the terms of the convention of the 3d of July, left with the provisional government commissioners appointed to require instructions, in case a new government should be established.

These commissioners, in rendering an account to the army of the late events of the capital, and the entrance of the king, have informed me of the overtures which have been made to them to induce the army to recognise that its union with the system of the government could alone prevent the dissolution of the state.

The commissioners, in their communications, give the assurance, that under a constitutional government no re-action is to be feared; that the passions will be neutralised; that the ministry will be ONE and responsible; that men and principles will be respected; that arbitrary dismissals shall not take place either in the army or in other orders of society; and, finally, the army shall be treated conformably to its honour: these are the terms transmitted by the commissioners.

As a pledge and a proof of what they advance, they state, as a certainty, that marshal St. Cyr is appointed minister of war; that the duke of Otranto is minister of police, and that he only accepts this office with the assurance that the government will proceed in a spirit of moderation and wisdom, of which he himself has always given the example.

The sentiments of the army are well known: it has fought during these twenty-five years always for France, often for contested opinions. The only reward which it demands for the blood it has shed is, that no citizen be prosecuted for any of those opinions which he may have held with good faith.

On these conditions, national interests ought freely to unite the army to the king. These interests require sacrifices: they should be made with a good grace, with a modest energy; the army subsisting, the army united, will become, should our misfortunes increase, the centre and rallying point of all Frenchmen, even of the most violent royalists. Every one must feel that union, and the oblivion of all dissensions, can alone effect the salvation of France, which will become impossible, should hesitation, difference of opinion, or private considerations, bring dissolution to the army, either by its own means or those of foreign force.

Let us unite then—let us never separate. The Vendeans have given us a touching example; they have written to us, offering to lay aside all resentments, and to unite with us in the patriotic wish of preventing all dismemberment of the country. Let us be Frenchmen: you know that this sentiment always reigned exclusively in my soul; it will only leave me with my last breath. In this name I demand your confidence: I am sure of meriting and obtaining it.

(Signed) The Marshal commander in chief,
The Prince of ECKMUHL.

The provisional government published a proclamation, stating the motives by which they were actuated in the surrender of the city—again asserting their confidence in the promises of the allies, and their conviction that the liberties and dearest interests of France would not be sacrificed—urging the citizens to peace and unanimity—but speaking in the most general and vague terms of the form of government, and the prince who was to reign.

PROCLAMATION OF THE COMMISSION OF GOVERNMENT TO THE FRENCH.

Frenchmen!—In the difficult circumstances in which the reins of the state were confided to us, it was not in our power to master the course of events, and to remove all dangers; but it became our duty to defend the interests of the people and of the army, equally compromised in the cause of a prince, abandoned by fortune and the national will.

It became our duty to preserve to the country the precious remains of those brave legions whose courage is superior to reverses, and who have been the victims of a devotedness which the country now claims.

It became our duty to guarantee the capital from the horrors of a siege, and the chances of a battle; to maintain the public tranquillity, in the midst of the tumult and agitations of war; to support the hopes of the friends of liberty, in the midst of the fears and inquietudes of a suspicious foresight; above all, it became our duty to stop the useless effusion of blood. It was necessary to obtain an assured national existence, or to run the risk of exposing the country and its citizens to a general subversion, which would have left neither hope nor futurity.

None of the means of defence which time and our resources allowed, nothing that the service of the camps and of the city required was neglected.

While the pacification of the west was finishing, plenipotentiaries repaired to the allied powers, and all the documents of their negociation have been laid before your representatives.

The fate of the capital is settled by a convention. Its inhabitants, whose firmness, courage, and perseverance are above all praise, form its guard.

The declarations of the sovereigns of Europe should inspire too much confidence; their promises have been too solemn to excite a fear that our liberties and our dearest interests can be sacrificed to victory.

In a word, we shall receive guarantees which will prevent those alternate and temporary triumphs of factions that have agitated us for five and twenty years, which will terminate our revolution, and confound in a common protection all the parties to which it has given birth, and all those which it has combated.

The guarantees which hitherto have only existed in our principles and in our courage, we shall find in our laws, our constitution, and in our representative system; for whatever may be the intelligence, or the personal qualities of the monarch, they are not sufficient to put the people out of the reach of the oppression of power, the prejudices of pride, the injustice of courts, and the ambition of courtiers.

Frenchmen! Peace is necessary to your commerce, to your arts, to the amelioration of your manners, to the developement of your remaining resources; be united, and you reach the end of your miseries. The repose of Europe is inseparable from your's Europe is interested in your tranquillity and your happiness.

(Signed) The Duke of OTRANTO, president.

The representatives took a more decided part, and published a declaration remarkable for its boldness, patriotism, and independence. It was carried by a division of four hundred and forty-eight to thirty-four.

DECLARATION.

The troops of the allied powers are about to occupy the capital.

The chamber of representatives will nevertheless continue their sittings in Paris, where the sovereign will of the people has called its representatives. In the present critical situation of affairs, the chamber owes to itself, to France, and to Europe, a declaration of its sentiments and principles.

It makes the most solemn appeal to the fidelity and patriotism of the Parisian national guard, charged with the protection of the national representation.

The chamber declares, that it reposes, with unlimited confidence, on the honour and magnanimity of the allied powers, and on their respect for the independence of the nation, so unequivocally expressed in all their different manifestoes.

The chamber declares, that the government of France, whoever may be its chief, ought to comply with the wishes of the nation, legally expressed, and so to arrange with the other governments as to form a general guarantee for the maintenance of peace between France and Europe.

The chamber declares, that a monarch cannot offer any real guarantee, if he does not swear to observe the constitution framed by the national representation, and accepted by the people; it hence follows, that every government which should have no other titles than the acclamations and will of a party, or which should be imposed by force; every government which should not adopt the national colours and not guarantee—

The liberty of citizens,

The equality of civil and political rights,

The liberty of the press,

The liberty of worship,
The representative system,
The free consent of the representatives to the levying of men and taxes,
The responsibility of ministers,
The irrevocability of the sale of national property of every description,
The inviolability of all kinds of property,
The abolition of tithes,
The abolition of the ancient nobility, and the new hereditary nobility, and of feudal institutions,
The entire oblivion of all political opinions and votes to the present moment,
The institution of the legion of honour,
The rewards due to the officers and soldiers, and the relief required by their widows and children,
The institution of juries,
The irremovability of the judges, and
The payment of the public debt.

Every government which would not guarantee all these things would have only an ephemeral existence, and would never secure the tranquillity of France nor of Europe.

The chamber finally declares, that if the bases specified in this declaration be disregarded or violated, the representatives of the nation deem it their sacred duty to protest, in the face of the whole world, against the injustice and usurpation; and they confide the defence of the sentiments which they now proclaim to all good Frenchmen, to all generous hearts, to all enlightened minds, to all men jealous of their liberties, and, in fine, to all generations.

(Signed) LANJUINAIS, president.

No sooner had the army departed, than the city was inundated by the troops of the allies. The chambers peaceably continued their sittings, and hastened to complete the constitution which they had undertaken to model. In two or three days their labours would have terminated: but on the very day which succeeded the entry of the allies, it was publicly announced that the sovereigns, in violation of all their promises, had determined to reinstate Louis on the throne, without any of the restrictions which his subjects would have wished to impose upon him. On the next day the doors of the chambers were closed against the members, and the monarch entered the capital and took possession of the government. It is therefore unjust to charge them with the omission of that which they had no opportunity to execute. The presence of the army, and the tumult of the federates, rendered it impossible immediately to recal the monarch, or to enter into negociations with him; and that restraint was no sooner removed, than, before they had time to give the most distant intimation of their wishes or intentions, the king was forced upon them by foreign bayonets.

Yet, strange to say, the return of Louis was greeted with loud and general acclamations. He had halted at St. Denis, and crowds of citizens hastened to that town to gaze on their returning sovereign, having in their pockets the white cockades for which they had changed, on the preceding day, the violet emblems and snuff boxes of Napoleon. On the morning of July the 8th, the tri-coloured flag, which had hitherto floated on all the towers and monuments of the capital, was taken down, and replaced by the crested lilly. The national guards, to the number of two thousand men, presented themselves at the barriers of St. Denis, and demanded permission to pass. Their request was granted, on condition that they should deposit their arms; and, unwilling to occasion superfluous bloodshed, they acceded to this condition. Having offered their protestations of fidelity to the monarch, they were requested to return to Paris and influence their comrades in favour of the king. On their arrival at the gates of the capital, they found that Massena, after permitting all who pleased to quit Paris, had issued an order that no one should re-enter the gates; a stratagem by which he hoped to exclude the friends of the Bourbons from the city.

In the evening, the duke of Otranto had an interview with the duke of Wellington, of which the purport is unknown: but it terminated in an understanding that the provisional government should fully declare the intentions of the allies, and dissolve itself. Fouché assured the English general that the example would be eagerly and peaceably followed by both the chambers, and that Louis

might, on the succeeding day, enter his capital without opposition. As soon as the chambers were assembled, the following communication was made from the provisional government:—

Mr. President,

Hitherto we believed that the intentions of the allied sovereigns were not unanimous upon the choice of the prince who is to reign in France. Our plenipotentiaries gave us the same assurances at their return.

However, the ministers and generals of the allied powers declared yesterday in the conferences they had with the president of the commission, that all the sovereigns had engaged to replace Louis XVIII. upon the throne; that he is to make his entrance into the capital this evening or to-morrow.

Foreign troops have just occupied the Thuilleries, where the government is sitting.

In this state of affairs, we can only breathe wishes for the country; and our deliberations being no longer free, we think it our duty to separate.

The marshal prince of Essling, and the prefect of the Seine, have been charged to watch over the maintenance of public order, safety, and tranquillity.

We have the honour, &c.

The Duke of OTRANTO
Count GRENIER.
QUINETTE.
CARNOT.
CAULAINCOURT, duke of Vicenza.

The chamber was overwhelmed with confusion and dismay. A profound silence ensued. For some moments the members gazed on each other, and then actuated by one common feeling, they rose from their seats, and hastened from the hall.

In the chamber of representatives the message was differently received. A moment of silent consternation followed. M. Manuel then presented himself in the tribune, and proposed that the chamber should continue its sitting and await the result.—"Gentlemen!" said he, "you foresaw this event, but it ought not to form any change in your conduct. One of two things will happen: either the enemy will respect your independence, and if the word of kings are not vain, all hope would not be forbidden, or they will forget what they have declared, and expel the national representation from this place. Let us shew that we are worthy of the cofidence of our constituents. Let us remain firm at our post, and leave to other hands the odious task of dispersing the representatives of France. These expressions once electrified France and Europe; let us repeat them a second time, 'We were sent hither by our constituents, and nothing but bayonets shall remove us."

Bravo! Bravo! Yes! Yes! resounded from all parts of the assembly.

Count Regnault afterwards presented himself, and spoke as follows: "You have lately placed yourselves under the safeguard of the nation. That declaration requires now to be modified. You are guarded by a handful of brave citizens, and if you are permitted, if you are ordered to die at your posts, they ought to be spared all danger. Declare that the guard placed at the gates of palace is only a guard of honour, and that if any armed force presents itself it shall be ordered to make no resistance." This motion was unanimously adopted. The assembly then passed to the order of the day, and with as much coolness as if no danger menaced them, began to debate the question, whether, under the new constitution which they were framing, the peerage should be hereditary; and, at their usual hour of breaking up, adjourned till eight o'clock on the following morning.

As soon as it was known that the provisional government had dissolved itself, and that the king would make his public entry on the morrow, crowds of persons, some led by interest, and others by affection, hastened to St. Denis to congratulate the king on the speedy re-assumption of his power. The populace of Paris, and particularly of the suburbs, unawed by the near approach of the king, and the dread of his vengeance, and equally unterrified by the foreign bayonets which surrounded them, hastened to the gates, and insulted every one who appeared to be going to St. Denis, or returning from it. As soon as they had passed the gates, the loyal citizens mounted the white cockade; but this badge of fidelity was not suffered to appear within the walls of the metropolis. Every one who attempted to enter the gates,

adorned with these ribbands, was insulted, threatened, and most violently attacked; some received very serious injuries, and more than one were murdered.

In pursuance of their adjournment, the members of the chamber of representatives repaired to the usual place of their assembly. But the gates of the palace being shut, the avenues guarded by a military force, and the officers who commanded it having declared that they had a formal order to refuse all entrance to the palace, one hundred members of the chamber assembled at the house of M. de Lanjuinais, their president, and issued an appeal to the people, which produced no sensible effect. The very individuals who, but a few hours before, had rent the air with cries of "Down with the Bourbons!" now rushed out in multitudes, by the re-opened gates, to welcome the monarch whom they had thus calumniated by every species of reviling! At two o'clock it was announced that the king approached, and the populace, who were crowded to excess, opened to the right and left. The monarch was attended by his ministers; by a regiment of officers, who, during the late events, had faithfully adhered to his cause; by the duke de Berri, and the count d'Artois. When Louis arrived at the barrier, the prefect, and the whole of the municipal body, appeared to receive him. The prefect addressed him in an harangue, which formed a ludicrous contrast to a production precisely similar, in which the same body, if not the same orator, welcomed Napoleon, on his arrival at Paris, three months before:

"Sire,—One hundred days have passed away since your majesty, forced to tear yourself from our dearest affections, left your capital, amidst tears and public consternation. In vain did the municipal body of your good city of Paris raise the unanimous cry of faithful subjects. They announced to all Frenchmen the imminent evils with which they were menaced. But there are moments in which Heaven does not permit the voice of magistrates to be heard. It was not in their power to prevent an error too fatal. The phrensy of the passions, the destructive disturbance of public tranquillity, the interruption of commerce and industry, civil war and foreign invasion, have at once afflicted your people. Heaven, Sire! is overcharged with vengeance, and restores you only to pardon us. Your majesty interposes between Europe and your people, to give them peace, and to reconcile them anew to all nations.—Your majesty will hasten to gather together and to re-unite the dispersed elements of the political body. The passions are now calmed in all generous hearts, reason is heard, and love of our country and our king will complete the rest. A period of twenty-five years, marked by so many vicissitudes, and, like all epochs of history, by glory and reverses, cannot be preferred to the recollection of eight centuries which have revolved under the sceptre of our kings, counted by long intervals of prosperity, and by the moderation and the bounty of the sovereigns of your august dynasty.

"Frenchmen! In every part of the kingdom, if the example of the capital, which has always been of such great weight, can still guide you, you will see it on the day which has followed these storms, calm amidst the numerous efforts which have been made to agitate it, forgetting all discords, abjuring the spirit of party, and hastening around a king, who, as a first pledge of his return, has proclaimed new guarantees for your happiness, and the establishment of institutions calculated to secure a wise liberty and the welfare of France. Let us protest to him, according to the wish of his heart, that the passions are about to be tranquillized, that the children of the great family are about to unite to approach him, and will henceforth only have one rallying cry."—

The monarch shortly replied, "In removing from Paris I experienced the greatest sorrow and regret. Testimonies of the fidelity of my good city of Paris reached me.—I return with emotion. I foresaw the misfortunes with which it was threatened; it is my wish to prevent and repair them."

The procession again moved on. The royal carriage was now surrounded by the municipal body of Paris, and by the marshals of the empire. As it slowly proceeded, handkerchiefs were waved from every window, and acclamations resounded from every voice. It was five o'clock before the proces-

sion reached the Thuilleries, which the monarch entered amidst universal and enthusiastic expressions of veneration and attachment. Had the sincerity of the Parisians been estimated by their external indications of rejoicing, Louis might have justly been regarded as the only idol of their devotion. The garden of the Thuilleries, which had been entirely abandoned during the absence of the king, was now thronged by elegant company. Ladies formed their own sets for country dances, and, bringing their own music, danced, crowned with lilies, before the windows of the palace, while the king, sometimes gracefully kissing his hand, and sometimes bursting into tears, returned by his courtesies these hollow, unsatisfactory, and deceitful testimonies of attachment to his person.

On the succeeding day the king officially announced his ministers. The prince de Talleyrand was appointed president of the council, and secretary for foreign affairs; marshal St. Cyr, minister of war; baron Louis, minister of finance; the duke of Otranto, minister of police; the duke de Richelieu, minister for the department of the king's household; baron Pasquier, minister of justice; and count de Jaucour, minister of marine. The selection of these individuals, to fill the executive offices of the state, was contemplated with satisfaction by the most enlightened classes of the nation. They viewed, in imagination, France reviving from the pressure of her unexampled calamities, and resuming her august place among the nations: forming new combinations of glory, and seeking new objects of activity for her ardent spirit, in the cultivation of the fine arts, in the discoveries of science, and the researches of truth. The mild and benevolent disposition of the sovereign was regarded as a sufficient guarantee for his goodness of intention, and it was hoped that the experience of the late momentous revolution might have corrected his political inexperience, and removed that mental blindness which had rendered him unconscious of the errors of his former government. How fallacious were these hopes, will be seen in our narrative of subsequent events.

The reaccession of Louis proved fatal to the cause of Joachim Murat. Driven from the Neapolitan dominions, he had sought refuge in France, and there, on the return of the Bourbons, he was persecuted and proscribed. He hired a vessel at Toulon, on intelligence of their arrival, by which he might effect his escape, but the ship sailed without him, carrying away all his effects and attendants. He was left completely destitute, and wandered more than a fortnight in the woods, subsisting on a few pieces of brown bread, which he obtained from the humanity of the neighbouring shepherds. He at length resigned himself to the compassion of the inmates of a small villa near Toulon, where he remained concealed more than a month, indebted for his daily food to the benevolence of two naval officers. While he remained in concealment, he wrote repeatedly and ineffectually to some friends at Paris, claiming their interference and protection. His letters were either intercepted or neglected. The place of his retreat was now discovered. A band of more than thirty armed men surrounded the house, and he had scarcely time to escape to an adjoining vineyard, carrying with him two brace of pistols, and determined to die rather than fall into the hands of his enemies. They passed him, threatening vengeance, as he lay concealed in the thick foliage. The search was continued several days without success, and they set a price upon his head. He tremblingly stole from his retreat every night, and received some scanty and precarious subsistence from the officers, who would not even now desert him; and at length he was enabled, by their means, to escape to Bastia, in Corsica. Their share in this event having been discovered, they were immediately cashiered and thrown into prison. At Bastia, Murat prepared the following proclamation, for circulation on the coasts of Calabria, and for distribution as soon as he should enter the Neapolitan territory:—

JOACHIM NAPOLEON, KING OF THE TWO SICILIES, TO HIS FAITHFUL SUBJECTS.

Brave Neapolitans!—Your Joachim is restored to you. He is again in the midst of you. His afflictions and yours are terminated.

Your king, in announcing to you his return, does not announce a pardon; you never offended him; but he renews to his children the oath he has already sworn to them, namely, to render them happy! He will never be perjured, and his heart, which you so well know, and your own constant fidelity, form your guarantees that his promises are not deceitful, and that he will not, like Ferdinand, prolong the epoch of vengeance.

I have lived in solitude, in one of those modest asylums which are always to be found among virtuous poverty. There I despised the poignards of those assassins of Marseilles—of those cannibals, who, during the whole period of the French revolution, steeped themselves in the blood of their fellow-citizens. I had resolved to await, in my retreat, the termination of the anti-revolutionary fever which devoured France, in order to attempt the conquest of my states, and to seek in your hearts a refuge from misfortunes, and from the most unheard of and unjust persecution, when I was induced to remove, in consequence of the indignation I felt on reading the letter written by Ferdinand to lieutenant field-marshal baron Bianchi. I could not endure that a prince, who calls himself the king and father of the good Neapolitans, should consecrate, by a solemn monument, the national dishonour. I could not endure that he should style hostile banditti, that army which was composed of the flower of all classes of the nation—that brave army, of which I was the creator and the chief—that army which had given so many proofs of courage and fidelity—which had covered itself with glory—which had elevated the character of the Neapolitan people among nations—and which owed its ultimate reverses solely to hostile proclamations instigating desertion, and to the false reports which were circulated of the death of its king.

I then resumed all my resolution. I threw myself into a small boat, and landed in Corsica, where I immediately found hospitality, and at the same time offers of service from all the brave men who had formed part of the Neapolitan army.

Secure of the love of my people, and happy thus to recal them to my memory, I formed and have executed the plan of re-conquering my states, and avenging the national dishonour.

Soldiers and citizens! All of you who possess noble hearts, and are animated by sentiments of patriotism, assemble around your king. The offence is common to all. Let us state it plainly: The prince who calls the Neapolitan soldiers a hostile banditti insults the whole nation. He has lost his right to the throne; and Ferdinand pronounced his abdication, by the letter which he wrote to the baron de Bianchi.

Yes, brave men, my beloved citizens, we have been injured, and if the offence is common to all, you ought all to assemble around your king, to expel from your territory so perjured a prince—a prince who so often promises pardon, and always shews himself vindictive.

May the Casa Lanza, may that monument which Ferdinand wished to raise to the national dishonour, be rased from its foundations, and on its ruins may there be erected a column, bearing an inscription, which will inform the present generation, and the most remote posterity, that in every place the national army, after having gained signal victories, not being able to resist the number of its enemies, was compelled to sign an honourable peace; and that Ferdinand, for having constructed the said place in the heart of the kingdom, as a monument of national dishonour, and for having given the title of hostile banditti to the national army, was declared by the Neapolitan nation unworthy to govern, and has for ever lost his throne. Yes, the nation is offended! What Neapolitan, if this be not avenged, will henceforth be proud of that name, and shew himself in the great society of the world? To arms!! To arms!! Let the nation rise in mass! Let every true Neapolitan, who possesses sentiments of honour, fly to my camp! Let the provincial legions assemble! Let the army re-organise itself! Let my brave soldiers rejoin their standards! Let the brave and faithful guard of security of my good city at Naples once more save my capital!

My royal palace, all the persons and property of that immense city, are under its protection! Let the brave, the faithful Cala-

brians—let the people of Basilicata, of the province of Palermo and of Avellino, let the brave Samnites—let the people of Puglia, and of Terra de Lavoro, who have always given me so many proofs of attachment, assemble round their king, their general! Let Ferdinand be counselled to remove from a nation which he has so indignantly offended; let him return to the island of Sicily! Let us march to deliver the capital, and, under the double standard of the cross and of liberty, let us give freedom to our country, and ensure for ever its happiness and its independence.

Faithful and courageous Neapolitans! Do not fear that the allied powers will again arm themselves against your king. Your Joachim has never abdicated. A military reverse cannot destroy his right to the crown of Naples. In re-conquering his throne, he does nothing more then imitate the example of other sovereigns who have re-assumed theirs.

The queen and the royal family shall be restored to you; your king, far from inspiring in future his neighbours with fear, will be their best friend. The emperor of Austria, who, deceived with respect to the true political state of the cabinet of Naples, and believing your king to hold a correspondence with Napoleon, made upon him so fatal a war, will become, without doubt, his ally.

The return of your king ought to inspire you with no apprehension, since he can no longer entertain any projects of aggrandisement either on the states of the pope, or on the rest of Italy. The other sovereigns of Europe have no interest in declaring themselves his enemies.

It would be an insult to the good faith of the British cabinet, to suppose that it would not seek to repair the evil it has done, in declaring and making war upon us, when, according to our conventions, hostilities ought not to have been commenced, at least until after the termination of the armistice had been announced.

We declare it to all Europe—we should not have to regret the sad results of the war, were it not for the invariable system which we had irrevocably adopted, of preserving peace with England. We did not commence our retreat until after having received a letter from lord William Bentinck, dated Genoa, in which he declared, that Naples being at war with Austria, he should be obliged to act against us with his forces by land and sea, in case of his being required to do so by the Austrian commander in chief.

I replied to him, that not wishing to be at war with England, I had ordered the cessation of hostilities, and withdrawn to my own frontiers.

The English general then wished me to make that determination known to the Austrian general in chief. He also immediately formed the intention of using his influence with marshal count Bellegarde, to cause him to cease hostilities on his side, and to accept an armistice, which I was prepared to propose to him.

In fact, immediately after, I ordered my retreat to be commenced. The armistice was not accepted, and we can assert, without fear of being contradicted, what we have stated above. We do not regret all the reverses which that voluntary retreat occasioned; because it is incontestible that the Austrian army should have attacked us in our old positions, and that the cabinet of Vienna, persuaded that we had resumed them in order to act in concert with its army, should have been the first to order the termination of hostilities, and to preserve an alliance so essentially natural as that between Austria and Naples.

Let confidence revive! The favour of Heaven again shines upon you. Your king will terminate, in the heart of his country, the execution of the projects he had conceived and commenced before the war.—Public works, hitherto suspended, shall be pursued with vigour, and the branches of the administration, hitherto languishing, shall re-assume all their activity. The allowances and pay of the whole army, and of all officers, civil or military, shall be paid in current money.

The pensioners struck off the list since the 21st of May shall have their pensions continued; and the titulars who have received, in recompence of their services, dotations or donations, of which they may have been deprived, shall resume the enjoyment of their

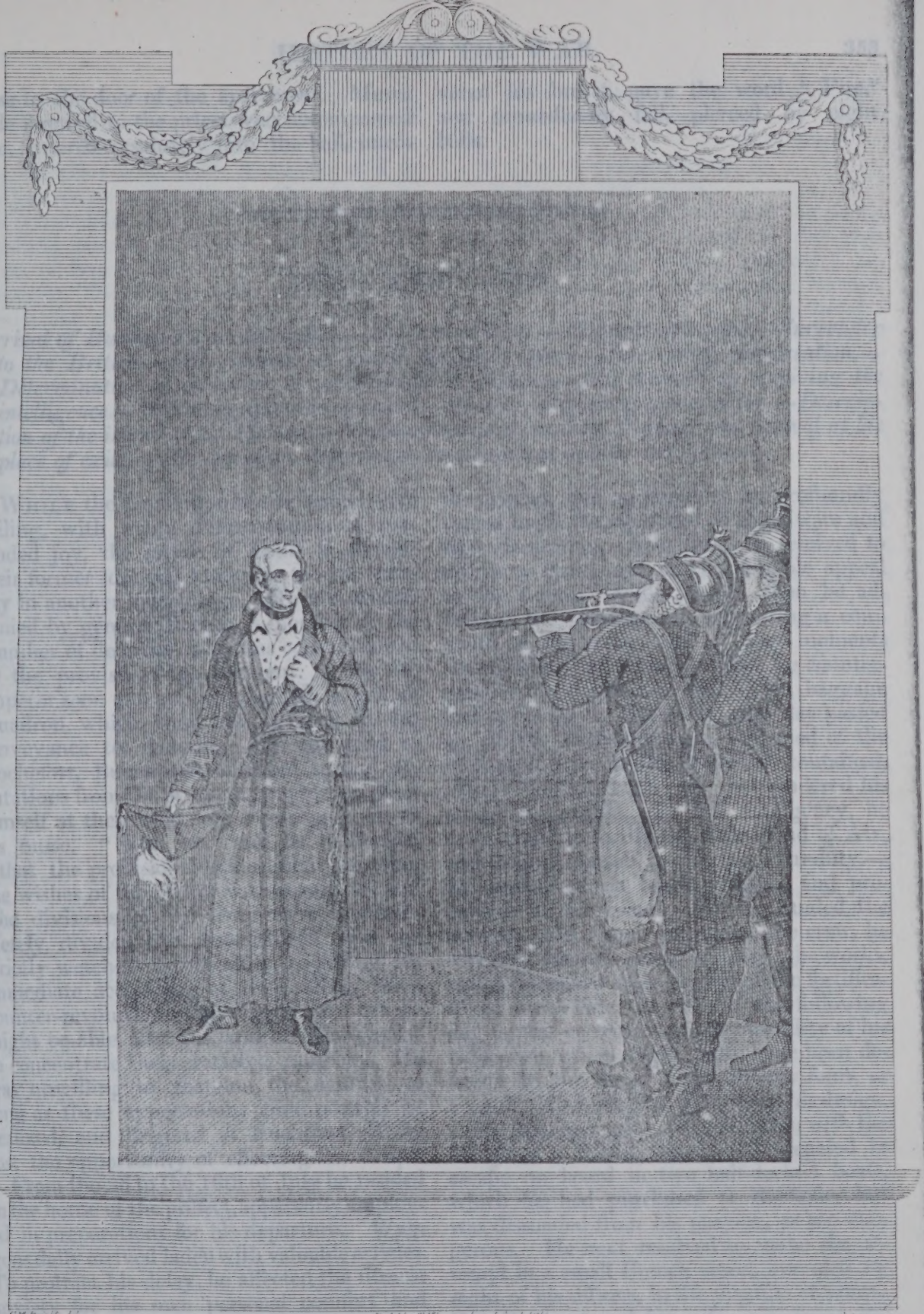
property. All functionaries appointed by Ferdinand, since the 21st May, shall cease to exercise their functions; in a word, every thing shall return to the state in which I left my kingdom.

Given the —— October, 1815.

JOACHIM NAPOLEON.

From Bastia, he removed to Ajaccio, where he was joined by many of his friends. An offer was here made by the court of Austria, to grant him an honourable and safe retreat in any part of the Austrian dominions, on condition of his renouncing for ever the Neapolitan throne. To this he pretended to consent, that he might better conceal his real intentions. He had been informed of the unpopularity of Ferdinand, he knew that he was beloved by every class of his former subjects, and he had received many invitations to return and resume his kingdom. In vain his confidential friends endeavoured to dissuade him from the enterprise: in vain they represented the improbability of his first success, and the total impossibility of resisting the overwhelming force of Austria and England. He replied, that he could not submit to the humiliating conditions imposed upon him: that there was neither moderation nor justice in compelling him to live in perpetual captivity beneath the arbitrary laws of a despotic government: that this was not the respect due to an unfortunate monarch, who had been formerly acknowledged by all Europe, and who, at a most critical period, had undertaken the campaign of 1814, in favour of those very powers that now, contrary to their own interests, had conspired for his destruction. He said that England and Austria would have had nothing to fear from him;—that he would not have driven the Austrians beyond the Po, had he not known that it was their determination to attack him;—that it could not now be attributed to him, that he would unite himself with Napoleon, who was an exile on the rocks of St. Helena;—that England and Austria might expect from him many advantages, for which they would in vain look from the person by whom he was supplanted;—that the majority of his subjects ardently expected his return, and that he was resolved to place himself at their head;—that he had often exposed himself to death in its most frightful forms, and that he was not afraid once more to defy it, in the attempt to regain his rights, and deliver himself from undeserved oppression;—and that his only fears were for his beloved family."

He disposed of all his jewels and effects, and purchasing six gondolas, set sail from Bastia, September 28th, 1815, with two hundred soldiers and thirty officers. On the night of the 30th a violent tempest arose, and dispersed the little fleet; and on the 5th of October, rejoining another of his vessels, he was compelled to land at Pizzo, on the coast of Calabria, with fifty men. Few troops were quartered on this part of the coast, but no preparation had been made for his reception. He immediately proceeded to the great square; assembled the people; reminded them of the benefits which they had received from him, and the fidelity which they had expressed; and told them, that, recalled by the affection of his countrymen, he was come to resume possession of his throne. A few voices joined his officers in shouting "Long live king Joachim;" but the population of the neighbouring villages hastily collecting, armed themselves and attacked him, and, after a desperate resistance, routed his little army, and took him prisoner. A court-martial was immediately assembled; he was brought before it, and tried on one of his own laws, which decreed, that any person landing in the country with an intent of disturbing the public tranquillity should be shot. Ferdinand at first refused to sign the warrant for his death, but being at length prevailed on by his ministers, orders were given for the immediate execution of the prisoner. When Murat was informed that his fate was decided, he expressed some surprise and indignation, but, immediately recollecting himself, requested a pair of scissars to cut off his hair, in order to send it to his wife, but this was cruelly refused. He then intreated that he might be shot by the small detachment of his guard which was at Pizzo; this was also refused. His request that the execution might take place in the great hall of the commandant of Pizzo was acceded to.—Twelve Sicilian soldiers were then placed



G.M. Brigsto del. Publ.d by T. Kinnersley, July 1, 1821. J. Scott sculp.

THE DEATH OF MURAT,

"He uncovered his breast and gave the word "fire."

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OUR GOAL IS THE ATTAINMENT
OF EXCELLENCE

close to the door of the apartment. Murat bade farewell to the priest who accompanied him, entered resolutely into the hall, uncovered his breast, gave the word "Fire," and immediately fell, pierced by eight balls.

CHAP. XVII.——1815.

Arrival of Buonaparte at Rochefort.—His irresolution.—Attempts at escape.—Surrender to the British.—His conduct on board the Bellerophon.—Interesting conversation.—Determination of ministers to send him to St. Helena.—His conduct on receiving the intelligence.—Protest against the measure.—Another interesting conversation.—Description of the island of St. Helena.—Napoleon's departure from Torbay, and arrival at his place of exile.—His situation, deportment, conversation, habits, and opinions.

WHILE the population of the capital were hailing, with every demonstration of pretended joy, the return of *Louis lé desirée*, their former idol was hastening to seek security in another hemisphere. He was accompanied by general Becker, a member of the chamber of deputies, who was commissioned by the provisional government to see the emperor soon and safely embarked, in a small squadron which they had assigned for his conveyance to America. On the road to Rochefort, Buonaparte received several deputations from the army, urging him to place himself at their head, and swearing to die in his cause. "You see," said he to Becker, "that the provisional government mistakes the wishes of the people with regard to me." The divisions of the army were too completely divided and disorganized, and too strictly watched by the allies, to permit his immediate acceptance of their offers; but a counter-revolution might occur; the troops might be able, after the lapse of a few weeks, to concentrate their scattered numbers. He was unwilling to abandon the country so long as these expectations could possibly be realized, and lingered at Rochefort till he lost the opportunity of effecting his escape.

From the 3d to the 16th of July he resided in the house of the prefect, apparently employed in preparations for his departure. Waggons daily arrived laden with valuable articles. To protract his delay, he affected the utmost anxiety for his own personal comfort and accommodation; attended the unpacking of the articles, and appeared to be profoundly versed in all the mysteries of china-ware and table decoration. Sometimes he resolved to return to Paris, and make a forcible appeal to the fidelity of his troops; then he addressed the government, requesting a command in the army; and at other moments issued orders to embark, which he countermanded, on the pretext that all his baggage had not arrived. Thus, day after day passed on, till the British cruisers, informed of the important prize which Rochefort contained, closely blockaded the port, and rendered his escape impossible. In this emergency, he determined to fortify the little island of Aix, and defend himself to the last extremity.—He embarked on board a frigate, and proceeded to the island. Having landed the marines, and about twenty of the crew, he reviewed his little army, inspected the works, and commenced some repairs of the fortifications; but before the close of the following day he was convinced of the absurdity of his enterprise, which might easily have been defeated by the fire of a few seventy-fours, or a week's blockade, and abandoned his design.

He then opened a communication with the master of a Danish vessel, and prepared to escape on board in two half-decked boats, which he had purchased at Rochelle, but was dissuaded from his purpose, as too dangerous. He next resolved to make the attempt in a small French vessel, attended by eight of his officers, in the disguise of sailors. But Bertrand and his wife, perceiving the

danger of the stratagem, burst into tears, and, throwing themselves at the feet of Buonaparte, besought him to relinquish his intention.—He complied with their entreaties; and, as his last resource, dispatched a flag of truce to the commander of the British squadron, requesting permission to pass, and giving his word of honour that he would proceed to America. To this proposal an unqualified denial was returned, and captain Maitland, the British commander, added, that he would attack the French squadron the moment it should leave the harbour. The situation of Napoleon was now desperate. Louis was reinstated on his throne; the white flag was hoisted at Rochefort, and instructions to arrest him might be hourly expected. He therefore resolved to make a virtue of necessity, and appeal to the generosity of the British nation. Two of his officers were again dispatched to captain Maitland, proposing the surrender of Buonaparte, on condition that his person and property should be sacred, and that, on his arrival in England, he should be permitted to retire to some spot selected by himself. To this proposal the captain replied, that he had no authority to grant him terms of any kind, and that all he could do would be to convey him and his suite to England, to be received and treated as the Prince Regent might deem expedient. Disappointed as he was, at an answer which implied the necessity of unconditional surrender, no other alternative remained. On the evening of the 14th of July, a flag of truce came out from Aix roads, on board of which was De Las Casses, and general Gorgaud, aide-de-camp to Napoleon, with two of his pages, and part of his baggage. Captain Maitland, of the Bellerophon, immediately dispatched the Slaney to England with this important intelligence, and with general Gorgaud on board, bearing the following letter from Napoleon to the Prince Regent:

"Altesse Royale,

"En butte aux factions que divisent mon pays, et à l'inimitie des plus grandes puissances de l'Europe, j'ai terminé ma carrière politique, et je viens, comme Themistocle, m'asseoir sur les foyers du peuple Britannique. Je me mets sous la protection de ses lois, qui je reclame de V. A. R. comme le plus puissant, le plus constant, et le plus genereux de mes ennemis.

"Napoleon."

TRANSLATION.

"Royal Highness,

"Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the enmity of the great powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to *throw myself on the hospitality (literally*, to seat myself on the *hearths*) of the British people. I place myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your royal highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

"Rochefort, July 13."

His allusion to the illustrious Athenian was at once a confession of his errors, an assertion of his claims to the admiration of the world, and an appeal to the generosity of the English nation. Themistocles had made his country the mistress of Greece. In the very zenith of his power she became ungrateful to her benefactor, and doomed him to perpetual banishment. Having sought in vain a safe retreat among the Grecian republics, and in the harbours of Thrace, he threw himself upon the generosity of a monarch whose fleets he had defeated, and whose father he had destroyed.

Ambition, and the love of enterprise, have been the leading traits in the character of Buonaparte. It is said of Themistocles, that, in the midst of adversity, he possessed resources which could enable him to regain his splendour, and even to "command fortune." In the rapidity with which Buonaparte recovered from the losses of the Russian campaign; in the struggle which he maintained with all the powers of Europe, even in the very heart of France, when, had he acceded to the terms of the allies, he might have been recognised as emperor, and would have ruled over an extent of territory of which even Louis XIV. could not boast; and in the rapidity with which he overthrew the Bourbons, and resumed the sceptre that had been wrested from his sway, we behold, as in Themistocles, the full display of "resources which could command fortune." The ambition of Themistocles was directed to the ag-

danger of the stratagem, burst into tears, and, throwing themselves at the feet of Buonaparte, besought him to relinquish his intention.—He complied with their entreaties; and, as his last resource, dispatched a flag of truce to the commander of the British squadron, requesting permission to pass, and giving his word of honour that he would proceed to America. To this proposal an unqualified denial was returned, and certain Maitland, the British commander, added, that he would attack the French squadron the moment it should leave the harbour. The situation of Napoleon was now desperate. Louis was reinstated on his throne; the white flag was hoisted at Rochefort, and instructions to arrest him might be hourly expected. He therefore resolved to make a virtue of necessity, and appeal to the generosity of the British nation. Two of his officers were again dispatched to captain Maitland, proposing the surrender of Buonaparte, on condition that his person and property should be secured, and that, on his arrival in England, he should be permitted to retire to some spot selected by himself. To this proposal the captain replied, that he had no authority to grant him terms of any kind, and that all he could do would be to convey him and his suite to England, to be received and treated as the Prince Regent might deem expedient. Disappointed as he was, at an answer which implied the necessity of unconditional surrender, no other alternative remained. On the evening of the 14th of July, a flag of truce came out from Aix roads, on board of which was De Las Cases, and general Gourgaud, aide-de-camp to Napoleon, with two of his pages, and part of his baggage. Captain Maitland, of the Bellerophon, immediately dispatched the Slaney to England with this important intelligence, and with general Gourgaud on board, bearing the following letter from Napoleon to the Prince Regent:

" ROYAL HIGHNESS,

" Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the enmity of the great powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself on the hospitality (literally, to seat myself on the hearth) of the British people. I place myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your royal highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

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grandisement of his country, and the great object of Buonaparte was to make France the mistress of the world. In the stratagems of politics and war they were equally expert. Themistocles fearing that the march of the Persian monarch might prove irresistible, sent an agent to his camp, to intimate that Themistocles was anxious for his safety, and advised him to retreat before it was too late. The Persian halted in his career—his project was blasted, and Greece was saved. When he was unable otherwise to mould the people to his will, he allied with the ministers of religion; dictated to the augurs and oracles (which in ancient times served the purposes of political journals) as he wished; secretly counselled the Athenians to burn the fleet of their allies, then peaceably anchored in the Piræus, and thus rendered Athens mistress of the seas. In other respects the coincidence is singular. Both were born of obscure parents; both shunned the society of their youthful companions, and both were sacrificed to the suspicions and apprehensions of the enemies of their country.

Early in the morning, after the transmission of the letter to the Prince Regent, a brig and a schooner worked out of Aix roads. The captain sent the boats to them, and in the space of an hour the first lieutenant, Mr. Mott, returned in the barge, accompanied by Napoleon and his suite.—The latter consisted of count Bertrand, formerly grand master of the palace; the countess Bertrand, and three children; Savary, duke of Rodrigo; general Allemand; count Montholon Semonville, who had been aide-de-camp to the emperor, and his child; count Las Casses, counseller of state, and his son; several other officers, and forty domestics.

About eight o'clock in the morning he reached the Bellerophon, and, ascending the quarter-deck, advanced to captain Maitland, and in a firm tone of voice, and with much dignity of manner, thus addressed him:—"I am come to claim the protection of your prince and your laws." Captain Maitland received him with all the courtesy due to his former rank. He had instructions to the contrary, but the natural generosity of a British sailor will always respect the misfortunes of a fallen enemy.

"I observed his person," says an intelligent officer, "and can describe him thus:—He is about five feet seven inches in height, very strongly made, and well proportioned; with a very broad and deep chest; legs and thighs proportioned, with great symmetry and strength; and a small, round, and handsome foot. His countenance is sallow, and deeply tinged by hot climates, but he possesses the most commanding air I ever saw. His eyes are grey, and the most piercing that you can imagine. His glance searches into your inmost thoughts. His hair is dark brown. His features are handsome now, and when young he must have been a very handsome man. He is rather fat, and his belly protuberant, but he appears active notwithstanding. His step and demeanour are altogether commanding. He looks about forty-five or forty-six years of age. He is extremely curious, and never passes any thing remarkable in the ship without demanding its use. He also stops and asks the officers questions relative to the time they have been in the service, in what actions they have been engaged, &c. and he caused all of us to be introduced to him the first day he came on board. He has also asked several questions about the marines, particularly those who appeared to have been some time in the service, and about the warrant officers, midshipmen, seamen, &c. He was but a very short time on board when he desired that the boatswain might be sent for, and was very inquisitive as to the nature of his duty. He requested the marines to pass in review before him, examined the arms, evolutions, dress, &c. and expressed himself highly pleased. He enquired into the situation of the seamen, their pay, prize money, clothes, food, tobacco, &c. and when told of their being supplied by a purser, or commissary, asked if he was not a *rogue?*"

In conversing with the admiral, he said, "*I have given myself up to the English; but I would not have done so to any other of the allied powers. In surrendering to any of them, I should be subject to the caprice and will of an individual: in submitting to the English I place myself at the mercy of a nation.*"

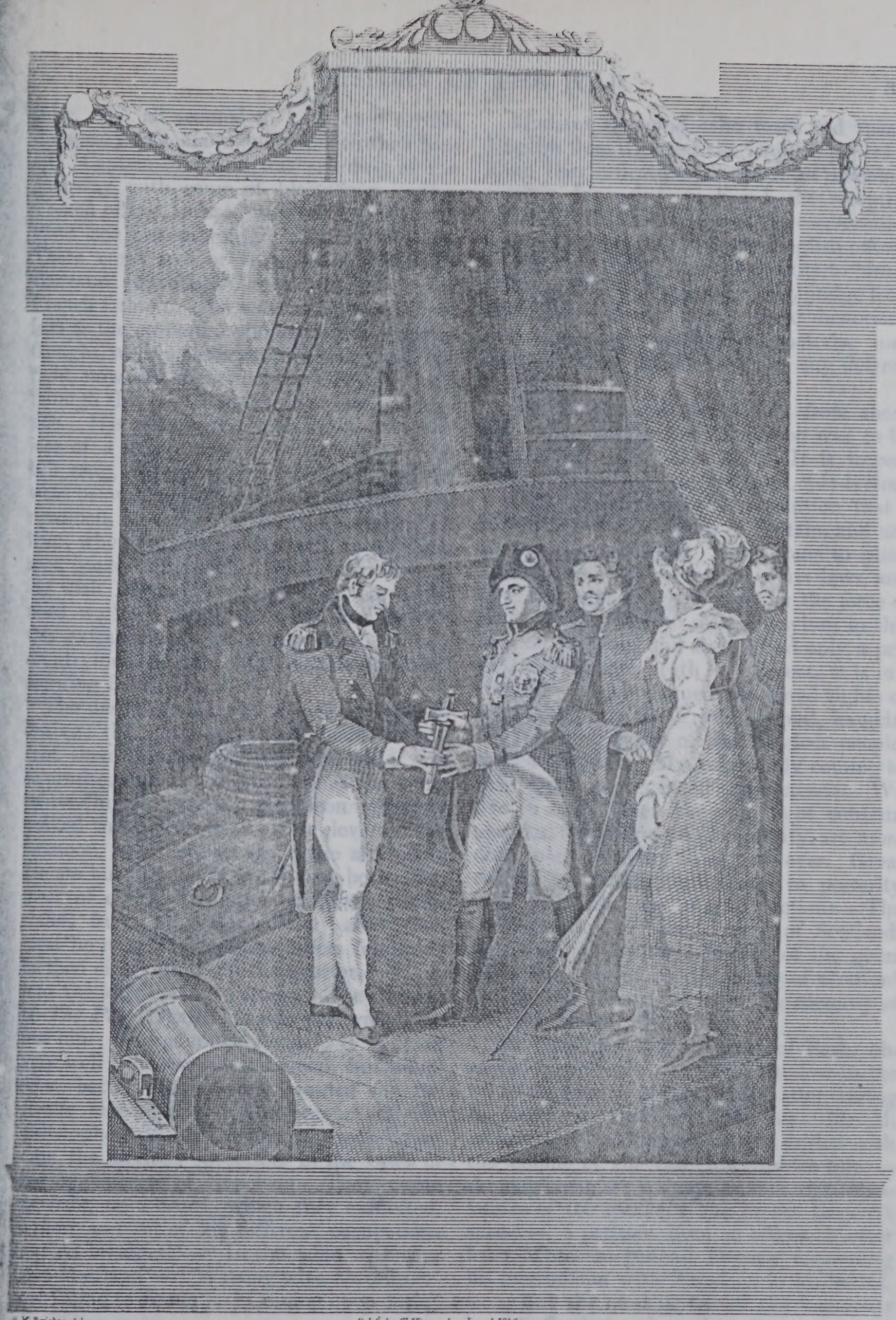
His followers continued to treat him with

the greatest respect, not one of them, not even the duke of Rovigo himself, ever speaking to him without being uncovered the whole time. He seldom appeared out until about half past ten, though he rose about seven. He breakfasted in the French fashion, at eleven, and dined at six, spending most of the day alone in the after-cabin, and reading a great deal. He retired to bed about eight.

General Bertrand, a bold and faithful soldier, never abandoned Napoleon in his adversity or prosperity. He was at Elba with him. It was this officer who constructed the bridge over the Danube, from the Isle de Lobau, which saved the French army after the battle of Asperne. Madam Bertrand is of Irish parents, and her maiden name was Dillon. She is extremely pleasant and affable, and greatly attached to Napoleon's interests. De Las Casses is a little man, about five feet one inch, very clever, and the author of the Historical Atlas. L'Allemand is considered an excellent officer, and commanded the light infantry of the imperial guard in the battle of Waterloo.

When Napoleon first came on board the Bellerophon, he was received without the least ceremony, and not even a guard was turned out. Shortly after, Sir H. Hotham arrived in the Superb, and the next day Napoleon went on board her, where he was received with a guard, the yards manned, and saluted; and when he returned to the Bellerophon he was received in the same manner. The orders from government were to treat him as a general officer, and nothing more; and none but the commanders in chief of the navy, lord Keith, and sir John T. Duckworth, had permission to go on board. Napoleon and two of his generals were constantly employed in writing, from the morning, after breakfast, till four o'clock, when he walked upon deck till half-past five, occasionally shewing himself to the people in the numberless boats which surrounded the ship; but there being a frigate moored on each side of the Bellerophon, guard boats rowed day and night to keep all boats off.

On arriving at Torbay on the 25th, *orders were found to have no communication with the land.* But all the boats of the country, on the news of Napoleon's arrival, surrounded the ship. On the morrow the whole population of the vicinity were there, without distinction of rank or sex. Napoleon, who was principally occupied in reading, in conversation at intervals with some of his suite, and taking a walk regularly several times a day upon the poop, looked at all these curious people with the same countenance he would have shewn from the windows of the Thuilleries. He was seen the greatest part of the morning at the windows of the cabin, generally in conversation with Bertrand or L'Allemand, and occasionally looking with a small opera-glass at the gazing groupes crowded in the vessels below, of all ages and all occupations, and sometimes appeared reading a newspaper; but he had none of the usual French gesticulation, and his countenance seldom altered. "He is now," says an observer, "very corpulent; and annexing that idea with the print of him, full length, as taken standing with his arms across on the parade, will give the best idea of his person. He was dressed in a very plain green coat, with a red collar, also perfectly plain, coming close round his neck; the coat buttoned close on the breast, and cut back in the usual French fashion, shewing a white waistcoat, and pantaloons; a silver star on the left breast, two large gold epaulets, a low cocked hat, perfectly plain, and high boots. His complexion is a clear uniform brown, no mustachios or whiskers, only his jet black hair appearing before the ear and a little behind. His eye is black, rather small, a steady fixed look. The most remarkable feature is his chin, which is very prominent; lips small, forming altogether a handsome and pleasing countenance; he is rather bald on the top of his head. Soon after five o'clock, he appeared walking steadily the length of the quarter-deck, on the starboard side, with L'Allemand; Napoleon kept next the side of the ship, with his hat on, rather attending to his companion's conversation than taking much part in it himself. He frequently used his handkerchief, and otherwise had generally his right hand in the pocket of his pantaloons, and his left just throwing back his coat; sometimes his hands crossed behind. He paused, more or less, at the end of each turn, occasionally noticing some others of his



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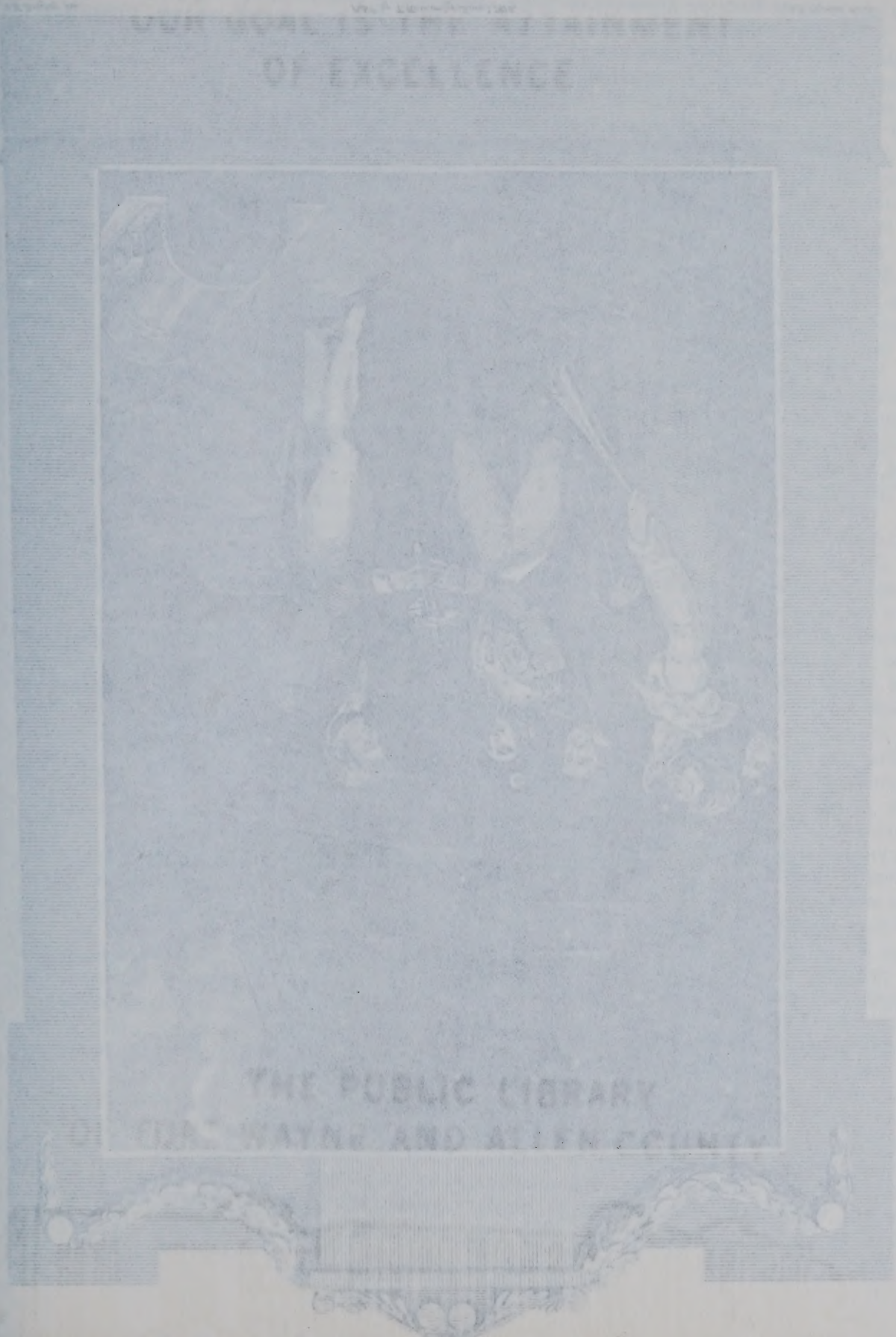
The surrender of Buonaparte on board the Bellerophon.


OUR RIVALS THE NEIGHBORS
OF EXCELLENCE
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suite, who all seemed to keep at a certain distance, L'Allemand and all, with their hats off. Captain Maitland was standing at the gangway with some of his officers, and a French officer, dressed in blue, covered with silver lace and embroidery, said to be Savary. There were two or three ladies (madame Bertrand and others), much dressed in the French fashion. All seemed to treat Napoleon as the emperor, who appeared as one in thought, walking a very steady pace, quite upright, now and then stooping a little to look through the port-holes at the vessels alongside. His person altogether gives one the idea of a strong man. At six o'clock the bell rang, dinner was announced, and he went below, followed by his attendants. He remained, however, not much above half an hour, when he resumed his walk in the same spot, occasionally with a child, and conversing with Bertrand or the ladies. He continued walking till dusk, when the view of this extraordinary man was closed to our countrymen, for the ship sailed at five next morning for Plymouth."

The desire of all ranks to see him was excessive; the guard-boats were unable to prevent them from closing the ship, and it was an amusement on board to look at the boats contending for places. Napoleon generally walked the quarter-deck about eleven in the forenoon, and half-past six in the afternoon. He ate but two meals in the day, both alike, meat of every description, different wines, coffee, fruit, &c. Immediately after each meal he rose first, and the others followed: he then either went on the quarter-deck, or into the after-cabin to study. The comedy of *The Poor Gentleman* was performed before him; he was much pleased; it went off very well; the scenery was good, but somewhat better dresses were wanted for the *female midshipmen*. The seamen of the Bellerophon adopted a curious mode to inform the anxious spectators in the boats of the movements of Napoleon. They wrote in chalk, on a board, which they exhibited, a short account of his different occupations —"At breakfast"—"In the cabin with captain Maitland"—"Writing with his officers" —"Going to dinner"—"Coming upon deck," &c.

Madame Bertrand, who reads and speaks English fluently, read the English papers to him; they caricatured, in the most ridiculous manner, his going on board, the reception which he had met with, and the conversation he had entered into. Some English officers reprobating these follies as insults to him— "The multitude," said he, "only judge from such *Blue Beard* tales; grave historians, who write for posterity, characterise men solely by their actions; I leave my defence to them."

The papers and the reports from shore agreed in stating that Napoleon was to be transported to St. Helena. "It is impossible," was his constant answer: "It is from a noble and magnanimous resolution that I am arrived on the shores of Britain, and not by the chances of war. I am come to place myself under the protection of its laws, and have not been dragged here by the force of arms. I am come to seek an asylum in this land of freedom, and shall I find only a prison, chains, and death? I repeat, it is impossible: I have claimed the sacred rights of hospitality, and the Prince Regent, exercising the sovereignty of the English people, cannot refuse it. My voluntarily coming to him alone prevents all interference. We live in a day when the opinion of contemporaries, the judgment of posterity, are more dear, more necessary to us than ever. Great crimes are transmitted down to posterity with as much care as great actions.—The condemnation of Mary, queen of Scotland, still soils the brilliant history of the great Elizabeth, and the condemnation of Strafford will always be a stain upon the memory of the unfortunate Charles I."

Mr. Mulligan, a silk mercer, of Bath, observed Napoleon at the cabin window in the act of destroying papers, which, after tearing to pieces, he threw into the sea. Mr. M. picked up several fragments that drifted with the ebbing of the tide towards his boat.— Among them were scraps, manuscript translations of the speaker's and Prince Regent's speeches, a petition from an officer, a letter from Murat to general Drouet, requesting his intercession with Napoleon in his behalf, &c. But the most perfect of the fragments is part of a letter from Napoleon to Maria

Louisa, evidently written immediately after his late abdication. It appears to have been the first copy, penned in Napoleon's hand, on paper made for his especial use, with his profile and signature (*"Napoleon, Empereur des François"*) in the water mark. The following is a translation:—

"Madame, my dear and honoured wife!—Attending once more solely to the interests of France, I am going to abdicate the throne; and, in closing my own political career, to bring about the commencement of the reign of our dear son. My tenderness for you and for him impels me to this step no less than my duties as a monarch. If he ensure, as emperor, the happiness of France, and, as a son, the happiness and the glory of his mother, my dearest wishes will be accomplished. Nevertheless, if, even in his most tender infancy, I can give up to him all my authority, in my capacity of head of the state, I cannot, and it would be too painful to my heart, to sacrifice also the inviolable rights which Nature gives me ——"

When the orders arrived for Napoleon's trans-shipment, general Bertrand went first on board the Tonnant, where he dined with lord Keith and sir George Cockburn. At dinner, sir George gave him a general explanation of his instructions with respect to Napoleon, one of which was, that his baggage must be inspected before it was received on board the Northumberland. Bertrand expressed his opinion strongly against the measure of sending the emperor, as he and all the suite constantly styled him, to St. Helena, when his wish and expectation were to live quietly in England, under the protection of the English laws. Lord Keith and sir George Cockburn did not enter into any discussion upon the subject. After dinner, lord Keith and sir George Cockburn, accompanied by Bertrand, went on board the Bellerophon.—Previously to their arrival, *Napoleon's arms and pistols had been taken away from him*—not without considerable altercation and objections on the part of the French officers. At the parting all wept, but particularly Savary, and a Polish officer (six feet two inches high) who had been exalted from the ranks by Napoleon. He clung to his master's knees; and wrote an interesting letter to lord Keith, entreating permission to accompany him, even in the most menial capacity, which could not be admitted. Napoleon took leave of his attendants individually.—Previous to the moment of separation, Napoleon gave some of his officers, left behind, a certificate to the following effect, which had been first drawn up, at the general request, by general Gorgand, and then altered by Napoleon himself, and signed:

"Circumstances prevent my retaining you any longer near me. *You have served me with zeal. I have always been satisfied with you. Your conduct on this last occasion deserves my praise, and confirms me in what I had reason to expect from you.*—On board the Northumberland, 7th August, 1815.

"NAPOLEON."

The words in Italics were substituted by Napoleon for—"In my prosperity you have served me with zeal, and, by accompanying me in my adversity, you have confirmed the good opinion I had of you. Receive my thanks."

On being asked why he objected to surrender himself to Austria, where he might have been safe under the protection of his father-in-law—"What!" Napoleon replied, "give myself up to a nation without laws, honour, or faith? No: the moment I had got there I should have been shut up in a dungeon, and never heard of more. In surrendering to the English I have given myself up to a nation with honourable and just laws, which afford protection to all persons." He spoke of the affair of Waterloo, and said that he did not expect that the duke of Wellington would have given him battle, but that he would have retreated, and waited the arrival of the Prussians, "in which case," added he, "I must certainly have been beaten; I was therefore delighted, when, on the morning of the 18th, I saw the British retain their position on the opposite heights, and I acknowledge that I felt myself certain of obtaining the victory. Never was battle so severely contested as that of Waterloo.—I knew and felt, and my troops joined in the sentiment, that the fate of the campaign depended on the issue of that day. My troops did their duty; they never fought better; and to the present moment I reflect with

astonishment on the firmness with which the British received and repulsed their charges."

He was asked why he obstinately continued the engagement after he knew of the arrival of the Prussians, or whether he believed that they were advancing upon him at that critical moment. He answered that "he was perfectly aware of it, but did not regard it as an affair of much consequence, for he was certain that they must be closely pursued by Grouchy; but he was betrayed by some of his generals, and he had no chance against the bravery of the best troops in the world, and the treachery of those in whom he most confided."

Being asked how he accounted for the strange and unparalleled route of his army, he answered, that treason "had there been busy;—that the consternation happened at a time of darkness, when he was not able to rally the fugitives, and when especially he could not shew himself to them, which he was persuaded would have effectually restored order,—and that in the confusion of the night he was born away by the crowd, and obliged to fly himself."

When he was asked his opinion of lord Wellington, he generally attempted to evade the question; but he never used a single expression derogatory of the duke's military talents. When he was more than usually communicative, he frankly acknowledged that the duke of Wellington had proved himself to be the first general of the age.

He sometimes spoke of his former achievements. "Ah!" said he, one day, "I ought to have died when I entered Moscow, then I had attained the very pinnacle of glory; but from that hour reverses and disgrace have perpetually attended me. And yet, had I followed the dictates of my own mind, I might now have been great and happy.—I would have made peace at Dresden, I would have made peace at Chatillon; but Maret, with well-meaning but fatal zeal, persuaded me against it. Your fine country I had once resolved to invade. It is perhaps fortunate for me that my intention was never executed. That cowardly traitor Villeneuve would not obey the orders which he received. I would have landed as near to Chatham as I could, and have dashed at once for London. I might have failed—I might have perished in the attempt, but the prize was worth the hazard of the undertaking."

He gave a curious account of what occurred between sir Sydney Smith and himself at Acre. "Sir Sydney distributed several proclamations among the French troops, which made them waver a little, and I dreaded the consequence. I therefore, in the next order of the day, asserted that the English commander was mad. This irritated him beyond all bounds, and he sent me a furious challenge to meet him in single combat. This I of course refused, and enraged him yet more by adding, that when he brought the duke of Marlborough to second him I would accept his challenge. Sir Sydney fought bravely, yet I should have taken Acre had he not captured my battering train. You English have been every way my ruin. But for your constancy I should have been emperor of the west; and had it not been for you I should likewise have been emperor of the east; but wherever a ship could get I was always sure to find some of the English to oppose me."

After the first surprise and exultation of the English ministry, at the surrender of Napoleon, had in some degree abated, the arrangement for his future security involved the nation and the government in much discussion and perplexity. It would have been disgraceful to the British character to have delivered up to the French, unclaimed, and to certain death, a fallen enemy, who had implored our hospitality. To Louis the XVIIIth he was not responsible: he had never been a subject of the Bourbons, unless the assertion of Louis, that he had actually reigned eighteen years, during which he was an exile from his country, be admitted as evidence of the fact. The contest between Buonaparte and Louis was that of two independent sovereigns, and the utmost extent of legitimate severity would have been the retention of the conquered party in some state prison suited to his rank. Such, however, was the tumult of parties in France, that his life would have fallen an immediate sacrifice to the turbulence and the jealousy of contending factions, and Napoleon might have shared the fate of Louis the XVIth.—

It was certainly incumbent on the allies, if they valued their own political existence, to remove so formidable an opponent as far as possible from the scene of action, and to some secluded spot, where those irritating restraints and precautions which would have been necessary nearer home might be dispensed with. In England his conduct must have been watched with the most rigid scrutiny: his presence alone would have been the subject of continual rumours and alarms; and his personal comfort would have been sacrificed to the tranquillity of the state. The seclusion of St. Helena presented the advantages of a place sufficiently distant and secure, while the salubrity of its climate obviated every unjust suspicion, and its limited circumference enabled us to prevent, by the exclusion of unauthorised vessels of our own or other nations, the possibility of his escape. On the justice of consigning him to that island we shall make few comments, but its expedience cannot be disputed. The British ministers, however, exceeded their powers, in determining to seclude their prisoner in this solitary abode. Without the sanction of parliament, and without the authority of an express act for the purpose, they had no legal right to detain or thus dispose of the stranger who had sought the protection of our laws. But, confiding in the facility with which a majority can always be obtained in the house of commons, they boldly ventured upon a rigour beyond the law, and were afterwards redeemed from blame by an act of indemnity. It might have been reasonably expected that, since the confederates shared one common interest in his exile and his imprisonment, their participation in the expences of his confinement should have been mutual; but no demand appears to have been made on the part of England, and the politeness or inadvertence of lord Castlereagh has entailed upon his country an additional charge of 374,000*l.* per annum; a sum nearly amounting to the interest of all the existing debts due from France to this country! The decision of the ministers was probably accelerated by the appearance of the following document, which excited a powerful sensation in England, and on the continent of Europe:—

TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

The machinations of treason have obliged me again to separate from you: but, the victims of the same treason, I lament only your misfortunes.

I coveted the sceptre but to sway it for your glory and welfare. The knowledge of my devotion to your honour and prosperity excited the hatred of the sovereigns of Europe. Had I sought only to reign, without regard to the interests of my people, I should have established, in their estimation, the legitimacy of my title to the throne. Had agriculture been neglected, had manufactories languished, had debt accumulated, and public spirit been degraded, then I should have possessed the assured friendship of rival potentates. Had I circumscribed the prosperity of the empire to the embellishment of its palaces, or sacrificed the majesty of the throne to the preservation of the royal authority, then my dynasty might have possessed the inglorious inheritance.

The sovereigns of Europe confederated against me as a legislator whose establishments nurtured and animated the talents and industry of the community, of which I had been elected the chief magistrate, and they proscribed my person as the shield of the power and independence of the state.—The enemies of a revolution which had triumphed over the abuses that occasioned it, and mercenary traitors, insensible to the calamities of an invaded country, associated their efforts to paralyse national exertion, and make you believe that war was my policy, and peace the boon which the governments of Europe solicited from France.—Unwilling to sacrifice the illustrious remnant of your defenders, thus isolated from their country, I yielded to the wishes of your representatives, and, to consummate your security, I surrendered myself into the hands of my enemies.

History affords no example where repose and independence were the rewards of submission, but many instances of individual devotion to the hopes of a nation. Since the fatal moment when France announced that she ceased to combat for her liberty and safety, what misfortunes, crimes, and humiliations have devastated and degraded the

empire! War, with all its devastations—conquest, with all its violence—tyranny, with all its abuses—and subjection, with all its shame, have overwhelmed you. Outrage and perfidy have outstripped even my forebodings.

The perfidy of Austria, which uncovered my line and occasioned my disasters in Russia, which bartered Poland, violated the military convention of Dresden, and negotiated but to betray;—the perfidy of Prussia, whose monarchy I preserved, when treason had undermined the throne, and cowardice had rendered the kingdom defenceless;—of Russia, whose civil, military, and political history is a series of systematic contempt of faith and equity;—of Bavaria, whose unparalleled turpitude obliged me to fight at Leipsic for preservation, and not for conquest;—of Switzerland, who, for a paltry bribe, sold the tranquillity of her citizens, the safety of her country, and the sanctity of her neutrality;—of England, whose sophisms have annihilated public law, and whose policy, since the era of Pitt, has unblushingly substituted power for principle, and expedience for justice: not the recollection of all these perfidies had prepared me for those which have now been emulously perpetrated by sovereigns who professed that they bore arms against France only so long as I was seated on her throne. The most lawless barbarians have never manifested such contempt for solemn obligations. The darkest ages have never presented such scenes of treachery and licentious direction of force in an unresisting country. The miserable king, who was content to render France their prey, has even his wrongs to plead. The mockery of his sway desecrates the divinity of his right, and he trembles lest the vengeance of the nation should sweep him and the despoilers from the soil before the work of ruin is accomplished.

Frenchmen! you are now told that not only my ambition, but your contumacious spirit of conquest demanded punishment.—Even the acquisitions of former sovereigns and former epochs are now cited as your crimes. And by whom are these charges advanced? By sovereigns whose empires have been formed of successive encroachments on the independence and territories of their neighbours. What was Russia in the beginning of the last century? How became the elector of Brandenburgh monarch of a powerful kingdom? Has Austria absorbed no kingdoms, dismembered no provinces, and does she now hold no domain by the sole tenure of force? Look at the map of Europe. Has France only usurped? Do all the states recognised as independent, even by the treaty of Westphalia, exist? Look around the globe. See the English flag flying in every quarter, and in countries where religion, laws, and language are most dissonant. Has she not subjugated the greater part of Asia? Is she not still endeavouring to force the rampart which separates her from China, and has she not been waging a second war to recover her influence on the American continent?

Our ambition was security. If England had not aspired at the sovereignty of three-fourths of the globe, I should have temporised with the unfriendly counsels of Spain. If Russia had not partitioned Poland, and aimed at empire in the south, I never should have proposed to repulse her from the Vistula to the Volga. Europe had acknowledged the baneful influence of England's usurpation. The blood that has flowed for the last twenty-five years has flowed at her purchase; and Europe will further rue the event of a struggle that removes the ascendancy of a civilized people for the domination of northern barbarians.

You are accused of having preferred war to peace, so long as war was successful.—Your answers are these. Who first warred against your revolution? Who violated the treaty of Amiens, and violated it with shameless disdain of truth? Who rejected negotiations repeatedly offered, or broke them when conciliation was practicable? Who declared the war of which you are now the victims? Is it not of their own decreeing? I regretted your sacrifices. I was moved to vindicate your indignities, but I adopted the policy of peace, which was the will of the nation, and I respected it as the bond of union between me and my people. Frenchmen! posterity will judge how far I am responsible to my country for the event of our military efforts.

They will decide, when the records are before them, whether I could have mastered fortune; but my love for France, my gratitude for her confidence, and my devotion to her welfare, can never be subject to suspicion. To France I owe my existence, and the consciousness of that claim has confirmed the rights of nature.

Frenchmen! I am still your emperor: but I hold the crown for my son and your interests. His succession can alone ensure the fruits of your efforts against a dynasty whose reign is identified with your slavery. Foreign force may support the throne of a patricide king; but the power of fifty millions of Frenchmen is not to be permanently subdued. You have acquired mournful but useful experience. You are now convinced that arms alone can redeem you from vassalage and ignominy.

Cherish the brave men who have fought your battles. They will again conduct you to glory and victory.

On the rock where I am doomed to pass my future days by the disloyal sentence of your enemies, I shall hear the echo of your triumph, and hail, in the loom of its horizon, the flag of your independence.

NAPOLEON.

Sir Henry Bunbury was charged with the determination of the government to send him to the island of St. Helena, with four of his friends, to be chosen by himself, and twelve domestics. He received the intimation without surprise, but protested against the measure, as cruel, dishonourable, and unjust. He said that he had been forced to leave the island of Elba, by the breach of the treaty made with him by the sovereigns of Europe: that he endeavoured to avert the renewal of hostilities: that when the fortune of war decided against him, he yielded to the voice of his enemies; and that, as they had declared, in the face of the world, that it was against him only they had taken up arms, he abdicated the imperial crown in full confidence that they would adhere to their declaration, and leave the French to the settlement of their own affairs. His first wish, he declared, had been to retire to America, and there devote himself to literary pursuits; but, disappointed in that object, he had sought the protection of Great Britain, and had fearlessly and unconditionally placed himself in the power of the British government. In this predicament he felt himself entitled to protest against the measure now announced. He then entered into a long argument, to prove that the government could not, consistently with the principles of the British constitution, doom him to perpetual banishment, without accusation, and without trial. Sir Henry answered, that he had no commission but to make known to him the resolution of ministers, but that he should faithfully report the objections which Buonaparte had stated. The interview was scarcely ended before the following protest, in Napoleon's own hand-writing, was delivered to Sir Henry:—

"I protest solemnly, in the face of Heaven and of men, against the violation of my most sacred rights, by the forcible disposal of my person, and of my liberty. I came freely on board the Bellerophon. I am not the prisoner, I am the guest of England.

"Once seated on board the Bellerophon, I was immediately entitled to the hospitality of the British people. If the government, by giving orders to the captain of the Bellerophon to receive me and my suite, intended merely to lay a snare for me, it has forfeited its honour and sullied its flag!

"If this act be consummated, it will be in vain that the English may talk to Europe of their loyalty, of their laws, of their liberty. The British faith will have been lost in the hospitality of the Bellerophon.

"I appeal, therefore, to history. It will say that an enemy, who made war for twenty years on the people of England, came freely, in his misfortune, to seek an asylum under its laws. What more striking proof could he give of his esteem and of his confidence. But how did they answer that confidence in England? They pretended to hold out an hospitable hand to this enemy, and when he surrendered himself to them in good faith they sacrificed him.

"On board the Bellerophon, at sea, August 4.

"NAPOLEON."

The Bellerophon now sailed from Torbay,

to meet the Northumberland, which was appointed to convey Buonaparte to the place of his destination. In the evening sir G. Cockburn, who was to accompany him to St. Helena, went on board the Bellerophon with lord Keith, and was introduced to his charge. Agreeably to instructions, the ceremony with which Buonaparte had hitherto been treated was now discontinued, and the admiral, approaching him, simply pulled off his hat, as he would have done to another general, and said, "How do you do, general Buonaparte?"

Buonaparte was surprised, and hesitated an instant: he then replied in a slight and laconic manner.

A momentary pause ensued, when Buonaparte commenced a philippic against the British government for the outrage which they were committing.

Lord Keith and admiral Cockburn made no reply, but an officer who stood near observed, that if Buonaparte had not been sent to St. Helena, he would have been delivered up to the Russians. "God keep me from the Russians!" he exclaimed, with an expressive look at Bertrand.

Sir G. Cockburn interrupted a conversation which could lead to no satisfactory result, by enquiring at what hour he should receive him on board the Northumberland. Buonaparte hesitated. He then suddenly turned to lord Keith, and abruptly asked him, what he would advise him to do. His lordship replied, that he apprehended no other course could be pursued than to submit to his fate with a good grace. Buonaparte then appointed the hour of ten, but immediately after recalled his consent, and began a more violent harangue against the British government.

Another officer interrupted him. "If you had remained at Rochefort another hour, you would have been taken and sent to Paris." Buonaparte turned his eye on the speaker with much surprise and indignation, but uttered not a word. The address of General, however, soon roused him again; "You have sent ambassadors to me," said he, "as a sovereign potentate,—you have acknowledged me as first consul: Is this the hour chosen to insult me?"

Admiral Cockburn was anxious to terminate a conference which threatened to produce some unpleasant consequence, and bowing to Buonaparte returned to his ship.

Buonaparte now took an affectionate leave of the faithful companions of his adversity. With many tears they expressed the pain which it gave them to leave him. A Polish colonel was peculiarly hurt. He had accompanied Buonaparte through most of his campaigns; he had received seventeen wounds in his service; and now, on his knees, and with tears in his eyes, he entreated that he might be permitted to go with him, though it were in the most menial capacity. The order to send off the Polish officers had been peremptory, and captain Maitland, almost equally affected with himself, was obliged to refuse the brave fellow's request.

Count Bertrand, his wife, and children, the count and countess Montholon, count Las Casses, and general Gorgaud, with nine men and three women servants, remained with Buonaparte, and the rest were sent on board the Eurotas frigate. Buonaparte's surgeon alone, of all his attendants, refused to accompany him, and his place was supplied by the surgeon of the Bellerophon.

At half-past eleven on the following morning Buonaparte went on board the Northumberland. He had now regained more than usual cheerfulness, and, mounting the side of the vessel with the activity of a seaman, was received by the marines as a general.—He immediately advanced to sir George Cockburn. "Admiral," said he, "I once more protest against the injustice of your country; but I know my situation and must submit."

An interesting conversation soon afterwards took place between him and some gentlemen, a few fragments of which have been made public.

It began by his once more exclaiming against his detention.

"You do not know my character. You ought to have placed confidence in my word of honour."

One of the gentlemen said—"Shall I speak the plain truth to you?"

"Speak it."

——"I must then tell you, that since

your invasion of Spain, no Englishman could put trust even in your most solemn engagements."

"I was called to Spain by Charles IV. to assist him against his son."

"No—according to my opinion, to place king Joseph on the throne."

"I had a grand political system. It was necessary to establish a counterpoise to your enormous power on the sea; and, besides, the Bourbons had always entertained the same feeling, and adopted the same system."

"It must, however, be confessed, that France, under your sceptre, was much more to be feared than during the latter years of Louis XVI's reign. She was also aggrandized," &c.

"England on her part had become more powerful." Here he referred to our colonies, and particularly to our acquisitions in India.

"Many well-informed men are of opinion that England loses more than she gains by the possession of that overgrown and remote empire."

"I wished to revive Spain; and to do much of that which the cortes afterwards attempted to do."

He was then recalled to the main point, and reminded of the character of the transaction by which he obtained possession of the Spanish crown. To this he made no answer, but again recurred to the subject of his detention, and, after much discussion, concluded by saying—"Well! I have been deceived in relying upon your generosity.—Replace me in the position from which you took me."

Speaking of his invasion of France, he said with great vehemence—"I was then a sovereign. I had a right to make war. The king of France had not kept his promises."

He afterwards said exultingly, and laughing and shaking his head—"I made war on the king of France with six hundred men, and beat him too."

He said, that in confining him as we did, we were "acting like a little aristocratic power, and not like a great free people."

Of Mr. Fox he said, he knew him, and had seen him at the Thuilleries—"He had not your prejudices."

"Mr. Fox, general, was a zealous patriot with regard to his own country, and, besides, a citizen of the world."

"He sincerely wished for peace, and I wished for it also. His death prevented the conclusion of peace. The others were not sincere."

He afterwards observed—"I do not say that I have not for twenty years endeavoured to ruin England;" and then, as if correcting himself for having inadvertently said more than was prudent—"that is to say, to lower you—I wished to force you to be just—at least less unjust."

He was asked his opinion of the British infantry?

"Long wars made good soldiers—the cavalry of both nations is excellent—but your artillery have derived much improvement from the French."

Of the duke of Wellington he seemed to avoid giving any opinion.

To a question concerning Louis XVIII. he replied, "He is a good sort of a man; too fond of the table and pretty sayings. He is not calculated for the French. The duchess of Angouleme is the only man in the family. The French must have such a man as myself."

He afterwards broke out into some invectives against the conduct of the allies, and called it perfidious and treacherous.

He once more spoke of St. Helena, and expressed himself not only indignant, but surprised at being sent there.

"I would have given my word of honour to have remained quiet, and to have held no political correspondence in England. I would have pledged myself not to quit the place assigned me, but to live as a simple individual."

"That seems to be next to impossible; for though you have had great reverses, you could never so far forget what you had been as to feel and conduct yourself as a simple individual."

"But why not let me remain in England upon my parole of honour?"

"You forget how many French officers violated their parole of honour, and that not only you did not express any indignation against them, but received them with parti-

THE ISLAND OF ST HELENA.

cular distinction—Lefebvre Desnouettes is an instance of this."

Buonaparte made no reply, and the conversation ended.

After waiting a few days for provisions and stores, the Northumberland sailed for St. Helena, a place apparently designed by nature for the reception of some great, extraordinary, and unfortunate individual.

St. Helena, which was discovered by the Portuguese in 1502, is said to have been the voluntary abode of a Portuguese nobleman, who had disgraced himself in India so early as the year 1513. This gentleman, Fernandez Lopez, being left here with a few servants, and various useful animals, cultivated the resources of the island to a very considerable extent, until recalled to his country. He communicated the valuable secret of its advantages to their East India trade. The earliest British notice that we find taken of this island, was by the celebrated captain Cavendish, in 1588.

In 1593, St. Helena afforded a very welcome shelter to the Bonaventure, captain Lancaster, who, sailing with two other of our earliest adventurers in those seas, was driven back, after leaving the Cape of Good Hope, to this place, where he continued about three weeks. It does not appear ever to have been regularly inhabited by the Portuguese after the departure of Lopez. Nor was there a colony of any other nation until 1640, when the Dutch made a regular settlement. In 1651, the Dutch quietly relinquished the island to the East India company, and Charles II. shortly after granted a charter, by which the sovereignty was vested in the company. They were allowed to erect forts, supply garrisons and plantations on the island with any "provisions, clothing, ammunition, and necessary implements, without paying any custom or duty." Their first charter bears date 3d of April, 1661. The company eagerly availed themselves of these privileges. They offered liberal encouragement to settlers from England. The single men that first arrived were allowed ten acres of land and one cow: those with families had this allowance doubled. Seeds, plants, and breeding stock were largely supplied: and salt provisions were issued gratis, in 1673, for a period of nine months. Soldiers were also permitted to become free settlers. That these advantages might not be thrown away, a period of one year was allowed, at the expiration of which, they who had wholly neglected their lands, or did not support one cow at least, on every ten acres, were dispossessed, ordered to quit the island, and the farm became forfeited to the company.

It was at this period that the possessor of every ten acres of land was ordered to furnish one man bearing arms; and thus a militia was gradually formed, upon whom, having an interest in the soil, great reliance was placed. The influx of settlers, shortly after the establishment of the colony, so augmented this militia, that the regular soldiers were reduced to fifty men, and the rest allowed to settle or return home. A commutation of the militia service of the planters was introduced in 1693, of 2s. per acre. The civil and military offices established by the company were, in the infancy of the colony, frequently mixed and vested in the same hands. The governor, from the first settlement, has had the final and executive authority of the whole island. A council, sometimes consisting of the deputy governor, and the company's senior civil servant only—sometimes of another member or two, specially added by the court of directors, assisting him, and deriving all the authority immediately from the East India company—with a chaplain and surgeon, completed their first establishment. The salary of the governor was at first but 50*l.* per annum; that of the deputy-governor and store-keeper 50*l.*; the chaplain 50*l.*; and the surgeon 25*l.* per annum. The governor, however, received an additional 50*l.* as captain in the service of the company, and a gratuity generally of another 50*l.* The minister and surgeon were allowed land and cattle, as settlers, and their maintenance daily at the governor's table.—The inhabitants for the first twenty years seem to have averaged about five hundred.

Scarcely had the East India company, however, obtained full possession of the island, and introduced these regulations as to its resources and future government, before the Dutch, by the treachery of one of

the inhabitants, regained possession of it for a few months. In the close of the year 1672, or beginning of 1673 (for no authentic record affords us a clear statement of particulars), they appeared off the island, and attempted for a whole day to effect a landing by open force. Rocks and stones were rolled upon them from the heights, however, so successfully, as to compel them to abandon their first attempt at Lemon Valley. From the kind of defence then adopted it would appear that, at this time, there was but one fort erected, which was situated on Ladder Hill: it was called Fort James: it gave the name to the valley adjoining; and is supposed to have been built in 1665. Failing in the attempt here, they landed, in the course of the following night, five hundred men at Bennett's Point, and coming round by Swanley Valley and the High Peak, to the fort on Ladder Hill, though they were warmly received and repeatedly repulsed, they finally overpowered the garrison. The governor and others secured their most valuable effects on board some ships in the road before they abandoned the fort; and made immediately for the Brazils. Here they found the brave captain Munden and three of the king's ships, who were on their way to St. Helena, as convoy to the expected East India fleet. He quickly made for the island, and arriving unseen by the Dutch, a party was landed at the opening of a small creek where two men only could go abreast. This was pointed out to them by a slave who had been in the service of the governor, was sold on his arrival at the coast of Brazil, but luckily redeemed by Munden. Two hundred men were silently and safely disembarked, under captain Kedgwin, of the Assistance. They had now to encounter a precipice above the landing place, to which a single man of the corps was first obliged to ascend, and by a rope, hauling up others, the whole gained the rock.—But so imminent was their danger at this time, that any twenty men would have been sufficient to repulse the whole attempt. The night was occupied in a march through the largest wood in the island; about day-break they arrived at the east side of St. James's Valley, and ascended to the summit of Rupert's Hill before they were observed. Sir Richard Munden entering the harbour at this instant, the Dutch surrendered without firing a shot. The mouth of this creek has since been amply fortified, as indeed has every spot where it is at all possible to effect a landing. Captain Munden remained here long enough to reap some solid advantages from his zeal, besides this final conquest of the island. So eager were the Dutch to secure and improve their new possession, that a governor and suite were quickly dispatched from Holland, on arrival of the news of this capture of St. Helena. Sir Richard, while employed in strengthening the place, displayed the Dutch flag on the forts and ships in the roads, and thus the new governor fell quietly into his hands. Shortly after this, two of the most valuable Dutch Indiamen, out of a fleet of six homeward-bound, were in like manner decoyed. The whole fleet made the harbour without suspicion, but the natural eagerness of the English alarmed four of them in time for their escape. The vice and rear-admiral, with a considerable treasure, were, however, secured. The island was now left under the government of captain Kedgwin, and the garrison strengthened to near two hundred men, independent of the militia. The gratitude of the East India company to Oliver the slave, who had been the means of the success of the whole enterprise, was not very remarkable. They granted him his liberty, and land and cattle as a free settler.

The island thus relapsing, by conquest, to the crown, a re-grant of it to the East India company became requisite, which was made by Charles II. This charter is dated 16th December, 1673, and constitutes the governor and company "the true and absolute lords and proprietors of the island," with full legislative power to the extent of life and limb. The directors of the company now applied themselves to the defence and improvement of the island with new vigour.—They equipped two ships wholly for the purpose of carrying out stores of every kind; and a new commission was made out, in which captain Field succeeded the gallant Kedgwin as governor. In 1678, captain Field resigned, and major Blackmore succeeded as governor. With him came out a system of

laws extracted from those of their East India settlements. Courts of justice were erected, and trial by jury introduced in all cases affecting life, limb, or land.

The colony now began to flourish very decidedly—the company, in 1721, no longer found it needful directly to supply provisions at their invoice prices, but only laying a duty of 19 per cent. on all stores imported from England, the inhabitants at this time were found competent to supply themselves by purchase.

Decided as the mind of almost all the civilised world has now become on the subject of the slave trade, the history of that enormity in all countries is one of the most striking proofs, perhaps, of the slow progress of right against power, that the history of the world could furnish. The earliest history of St. Helena recognizes this system, and the import and export of this cannibal commodity was regulated as unhesitatingly as any other articles of commerce. Sometimes we find the excessive numbers of the slaves producing restrictions on the further purchase of them for a few years, as in 1679. Shortly after, a duty of 10*s.* per head, to the company, was substituted for this; and then, some of the ships refreshing here were compelled to leave one negro, male or female, as their agents should select, for the company's lands. The laws at this period against slaves were written in characters of blood. A male slave, of sixteen years and upwards, striking a white person with his hand, underwent castration;—a female, for the same offence, had both her ears cut off, and was branded in the forehead and both cheeks. A slave, male or female, *offering* to strike a person with any instrument or weapon, suffered death! The slave system, and the levying of new taxes under governor Blackmore, occasioned many tumults. In 1684 the deputy-governor was openly insulted in the discharge of his duty by a common soldier,—the flame spread on his being apprehended, and some of the planters were implicated.—About sixty mutineers, military and others, attacked the fort; martial law was proclaimed, and three of them killed, and fourteen wounded, in this attack. Several were afterwards seized and tried, and two of the ringleaders (one of them a planter) hung.—Four others were banished. Complaints were made at home of the severity of these sentences, by petition to the house of commons: no substantial case, however, appears to have been made out. But fresh examples were found needful shortly after, and sanctioned by an express commission from James II.—the tenure of the island having now become quite precarious. Fourteen others were tried by court-martial, under this commission, and five executed. The property of the convicted was forfeited to the company. Several more were sent to Bombay, and no inhabitant was in future to keep arms without license from the lords proprietors. The garrison was increased, and the militia in part disbanded.

This island furnished a retreat, in 1666, to many of the sufferers by the fire of London, and to the Hugonots, who, in the reign of Louis XIV. escaped from France.

In 1690, a captain Joshua Johnson, with a salary raised from 100*l.* to 200*l.* per annum, succeeded to the government of St. Helena, to which he fell a victim in 1693. Fourteen soldiers originated a mutiny, which ended in the butchery of the governor, the plunder of the treasury, and, before the first perpetrators escaped, they sowed the seeds of disaffection through the whole island. Jackson, a serjeant on guard, contriving to introduce his accomplices into the garrison, before he delivered the keys to the governor, in the dead of the night, they separately intimidated all within the fortress, seized the governor, and, in a scuffle, shot him through the head. In the morning, messages for particular persons were dispatched, in the governor's name, who were secured as they appeared. The guns were spiked or removed. The deputy governor and four other gentlemen were taken on board a ship they had seized in the harbour, while the treasure and provisions were embarked.—They were made hostages, in fact, for the supplies the mutineers exacted of the people, under the guns of the batteries. In two days they accomplished their plans, and quietly effected their escape, 22d of April, 1693.

In 1691, captain Dampiere touched here,

and describes the bay as being so strong, that it was impossible to force it. The town consisted of about thirty small houses, with plantations of potatoes, yams, plantains, and bananas. The inhabitants, he says, were very willing to barter their live stock for clothes, calico, silk, or muslin. Fruits of many kinds were now imported by the company; and the apple, mulberry, and quince, succeeded. In 1707, the following was the scale of the price of provisions: veal and mutton, per lb. 6*d.*;—pork, 4*d.*;—bacon, 10*d.*;—running hogs, 2*d.*;—a sheep, 20*s.*;—a goat, 8*s.*;—a fowl, 1*s.*;—a turkey, 5*s.*;—a goose, 5*s.*;—potatoes, per bushel, 4*s.*;—yams, per cwt. 6*s.*;—milk, per gallon, 6d.;—new milk cheese, per lb. 4d. Fisheries were at this time also established in the neighbourhood of the island; and a bank, called New Ledge, about six miles on the N. N. W. has been constantly the resort for boats, who gather, however, not more fish than are consumed daily.

By the enterprising governor Roberts, the present square fort in James's Valley, and a new government house, were commenced in 1708. A republication of the laws of the island took place about this period, which produced a string of remonstrances and rejoinders between the inhabitants and the government. They desired to possess fire arms, which were granted; and to meet more frequently in social fellowship, which was allowed: the trial by jury was requested to be extended whenever required by the plaintiff, which, with some modification, was agreed to. Barracks were erected under this government to keep the military as much as possible distinct from the inhabitants, the fortifications much improved, and a general spirit of order, uprightness, and decision, diffused throughout the colony to a far greater extent than it had ever before enjoyed. Litigious and discontented persons, however, obtained the ear of his masters at home, and captain Roberts was superseded, in 1711, by governor Boucher. In 1714, this gentleman resigned, having given great dissatisfaction to the company and people.—Governor Pyke succeeded, and directed his attention mainly to the agricultural interests of the island. In the second year of his government a flood, bursting from Sandy Bay Ridge, laid waste several plantations; it was supposed to originate from the bursting of a water-spout near that bank. Some of the hills were entirely stript of soil by this inundation, and many families ruined. This, however, is the only accident of the kind on record.

Governor Pyke had to encounter some of the most serious obstacles to his plans during the five years of his administration. In 1718, a severe drought took place here, and accompanied by a north-west wind, which continued unchanged for three weeks. These circumstances together produced a dreadful mortality of the inhabitants, now amounting to upwards of eight hundred: nearly one hundred died in two months, of which two-thirds were slaves. In 1719, and indeed to 1723, this tremendous scourge of drought again visited the island, and a state of famine for a while ensued. The East India company were extremely active to relieve the inhabitants, and adopted regulations to prevent its recurrence. One accusation against governor Pyke remains to his honour. He had granted a petition of the planters, to allow them to punish the slaves *at discretion*, yet was accused to the directors of being "too mild in his conduct" to that oppressed race, and having gravely called them "his children!" In 1728, a law was enforced for the better protection of the wood on the island. Not only had the fruitfulness of many spots been injured, but the rains were found to wash away the entire soil in some places, from the brittle nature of the mould. The moisture and shade afforded by the trees being found essential to the preserving its adhesive qualities, governor Roberts had made an order to compel every planter to apportion one-tenth of his grounds to the cultivation of trees. This was now revived: a part of Long Wood, (about one hundred and fifty acres) was fenced in for the purpose of perpetuating the trees; and a nursery ground established: Potatoes were this year first planted on the island.

In 1729, all goats and sheep were commanded to be destroyed for ten years, being found constantly to molest the improvements of the island. For the last eighty years, the

wood on the island, with these precautions, has been considerably increased.

The public buildings and fortifications of the island proceeded under various governments to that of colonel Dunbar, in 1794, when the cultivation of wheat, barley, and oats, was attempted, but the crops disappointed public expectation. The occasional drought and changeability of the soil, and not the rats that infest the island, has been assigned by some as the cause of failure.—Governor Dunbar was succeeded by Mr. Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor, in whose person that office had been revived. In 1759, the civil and military establishment of the company was augmented and made more distinct. The British code of civil law was also introduced; and sessions of oyer and terminer, of which the governor and council were constituted judges, were regularly held; though we find the court of directors again admonishing them to discourage all litigious proceedings at law, and refusing to send out any professional gentlemen in that department. The salary of the governor, in 1762, was increased to 500*l.* per annum. The price of provisions, from the company's stores, became considerably reduced; and since 1758, the salt provisions they supply have been fixed at four-pence per lb. to the inhabitants.

In 1760, two of the company's ships were cut out of the roads of St. Helena, by the French, through the lax administration of the governor. The vessels in question had been taken under the Dutch flag by the French, who regularly saluted the garrison, and passed into the harbour. No ship was in consequence suffered to pass Banks's battery afterwards, without first sending a boat to the shore.

In 1761, a temporary observatory was erected here in expectation of a transit of the planet Venus over the disk of the sun. Dr. Maskelyne, the astronomer royal, from Greenwich, and Mr. Waddington, resided here for six months, to prepare the edifice; but a passing cloud, at the moment of the transit, June 6th, defeated the whole purpose of their visit.

A tract of land, in 1777, consisting of one thousand five hundred acres, was strongly fenced in, for the further encouragement of wood upon the island. The gum-wood is now the only tree growing on this large tract. Water-works to extend the streams of the various springs, with different degrees of success, were now attempted: a pipe of near three thousand yards long was laid down, from Chub's spring to the wharf, and has been found of great service to the island.

On Christmas eve, 1783, a serious mutiny again broke out in the garrison: some punch-houses, which the soldiers were accustomed to frequent, were suppressed, and the men refused their allowances in evident resentment. A body of them, under arms, appeared before the governor on the 26th; and on the 27th, above two hundred men marched out, with drums and fixed bayonets, to gain the fort on Ladder Hill. The governor, with great presence of mind, followed and threw himself among them, induced them to return with him down the hill, and to abandon their violent measures for the present. On the 29th, however, finding forbearance no longer availing, and insubordination spreading on every side, he secured their ringleader, serjeant Tooley. The mutineers now attempted to seize the alarm house, but were anticipated by the gallant major Grame, who singly reached it before them. With the assistance of the six men on the station, he opened a fire of grape-shot on them for a time, but was at last compelled to abandon it. The governor, in the interim, had dispatched all the men he could rely upon (about eighty) under major Bazett, to his assistance; they surrounded the mutineers (after several exchanges of fire) in the alarm house, killed three, and took a hundred and three prisoners. Many more escaped in the night, but ninety-nine of them were tried by court martial, and condemned to death.—Only Burnett, however, the serjeant that led this attempt, and nine others, were executed.

The arrival of governor Brooke at St. Helena, in 1788, seems to have formed a new era in its history. Ably supported by major Robson, of the Madras service, as lieutenant-governor, and major Bazett, who so promptly suppressed the late mutiny, he introduced a variety of most useful military measures, by which the order of the garrison was effectu-

tually secured—its numbers with safety increased—and the island made a nursery of effective troops for the company's service.—Many discharged soldiers arriving here as invalids, became recruited, and willing again to return. This gentleman found it necessary to encourage the artillery service, and change the whole system of its administration. An accurate survey of the various positions was taken. The whole country was particularly adapted to reward his skill, but the heights had to this time been totally neglected. These were fortified. A strong corps of artillery, and a battalion of infantry, were stationed here in 1796; major Rennell, sir Archibald Campbell, and the marquis Cornwallis, successively inspected the fortifications of the island—a chain of signal posts was established round the coast for the first time, and every pass and defile on the island duly regarded.

After effectually reforming the habits of the troops, Mr. Brooke next introduced a new code of regulations for the slaves. The power once so arbitrarily lodged with the master, he transferred to the magistrate. No correction exceeding twelve lashes is allowed to be given them by their owners—every crime of a serious nature is referred to the governor or justice of the peace. Excessive violence to them is punishable as an assault; and their Sundays are expressly reserved to them. Marriage is also encouraged among those who before promiscuously cohabited; their evidence upon oath in all judicial proceedings admitted; and their property, lawfully acquired, to be fully protected by law. Each slave is considered to cost the owner, on an average, 80*l.* sterling per head, and about 25*l.* per annum maintenance. Since the 24th February, 1792, the further importation of this persecuted race into the island has been prohibited. The live stock on this island was augmented under the management of the governor. In 1790, it amounted to 2509 head of black cattle, 2,390 sheep; and the sales to ships calling here, of cattle and fruits, of to 6,600*l.* in the year. The potatoe plantations were extended, and the whole island made to wear a wealthy and increasing appearance. It was under this administration that the salary of the governor was increased to 1000*l.* per annum; to which was added the commission and pay of a colonel. After the most useful and distinguished administration of the affairs of this island it had ever enjoyed, during a period of fifteen years, colonel Brooke retired, on account of his health, to England in 1800, and colonel Patten succeeded to the vacant chair. By this gentleman telegraphs were established on the island, in 1801, of his own invention. The artillery service continued to receive the necessary encouragement, and the heights have been rendered still more effective in defence. The St. Helena artillery practice has become distinguished for its celerity, and no irregular fortification in the world is perhaps so complete.

In making a voyage to St. Helena, it is necessary in general, on account of the trades, to stretch along the Brazil coast, quite out of the tropics, and then round over to the eastward, with variable winds, till the island can be gained by the south-east trades. On approaching it in this direction, it appears like a lofty irregular ridge of rocks, the northern extremity of which is very abrupt, and the southern more shelving. At a small distance from the latter there are two rocks, called the Needles, one of which resembles a large ship under full sail. Barn's Point, the next promontory, is passed by ships at a cable's length; it is nearly perpendicular, and about 1600 feet high. From hence vessels steer close along shore for Sugar-loaf Hill and Point: on the peak of the former there is a telegraph, and on a jutting crag of the latter, about 80 or 90 feet above the level of the sea, there is a small battery of three or four guns, to compel vessels to "heave to, and send their boats on shore." If this be not attended to, guns and batteries open in succession upon the vessel. After this ceremony, Rupert's Valley, and several ranges of batteries formed among the precipices, are passed. On rounding Rupert's Hill, James's Town and Valley present themselves, abreast of which vessels cast anchor, about half a mile from the shore. While the ship and fort are saluting, the reverberations of sound among the rocks and mountains resemble the loudest peals of thunder; and, joined to the novelty of the surrounding prospects, form

a striking contrast with the monotonous scenery to which the eye is accustomed during a long voyage from Europe or Asia.

James's Valley is bounded on the sides by two craggy ridges; that on the eastern is called Rupert's Hill, that on the western Ladder Hill. On the sides of these are the roads into the country, and branches of these ridges of hills divide the island. Rupert's Hill and Ladder Hill gradually recede from each other, as they approach the sea, and at length terminate at the beach in two stupendous and almost perpendicular cliffs, leaving a triangular intermediate space about a mile and a half in length, and 350 yards broad at its base. This base is a fortified line, extending from cliff to cliff, and mounting thirty pieces of heavy cannon, nearly level with the water's edge. Immediately behind this line, the government house and church are situated, from whence the town extends up the valley, which, decreasing in breadth, leaves at last room only for a single house.

St. James's Valley, in which the town is situated, lies on the north-west or leeward side of the island. The stranger feels, on landing, a continuation of the respect inspired by the military appearance of the place; for, after passing the drawbridge, the way leads between a line of heavy guns and a double row of trees, of a lively green, generally in full leaf. The town is entered by an arched gateway, under a rampart, or terrace, forming one side of a parade, about 100 feet square. On the left side are the government house and the main guard room; the former is inclosed with a wall, having the semblance of the embrasures, and is called the castle: it contains the governor's habitation, and the offices of government. The church, fronting the gateway, is a neat and not inelegant edifice. The principal street commences between it and a palisade, inclosing the company's garden; it consists of 28 houses, which are handsomely built in the English style, generally two stories high, and well white-washed; very much resembling a pretty little country town in England.—This street divides into two other streets, one on the east, leading to that side of the country; the other proceeding to the upper part of the valley, where are situated the barracks, the new garden, and the hospital. In this street is the lieutenant-governor's house, and a number of shops well stored with European and Indian commodities.—With the exception of the governor, lieutenant-governor, and two members of council, all the other inhabitants, both military and civil, let lodgings, the established rate of which, including board and wine, is 30*s.* per diem for each person, and half that sum for children and servants. Fortunes were frequently made by receiving as inmates visitors from India, and supplying the shipping.

Looking up from the streets towards Rupert's and Ladder Hill, the scene is awfully sublime. The stranger shudders to behold the enormous masses of rocks impending on each side of the valley from a prodigious height, and which seem ready every instant to hurl destruction on the town.

St. Helena Bay being formed by two projecting promontories, and situated on the leeward side of the island, is of course completely sheltered from the south-east trade-winds by the mountains, and protected from the long swell of the southern ocean by the island itself. It thus affords a safe and commodious anchorage for our ships, which may lie close to the rocks, in water as smooth as glass. The fresh water, that distils down from the crevices in the rocks, is collected in a reservoir under Rupert's Hill, where ships and boats can lie at the jetty side, and have the pipes led into the casks. The history of the island affords but one single instance of shipwreck, and that was on the day it was discovered by the Portuguese.

The island is unequally divided by a lofty chain or ridge of hills, running nearly east and west. From this chain alternate ridges and vallies branch off in various directions. Diana's Peak, towards the east end of this chain, is *the highest point of the island*, and rises nearly *two thousand seven hundred feet* above the level of the sea. From the summit of this peak, no point intercepts the horizon; the whole island is beneath the scope of vision; the ridges and hollows diverging from the chain are traced to the sea. Houses and plantations diversify the prospect, and the contrast of verdant and naked mountains

renders the scene at once novel, picturesque, and majestic.

On Ladder Hill are mounted 24 pieces of cannon; some ranged along the brow of the cliff that overhangs the town, and others along that which overlooks the roadstead.—Six or seven of these are mounted on depressing carriages, so as to fire down into the town and roads, thereby completely commanding those places.

The tract over which the traveller proceeds from the town to High Knoll, which is 2000 feet above the sea, is the very emblem of sterility, presenting new views of rocks and mountains, congregating on each side in the wildest order, and without exhibiting an atom of vegetation: but on ascending the tower on the top of the Knoll, all this rude but majestic scenery vanishes like a magical illusion, leaving the eye to range over a series of beautiful vallies, groves, and lawns, verdant as the spring, and affording luxuriant pasturage to the flocks and herds that stray amongst them. Throughout this prospect are interspersed small plantations, gardens, and handsome little country houses; the whole surrounded by a lofty irregular ridge of hills and precipices. On the south side of the Knoll is the governor's country residence, called Plantation House.

Among these stupendous scenes, the hitherto restless Napoleon, in the solitude of his exile, will have time to calm the turbulent passions that have so long agitated his breast, and reflect on the "vanity of human wishes." The cliffs and precipices may remind him of the Alps and his first career of glory. The fertile interjacent vallies may recal to his memory the Mantuan vales and the trophies of Marengo; but the roaring surge that perpetually dashes against the rocky barriers of his circumscribed retreat, must ever harrow up the mortifying recollection of that maritime nation, which first checked and finally subverted all his projects of ambition—that nation, which he warred against in his prosperity, and flew to in his adversity; and which proved "the most powerful, the most constant, and (had not a due regard to the preservation of the peace of the world prevented, would have been) the most generous of his enemies."

The great object of the East India company, in spending so much on a settlement which has never returned them one-fourth of the money, was to have a point of rendezvous and supply to their homeward-bound ships. All the regulations have therefore reference to this end. The breed of cattle and sheep on the island is originally English; and though they thrive well, yet in consequence of the small extent of the pasture ground, and the great demand from the company's shipping for fresh provisions, a bullock is seldom allowed to attain the age of four years. From the same cause, all the inhabitants are limited in the use of fresh provisions: the military and servants are allowed fresh beef or mutton only four times a year; and at each of those periods the former have three, and the latter five fresh meals.

Upon an average of five years, from 1801 to 1805 inclusive, 165 ships touch annually at St. Helena; and in war time, the long detention for convoy experienced by large fleets (the crews and passengers of which are frequently equal to the whole population of the island), occasions such an extra consumption of stock and refreshment, that the mere productions of the island itself could never be adequate to such exigencies, were it not supplied with ample quantities of salt meat from England, and of rice from Bengal.—These articles, as they are cheaper than fresh provisions, constitute the principal food of the inhabitants and garrison. Salt meat is issued to them from the company's stores under prime cost, and every other article at only ten per cent. advance, including freight. Beef is sold at sixpence-halfpenny per pound *alive*, having been raised to that price since 1808; and as it is principally destined for the king's, or the company's shipping, no person can kill even his own ox, without permission from the governor, a rule which has existed since the year 1752. To compensate in some measure, however, for the deficiency of fresh meat, there is an abundant supply of fish and vegetable productions. Of fish, seventy-six species frequent the coast: those most common are mackarel, albecore, cavalloes, jacks, soldiers, old wives, and bull's eyes; the shell fish are long legs and stumps, which resemble the lobster in taste and colour.

The vegetables comprise abundance of potatoes, yams, cabbages, peas, beans, &c. The fruits, which are not less plentiful, are apples, peaches, guavas, grapes, melons, and figs.—The hopes of the farmer having frequently been disappointed in the cultivation of grain, either from drought or from the depredation of the rats, no grain is now sown in any part of the island. Rabbits abound in some situations; pheasants and partridges are become numerous, and every garden is enlivened by the notes of the canary bird.

The climate of St. Helena is remarkably salubrious and conducive to longevity, the temperature of the air being very moderate, considering its situation between the tropics, where the sun is vertical twice a year.—From the great inequality of the surface of the island, there is considerable diversity, of course, in its climate, the thermometer on the heights frequently sinking below 54°, while in St. James's Valley it is sometimes above 84°. There are no land and sea breezes: thunder, lightning, or storms, rarely disturb the serenity of this mild atmosphere. The greatest inconvenience to which it is subject is drought, which has been known to continue for three years on a stretch, and prove a great scourge to the island, killing the cattle, destroying the trees, and withering every appearance of vegetation. It is remarked by the natives, that storms, attended with thunder, lightning, or rain, occur about once in ten or twelve years, sometimes doing great mischief; the rocks and crags, being loosened and dislodged by the rain, sweep away at those times the little farms and gardens situated on the declivities.

Since the possession of the Cape, St. Helena has become of less importance to the East India company. The population of the island is about 4000 souls, including 600 white inhabitants, 1600 blacks, 350 of whom are free, exclusive of the garrison and civil establishment of the company. The military necessary to man respectably the different batteries, and garrison the citadel on High Knoll, the last resource of the island, ought not to be less than 1000 men. The pieces of cannon on the different batteries and eminences may probably amount to more than 450 The island comprises only one parish; but for the more regular performance of the county and parish officers' duties, it is divided into three districts, viz.—the east, the west, and the south, or Sandy Bay division. There are two churches in the island—one in the town and another in the country.

The only endemic disorders to which the natives are subject are of the catarrhal kind: Hydrophobia and the small-pox have never been known on the island.

The situation of a little colony, embosomed in the recesses of a rocky island, and separated by an immense ocean from the troubles and calamities of the surrounding world, might be supposed to be the retreat of happiness: especially as the inhabitants, in the enjoyment of ease and security, have only to attend to the care of their families and gardens, where they are blessed with some of the best things this world can give—with long life—exemption from disease—a healthy offspring, and beautiful women. The reverse is, however, the case. But whether from family jealousies, which are apt to rise in such confined situations, or those little tales of scandal and whispers of detraction, which are so frequently heard in small communities, it is to be regretted that the peace and social intercourse of this settlement have been sometimes disturbed. To strangers, they appear to associate very little together, and except during the shipping season, when they quit their country residences and live in James's Town, they pass the remainder of the year apart from each other, at their garden houses, between which, if their tenants were even more disposed to associate, the intervention of crags, precipices, and chasms, would prevent easy and frequent intercourse. What lively interest is excited by the appearance of any ship! But the arrival of the homeward bound Indiamen is the greatest event of the year: it fills the whole settlement with alacrity and joy: they quit their gardens, flock to James's Town, open their houses for the accommodation of the passengers, and entertain them with plays, dances, and concerts. These gay assemblies are enlivened by the presence of many agreeable and handsome young women of the place; who, amid the general festivity, seem to feel a peculiar interest in what is going forward;

probably not without some throbbing expectation of being taken from a scene where they are weary with constantly contemplating the same objects. The appearance of so much loveliness and beauty in so secluded a situation, has sometimes raised stronger emotions than those of mere sympathy in the bosoms of their guests; and the native women of St. Helena have adorned domestic life, and graced the politest circles of England and India. There is one important consideration, which should not be overlooked: the inhabitants owe all their luxuries, and many of the necessaries of life, to their frequent intercourse with European shipping, and particularly with the East India fleets returning from our Asiatic possessions. This communication is to be broken off, and, after a short time, "*no foreign or mercantile vessel will be allowed to touch at St. Helena.*" Napoleon will be to St. Helena, therefore, what profound peace is to a naval and non-commercial sea-port—ruin! The inhabitants will in consequence have every reason to pray for a speedy deliverance from the presence of their august prisoner; and how far this feeling may, on some future occasion, operate in favour of Napoleon's designs, is a question that should not pass unagitated or unregarded by government.—Such is the island or rock which the "high destinies of Napoleon the first" have doomed for the scene of his future exile. Immured in any of the citadels which crown the lofty summits of the mountains, his airy prison above the clouds will perpetually remind him that the summit of his power—the goal of his ambition, proved but the consummation of his misfortunes, and the commencement of his captivity!

That Napoleon should escape is nearly impossible. All the chief avenues are regularly and strongly fortified; but besides these principal places, there are several ravines where persons may possibly land, but with extreme danger and difficulty. Most of these, however, are also protected by batteries, or are so easily defended by stones rolling from the batteries, that, in the opinion of the late governor-general Beatson, no one body of men could penetrate to the interior by these ravines. Two or three men stationed on the heights above the entrance of any one of them, would render it impossible for any number of troops, however great, to approach them, an opinion justified by the experiments made at Goat-pound Ridge, which is over the landing-place of Young's Valley. A single stone, which weighed about eighty pounds, being set off from the top of this ridge, very soon acquired a rotatory motion, and at first rebounded greatly on the declining surface. As the velocity of the stone was accelerated, the force with which it rebounded and struck the loose and brittle rocks of course increased, and at each rebound numerous stones and fragments of rock were detached: these, following in continued succession, and spreading to the right and left, operated precisely as the first stone: so that, by the time it had reached the bottom of the hill, myriads were in its train, which covered a space of at least one hundred yards, and flew with a force so prodigious across the ravine, that many of the larger stones ascended (as general Beatson asserts) sixty or eighty feet on the opposite hill.—Such was the effect produced by the single stone, first hurled, that had a battalion been drawn up in the ravine not a man could have escaped alive.

The following instructions to the admiral with whom Buonaparte was to sail presents a singular proof of the anxiety and alarm which pervade the English court at every movement of this dreaded individual; and the character of the admiral to whom his guardianship was entrusted left no doubt that his orders would be rigidly enforced:

LETTER FROM EARL BATHURST, SECRETARY OF STATE, TO THE LORDS OF THE ADMIRALTY.

Downing Street, July 30th, 1815.

My Lords,—I wish your lordships to have the goodness to communicate to rear-admiral sir George Cockburn, a copy of the following memorial, which is to serve him by way of instruction, to direct his conduct while general Buonaparte remains under his care. The Prince Regent, in confiding to English officers a mission of such importance, feels that it is unnecessary to express to them his earnest desire that no greater personal re-

straint may be employed than what shall be found necessary, faithfully to perform the duties of which the admiral, as well as the governor of St. Helena, must never lose sight, namely, the perfectly secure detention of the person of general Buonaparte. Every thing which, without opposing the grand object, can be granted as an indulgence, will, his royal highness is convinced, be allowed the general. The Prince Regent depends further on the well known zeal and resolute character of sir George Cockburn, that he will not suffer himself to be misled, imprudently to deviate from the performance of his duty.

"BATHURST."

MEMORIAL.

When general Buonaparte leaves the 'Bellerophon' to go on board the 'Northumberland,' it will be the properest moment for admiral Cockburn to have the effects examined which general Buonaparte may have brought with him.

The admiral will allow all the baggage, wine, and provisions, which the general may have brought with him, to be taken on board the Northumberland. Among the baggage, his table service is to be understood as included, unless it be so considerable as to seem rather an article to be converted into money than for real use.

His money, his diamonds, and his saleable effects (consequently bills of exchange also), of whatever kind they may be, must be delivered up. The admiral will declare to the general that the British government by no means intends to confiscate his property, but merely to take upon itself the administration of his effects, to hinder him from using them as a means to promote his flight.

The examination shall be made in the presence of a person named by Buonaparte; the inventory of the effects to be retained, shall be signed by this person, as well as by the rear-admiral, or by the person whom he shall appoint to draw up this inventory.

The interest, or the principal (according as his property is more or less considerable) shall be applied to his support, and in this respect the principal arrangements to be left to him.

For this reason, he can, from time to time, signify his wishes to the admiral, till the arrival of the new governor of St. Helena, and afterwards to the latter; and, if no objection is to be made to his proposal, the admiral, or the governor, can give the necessary orders, and the disbursement will be paid by bills on his majesty's treasury.

In case of death, he can dispose of his property by a last will, and be assured that the contents of his testament shall be faithfully executed.

As an attempt might be made to make a part of his property pass for the property of the persons of his suite, it must be signified, that the property of his attendants is subject to the same regulations.

The disposal of the troops left to guard him must be left to the governor.

The latter, however, has received a notice, in the case which will be hereafter mentioned, to act according to the desire of the admiral.

The general must constantly be attended by an officer appointed by the admiral, or, if the case occurs, by the governor. If the general is allowed to go out of the bounds where the sentinels are placed, an orderly man at least must accompany the officer.

When ships arrive, and as long as they are in sight, the general remains confined to the limits where the sentinels are placed. During this time, all communication with the inhabitants is forbidden. His companions in St. Helena are subject during this time to the same rules, and must remain with him. At other times it is left to the judgment of the admiral or governor to make the necessary regulations concerning them. It must be signified to the general, that if he makes any attempt to fly, he will then be put under close confinement; and it must be notified to his attendants, that if it should be found that they are plotting to prepare the general's flight, they shall be separated from him, and put under close confinement.

All letters addressed to the general, or to persons in his suite, must be delivered to the admiral or governor, who will read them before he suffers them to be delivered to those to whom they are addressed. Letters written by the general, or his suite, are subject to the same rule.

No letter that does not come to St. Helena,

through the secretary of state, must be communicated to the general or his attendants, if it is written by a person not living in the island. And their letters, addressed to persons not living in the island, must go under the cover of the secretary of state.

It will be clearly expressed to the general, that the governor and admiral have precise orders to inform his majesty's government of all the wishes and representations which the general may desire to address to it; in this respect they need not use any precaution.—But the paper on which such request or representation is written, must be communicated to them open, that they may both read it, and when they send it, accompany it with such observations as they may judge necessary.

Till the arrival of the new governor, the admiral must be considered as entirely responsible for the person of general Buonaparte; and his majesty has no doubt of the inclination of the present governor to concur with the admiral for that purpose. The admiral has full power to retain the general on board his ship, or to convey him on board again, when, in his opinion, secure detention of his person cannot be otherwise effected. When the admiral arrives at St. Helena the governor will, upon his representation, adopt measures for sending immediately to England, the Cape of Good Hope, or the East Indies, such officers, or other persons, in the military corps of St. Helena, as the admiral, either because they are foreigners, or on account of their character or disposition, shall think it advisable to dismiss the military service in St. Helena.

If there are strangers in the island, whose residence in the country shall seem to be with a view of becoming instrumental in the flight of general Buonaparte, he must take measures to remove them. The whole coast of the island, and all ships and boats that visit it, are placed under the *surveillance* of the admiral. He fixes the place which the boats may visit, and the governor will send a sufficient guard to the points where the admiral shall consider this precaution as necessary.

The admiral will adopt the most vigorous measures to watch over the arrival and departure of every ship, and to prevent all communication with the coast, except such as he shall allow.

Orders will be issued to prevent, after a certain necessary interval, any foreign or mercantile vessel going in future to St. Helena.

If the general should be seized with serious illness, the admiral and the governor will each name a physician, who enjoys their confidence, in order to attend the general in common with his own physician; they will give them strict orders to give in, every day, a report on the state of his health. In case of his death, the admiral will give orders to convey his body to England.

Given at the War Office, July 30th, 1815.

Foreign Office, August 26, 1815.

Lord Bathurst, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, has this day notified, by command of his royal highness the Prince Regent, to the ministers of friendly powers, resident at this court, that, in consequence of events which have happened in Europe, it has been deemed expedient, and determined, in conjunction with the allied sovereigns, that the island of St. Helena shall be the place allotted for the future residence of general Napoleon Buonaparte, under such regulations as may be necessary for the perfect security of his person; and, for this purpose, it has been resolved, that all foreign ships and vessels whatever shall be excluded from all communication with, or approach to, this island, so long as the said island shall continue to be the place of residence of the said Napoleon Buonaparte.

The Northumberland arrived at St. Helena on the 13th of October. During the voyage, Napoleon appeared in excellent spirits, and conversed familiarly with the officers of the ship. "I had the honour," says a young surgeon, "of dining in his company four or five times, and of conversing a good deal with him, but merely on medicine, and the different modes of practice and degrees of improvement between the French and English. He spoke to every individual on his particular pursuit or profession, and asked very pertinent questions. He spent the whole of the forenoon, or rather day, in his

private cabin reading; at five, he made his appearance at dinner, ate and drank tolerably well, took his cup of coffee, and went on deck, where he walked with marshal Bertrand or Las Casses for an hour or more. Sometimes he conversed with admiral Cockburn; he then returned, and played at *vingt-et-un*, or whist, till ten or eleven o'clock, and this was the regular routine, day after day. At the usual ceremony of passing the line, on the 23d of September, Napoleon made a present to old Neptune of one hundred Napoleons; the French generals and children gave him a double Napoleon each."

On the 16th of October the Icarus arrived at St. Helena, to announce that Napoleon was on his voyage to that island. The inhabitants naturally were struck with no small degree of surprise. All was immediately hurry and bustle. Provisions experienced a sudden and enormous rise in price. Eggs, which were before about three shillings a dozen, now advanced to a shilling a piece.—Almost every other article of produce rose in the same proportion, and even land itself assumed an increased value of fifty per cent. Eighty of the company's soldiers were stationed to guard the gates, and orders were immediately issued by the governor, that no fishing boats were to be out of harbour after four o'clock in the afternoon. On the 15th of November the fleet arrived, when some persons from the town were allowed to go on board the squadron to dine. It was some days before all was ready for conveying Napoleon ashore. When he landed, he was dressed in a green coat, white waistcoat, light coloured small clothes, white stockings, and cocked hat. The coat was trimmed with gold, a plain gold epaulet on each shoulder. He held in his hand an elegant telescope, and cast his eyes around him with great eagerness, to survey the new objects. Napoleon was very much pleased with the attention shewn to him on board this ship, however he might have felt upon subjects connected with him there. He publicly thanked captain Ross, on the quarter-deck, for his kindness, and requested he would do the same for him to the officers. He appeared very solicitous not to give the least trouble whilst on board.

"The exiled Napoleon left us," says an officer of the Northumberland, "on the evening of the 17th, choosing that time of the day to avoid the gazing throng. The weather was uncommonly temperate during our passage, and Buonaparte appeared to bear his reverse of fortune with an uncommon share of fortitude. The disappointment in not being permitted to reside in England disconcerted him greatly, and we naturally concluded he would shew some marks of disapprobation; perhaps either by being silent, or confining himself to his cabin. No, no; there has been no moroseness, no sullenness of disposition shewn by Napoleon; on the contrary, he has been particularly affable, inquisitively curious, and condescendingly communicative. The only thing I heard him complain of during the passage, was the length of it. He longed for exercise on horseback, and was always desirous of learning particulars of St. Helena. He read lord Valentia's account of St. Helena, and we lent him Mr. Johnson's account; both of which he told me, since we arrived, are too highly coloured. Napoleon is extremely healthy, and the few days he has been on shore, I think, has improved his look. I think he was a little alarmed at a residence in a tropical climate. He was very inquisitive respecting the number of sick, and with the nature of the diseases. In a crowded ship, of 850 souls, entering the tropic, sickness in some shape or other is looked for: it made its appearance on board the Northumberland in the shape of the inflammatory fever, with derangement of the hepatic system, and considerable affection of the head, which was combated by copious bleedings and purgatives. Napoleon argued stoutly against bleeding: he could not conceive how three or four pounds of blood could be taken from a man without occasioning a great debility—he was clear for attacking it on the Brunonean system; but I believe Napoleon has at last become a convert to the system of depletion, for he acknowledges the success of the practice has refuted his argument. We reached St. Helena with only nine on our sick list, without having lost a man on the passage. I do assure you Napoleon has no contemptible

opinion of the practice of the day, but jokingly says, it is perfectly *Sangrado.* I remarked to him one day how very temperate he was in wine; "Yes," he replied, "I required only a quarter of an hour to dinner, and drank a very moderate portion of Claret or Burgundy; now I get older, I feel my relish increase; I like wine very well." I stood by his side when he first viewed this frightful rock. The only accessible chasm, or valley, is so fortified by nature, and so breasted with guns, that one had only to look at it and Napoleon, and be satisfied that any attempt to escape from this stupendous, perpendicular, hideous rock must be fruitless. Here we pay 1*l.* 10*s.* a day for board and a bench to sleep on. Fortunately we get four dollars for our pound."

During the voyage general Bertrand took an opportunity of assuring admiral Cockburn how deeply Napoleon felt indebted to him for his attention. "So grateful," said he, "is the emperor, he told me this morning, that if an opportunity for escaping offered, he would not embrace it, and compromise the character of one who had treated him so honourably." Admiral Cockburn replied, "*Had he told me so himself, I would have clapped a couple of sentinels upon him.*" It appears by subsequent accounts that a "couple of sentinels" are "*now* upon him."

"His followers are all tired," says a gentleman of the Northumberland, "and heartily regret, I believe, their having accompanied him. Madame Bertrand, who talks pretty good English, exclaimed to me to-day, that the island was a complete desert, 'the birthplace of the demon *Ennui.*' She wants to go back to Europe already, to educate her children. I dined four times with Napoleon, who talked very little at table, and generally addressed himself to the admiral. He took very little exercise, about two hours during the day, after dinner. He dispatched his dinner in half an hour. General Bertrand and Las Casses are his greatest favourites; the others he seldom held any conversation with. He played at cards every night, either at loo or whist; in the forenoon at chess.—He retired early to bed, and rose very late.

"He did not play at chess on board the ship during his passage; the general game was loo, and at it no one lost more than two or three guineas at a sitting. He often lost, but was very much struck that on his birthday he won every thing, and often reverted to it for days after. He says, that when he attacked in the last campaign, he expected from the duke of Wellington some able and skilful movements in retreat. All he wanted was a battle, and was surprised to be indulged in his wish. He says he had decidedly gained the victory at Waterloo, and had anticipated and completely provided for the advance of the Prussians; but having been obliged to advance in haste, he had no time to weed his army of the Royalists, who were in it, and who took occasion of the moment of the last advance of the English to cry out, '*sauve qui peut,*' (save himself who can,) and spread a panic. He should otherwise have annihilated our army the next morning.

"He positively denies that he knew any thing of captain Wright, or ever heard his name, till lord Ebrington mentioned it at Elba."

"Here we are literally starving," says another correspondent, "or living upon the hard Irish beef, which we get for a ration, in the proportion of 1 lb. per day, and which is so hard as to be susceptible of as high a polish as mahogany. The privations we all endure are very great; and, were it not that we sometimes catch fish (for buying them is out of the question), I do not know what would become of us; five or six regularly fish every day for dinner and breakfast, and have continued to get a mackarel or two each for those meals; but you must not suppose them like the mackarel you get in England, the largest not being half the size. It was ludicrous to see the ladies of the 53d (who arrived in the Ceylon, with the 2d division of the regiment, ten days after us) asking for the market; and their astonishment was not small, when they found there was no such thing in the place. They are worse off than ourselves: all the officers have only three marquees among them, and those four miles from the town. Poor Napoleon is at a house in the country, or rather hut, for he has but one room, which serves him for bed-room, parlour, kitchen, and hall; a house at Longwood, about four miles from the town, is preparing for him,

but will not be ready in two months, and then he will not be much better accommodated, for the whole of his suite (eight persons, independent of servants), as it will not more than furnish a room for each. There is, we all think, a great degree of illiberality in this treatment of him and his followers, which I should think our government could never have intended; even cavils about eatables and drinkables are made, and a system of annoyance is pursued, by abridging their accommodations and comforts. Bertrand requires a room for himself, one for his wife, and another for his children: these, I understand, are to be refused, though certainly it is as little as any man could expect, were he considered as a close prisoner, and of his rank in life. The generals and their wives are at present in a house in town, until the one that Napoleon goes to at Longwood is ready, when they all go there. Captain Mackay (53d) lives with Napoleon, and he never moves without two serjeants with him, so that there is no fear of his escaping. Every boat in the island, fisherman's or not, is moored at sun-set, by a naval officer, and reported to the commander to be done so. All guards under arms at sun-set and day-break; drawbridges up at sun-set, and as many precautions taken as if an enemy were actually in sight of the island; no merchant ship, of any description, is allowed to anchor, and the place exactly the same as if blockaded most closely. It is morally impossible that he should escape from the island without having a ship at a little distance to receive him; and any sail can be seen sixty miles off in moderately clear weather. Two ships have been sent to the Cape of Good Hope for stock, which are anxiously looked for.—This island supplies itself with nothing but vegetables, and depends entirely on imports for subsistence. Cutting off all trade prevents any supply to the inhabitants, but what they are allowed to purchase from the public stores (the same quantity as the ration to the troops), the fishing boats not being allowed to fish at night, which was the best time altogether, renders the situation of Cirileans worse than ours, and they murmur not a little. The population of the island may amount to 3500, including 500 company's troops. The state of society here is much behind what one would have expected in an English colony. Indeed, there is scarcely any society to be met with, except the daughters of the company's officers, and they can say, Yes, or No. They are what we call Yamstocks (natives of the island). They had a theatre, which, however, was shut long before we came. We first made it a barrack, and now an hospital. A library, they say, they will have in six months. We are all invited to dine at the governor's on the 8th instant. I do not think many will go. They say he is worth 76,000*l.* with only a son and daughter; but I think no man with any fortune would ever live here, even as governor: his name is Wilks, and he is a colonel in the company's service.

"Sir G. Cockburn," continues the same writer, "is going to give a ball at the castle, where he lives, next week, if he can find ladies; of course we shall go there. Sir George is at his old work of fortifying, which he carried on so much in America. He is building a redoubt at Egg island, about half a mile from St. Helena, to defend the bay or beach: on which, in very smooth weather, people may land, and get into a cavern, and on which beach the artillery-men are nearly drowned by the sea washing over them, because they cannot get up the rocks out of its way. An enemy, with arms and ammunition, certainly might be able to get up better than many without, who were only trying to save their lives, by escaping from the waves. Indeed, there would be great difficulty of landing any where on the island (but just at James's Town), from the tremendous surf. To the northward of the island it is always impossible; and to the westward, except James's and Lemon Valleys, you see nothing but an abrupt rock, rising out of the water. The whole island is nothing but a number of high rocks, evidently volcanic, shewing, even now, a great appearance of fire, black, excoriated, and as light as pumice stone, in many masses.—These rocks are intersected with narrow valleys, which, in any other country, you would call ravines; little patches of these gullies are cultivated, and produce Guinea grass and some vegetables. The following fruits grow

very sparingly,—oranges, peaches, dates, figs, bananas, lemons, and one or two more fruits. You see a few cocoa-nut trees, but they do not bear fruit; but these only are seen in the valleys, the mountains not even having a shrub on them. The climate is very temperate, and they tell us very fine and healthy. The brown canary bird is a native of this island, and has a more beautiful note than the yellow one. The Java sparrow, a most beautiful bird, with a very low note, is also found here. There are also pheasants, partridges, some pigeons, and a number of wild doves, which we are not allowed to shoot yet."

St. Helena was touched at by an India ship, on board of which was a gentleman, whose father resides in Edinburgh, to whom he writes, that "Napoleon resides in the country, in a small cottage, with a marquee adjoining, belonging to Mr. Balcombe, a navy agent. Mr. Balcombe's country-house," he says, "is in the same enclosure, about a hundred yards distant; this is the only family on the island which he visits. Mr. Balcombe has two smart young daughters, who talk the French language fluently, and to whom he is very much attached; he styles them his little pages. There is a number of little stories of the innocent freedoms they take, and how highly he is diverted by it. He is occupied during the day in writing the history of his life, and the evening is devoted to walking in the garden with his generals, and his society at Mr. Balcombe's. The only chance strangers have of conversing with him, is by getting an introduction to Mr. B. and stepping in, as if by chance, in the evening. Our captain, and several of our passengers, by this means, have had long conversations with him; he talks upon every subject but those relating to politics, which he seems very desirous to avoid. He behaved with great politeness to the ladies, who have been echoing his praises ever since. I rode up one afternoon, and had the good fortune to arrive as he was taking his afternoon's walk in his garden. We, for I had a companion with me, tied our horses to a tree, and slipt behind a bush, a little way from the walk where he was to pass; he passed several times within a few feet of us; we had a most distinct view of him; he was accompanied by two of his generals, Montholon and Gorgaud, who remained uncovered. From what I could hear (for, though loud, he talks very thickly), the late events were the subject of their conversation. Davoust's name, I could learn, was mentioned with no high encomiums. He was dressed in a plain blue coat, buttoned high over the breast, leaving the belly exposed, which protuberated a good deal, long white waistcoat, nankeen breeches, and military boots; he had a large star on his left breast. He is a middle-sized man, well made, rather corpulent, with a singular though agreeable countenance; light blue eyes, which appeared to me the most striking feature of his countenance, being so expressive and intelligent; there was nothing, however, in his appearance at all indicative of the great qualities he possesses. He is very strictly watched by the admiral; two sloops of war are constantly cruising off the island, the one on the windward and the other on the leeward sides, besides several guard boats; they are fortifying it in every possible direction. He still, however, entertains the idea of being, at no distant period, the emperor of France; he thinks it impossible that the French people can long suffer the Bourbons."

A letter from St. Helena describes the behaviour of Napoleon, since his arrival there, with a minuteness and accuracy which render it unquestionably the best communication on this interesting subject.—"The topography of St. Helena," it observes, "must be pretty well known in England by this time. I have only to remark, that the imagination of man could not picture a more hideous aspect than its external front. It is inaccessible towards the south, from a perpendicular face, and an eternal trade wind, which, nine months of the year, would deny shelter to a skiff, in the only little rocky bay in that direction. On the north side, where ships anchor, there are several ravines or cliffs, with the marginal rocks rising perpendicularly one thousand feet; with the exception of a rippling rill of water, and a few watercresses (the only inhabitant of these dreary defiles), the surface is mouldering lavas. One of these ravines, in consequence of its having

become the habitation of man, has assumed the name of James's Valley. From the beach onwards, as far as the *gully* will admit, a row of tolerable houses has been built, principally for the accommodation of passengers on their way to India. The rocks which form the inlet are equally stupendous as the others. The labour of ages has accomplished a path on each side to reach the summit. The interest excited on approaching this frightful island may be better imagined than described. I watched with eager curiosity the look of each individual whose days were consigned to dwindle here. Madame Bertrand, with streaming eyes, begged me to look at it and pity her; she cast her eyes on her husband, then on her children, who were innocently playing on the quarter-deck—seeming to say, am I at last destined to this? Napoleon eyed it with fortitude: his look, his manner, spoke it a place more damnable than he bargained for. Anxious as he was to get on shore, he did not quit us for a couple of days; and when he did, I positively saw regret pictured in his face. The last word he uttered happened (from my being near him) to be addressed to me: the admiral and captain were at the gangway—barge in waiting. Napoleon hurried along the quarter-deck, from the cabin, wrapped up in a white great-coat. As he passed, he bowed. My eye, I do think, spoke pity, for it met his, and he hastily asked if I continued on board? It was night before he reached his house in the village. Still there were many spectators whom he was particularly anxious to avoid. At dawn the following day he rode out with sir G. Cockburn, to examine the situation of his future residence. Longwood is distant five miles from the village, and elevated above it two thousand feet—exactly ten degrees difference of temperature from that at the surface of the ocean. The interior of the island is certainly less offensive to the eye than what its exterior would promise. Perhaps, if one would draw a comparison between what the island promises on approaching from the sea, and what is found on taking a ride through the country, one would be tempted to say many spots are beautiful. It has been in this way that the people who have written of St. Helena have judged of it. Napoleon, on his first day's ride (for he has not taken a second), spoke in very unfavourable terms of the place, and said, every description we had given him to read of the island was exaggerated. On descending the mountain, on his return to the village, he stopped at a small house called the Briars, situate on a projecting rock, midway from the summit. Here he requested permission to stop, and from which he has not strayed a hundred yards since the hour he took possession. Nature and art have done something for this spot. The lava has become soil, and the eye is relieved by a spot of verdure exceeding two acres. There is a garden with fruit-trees—a rill of water gurgling by; and Napoleon, with his friend Las Casses, here contrive to pass their solitary time. He is perfectly excluded from the gaze of the public, which was, perhaps, a principal reason for selecting this spot, until the repairs of Longwood were finished.

"I must now introduce you to the inhabitants at this same Briars—this half aerial habitation of the fallen Napoleon. Mr. Balcombe, a native of England, long resident in the island of St. Helena, a merchant of the place, and contractor for the navy, is the proprietor of the Briars. He has resided there for many years with his family, consisting of his wife, an intelligent woman, and two daughters, both extremely well educated, and under the age of seventeen. Balcombe's house is so extremely small, that there are scarcely apartments capable of accommodating his family. He has an out-house, fancifully constructed, on a little eminence overlooking the valley. This Napoleon chose for breakfast room, dining room, and parlour. His camp bed has been conveyed there, from the Northumberland, and there he is contented to ruminate the live-long day, on the awful occurrences of his unexampled career. This apartment of the mighty Napoleon terminates in a little Gothic garret (where, I declare to you, I cannot turn round). There resides the counsellor of state, comte Las Casses, accompanied by his son, a page of the ex-emperor's, aged about sixteen, sharing the couch of his father. I have repeatedly thought it my duty to pay my respects to the fallen

emperor since he took up his residence at the Briars, more especially as the visits of strangers are disapproved of by him, and demi-officially forbidden by his excellency, sir George. From the facility with which I gain admittance to his presence, I am disposed to think the attention not unacceptable. From the variety of papers I see scattered about on his toilette, and the hours which he is closeted with Las Casses (a man of uncommon talent), I am inclined to think he is busied either in drawing up a remonstrance to the British government, or writing a history of his own life. His hours of recreation are generally from twelve till two o'clock. He perambulates the little garden, and is invariably joined by the young ladies, daughters of the proprietor. [The youngest, not fourteen years old, requested one evening to see the likeness of his wife and child, with which he immediately complied.] Both speak French, and I am satisfied they afford him very great consolation. When I last saw him, he was reclining on a sofa, and I thought him more than usually slovenly.—However, he had just left the girls, when I learnt he had been very spruce; and when I entered his apartment, he was, without ceremony, clad in his morning gown, without shirt, neckcloth, or breeches. Marshal Bertrand, the countess, general Moutholon, and Gorgaud, inhabit a house in the town, where I daily visit. They are full of trouble. From the habits of life they have been accustomed to, all are inclined to launch into extravagance: however, the admiral is as rigid an economist, and this system of retrenchment appears to give great dissatisfaction. Napoleon takes every thing as he finds it: however, the complaints of his followers have met his ears, and he has solicited permission to provide for them himself. He is unwilling that either the one or the other should in any manner be a burden on the British government, and he is equally hurt that their comforts should, in any shape, be abridged.

"The best thing Napoleon can do is to get a wife. Unless influenced by some fair damsel of the island, I fear he will become careless of his person. He asked me one day whether I did not think a wife necessary for a man's health? I presume he means to say, the society of a lady would much contribute to the happiness of man. He has a little abrasion on the fore arm just now; it is attended with considerable inflammation.—Think of his application—a little salt dissolved in water, with which he continues to bathe the place. He has his little dinner sent into his bed-room, where he partakes of it, with Las Casses. Frequently, of an evening, he joins Balcombe's family, and with the girls, and perhaps a favourite visitor, he joins in a party of whist, when he tries to revoke or cheat, and when discovered (by the arch youngest lass) he laughs immoderately.

The probability of an escape is so absurd, that you would imagine a small degree of relaxation fair. No, no. Napoleon has a captain of the 53d residing in the house with him, and two orderly serjeants, who never permit him to pass the threshold of his hut without accompanying his steps. This he thinks severe, and I was told yesterday, that he had, at last, solicited a favour—to have the two soldiers removed, as their presence had a tendency to remind him of his misfortunes; or, if they were thought indispensable, to clothe them differently. Although I have this from unquestionable authority, I can scarce think Napoleon would condescend so far as to supplicate or complain."

A gentleman lately returned from St. Helena, and who was frequently with Napoleon, describes him as in the highest spirits, even to a degree of jollity. He says, that he wants dignity, but fairly rolls and swaggers about the island as if he had made it his own for life. When the gentleman was coming away, and mentioned his destination to another part of the world, the ex-emperor exclaimed, "What, sir, and leave such a fine island as this?" He talked about India, and shewed the most complete and detailed knowledge of its affairs. He knew all the petty princes, their situations, opposite interests, the names of the principal bankers, merchants, &c. in our settlements. He was as much *au fait* on the subject as if he had passed his life there. Being asked his opinion of lord Wellington, he said, "He is a good general, but slow. I should put three hundred thousand men in motion while he

was thinking of it." He rides at a prodigious rate, and sets off at full gallop the instant he is mounted, leaving the cavalcade who attend him at a good distance behind.

Napoleon did not send a single letter to Europe by the ships arrived from St. Helena, nor would he permit one of his companions to write. So that nothing can be known from themselves of their situation, or their sentiments. Minutes of all Napoleon's political conversations were carefully taken. It seems he spoke with great freedom of the characters and views of all the potentates, as well as of their ministers. In his opinion, the confederacy of the allies was on the point of breaking at the eve of the battle of Waterloo; and if he had gained the ascendant, would have been destroyed in forty-eight hours.

One of the last letters received from St. Helena states, that Napoleon is at present most narrowly watched, and, on parole, not to go beyond the limits of the little garden, &c. surrounding the cottage he inhabits. He has always about his person an officer, and at least two or three serjeants. Notwithstanding all this, he is never heard to complain, but seems perfectly calm and resigned to his fate. He still keeps up his dignity with those about him, and they never approach him covered, nor do they wear their hats in his presence. I remarked, says the writer, the day I dined with the admiral, during our outward-bound passage, that he had a plate of each dish on the table put before him by his servant, and some he partook of; others were removed without his eating any. The same ceremony was observed in handing round the wine; a glass of each sort, on a salver, was occasionally presented, and, if inclined, he drank one; if not, the salver was removed without his speaking. He always preserved a great degree of stateliness. He never asked how he was to be disposed of, and was perfectly passive in every transaction.

Sir George Cockburn has sent home one of Napoleon's suite. This person had been deported as a domestic, but is supposed to have been a distinguished character under the government of Napoleon.

All foreigners in the island, together with their families, were ordered to quit. The inhabitants are not suffered to be out of their houses after dark. The gates of the garrison are shut, and the drawbridge hoisted up at sun-set. No private merchantmen are allowed to anchor; regular Indiamen are only allowed this privilege. If water is required, it is only to be had of the admiral. All intercourse with the ships of foreign nations is rigidly prevented.

The imprisonment of Buonaparte in the island of St. Helena was hailed by a great majority of the British people, as the harbinger of lasting peace, as the pledge of national prosperity, and as the signal of relief from all the miseries of war, and military turbulence. After the first emotions, however, of astonishment and exultation had in some degree subsided, it became too evident that the dominion of Buonaparte was not the only cause of our national distress. When the people began to compute the gains of the war, and to enquire into the real advantage and honour obtained by England and her victorious allies, they at last arrived at the certainty, that there is no connection between the accomplishment and success of any system of foreign policy, and the internal prosperity of the country. The political preponderance of England is now at a greater height than it ever before attained, yet it can only be equalled by her individual misery: and we have the mortification of finding that our strenuous, persevering, and glorious exertions, have produced no one political result, either favourable to the cause of general liberty, or to our peculiar interests. The congress of Vienna has violated all its professions; the confederate powers, not contented with waging war against the banners of Napoleon, which might possibly be justified on on the principle of self-defence, imposed an obnoxious government on the French people, and in defiance of their own proclamations, replaced the Bourbons on the throne at the head of innumerable armies. The last coalition was evidently a league of sovereigns and military commanders against the freedom and the rights of nations. Deluded as they have been for many years by the virtuous tone of their numerous declarations, the British people have found at last that they have been

wasting their treasure, and expending their bravest blood, for no other purpose than to extend the triumph of unprincipled ambition, over the ruins of liberty. The conduct of the allied sovereigns has been precisely similar to that which, in their repeated manifestoes, they ascribed to Buonaparte; and their British allies, after witnessing the violation of all their magnificent professions, found themselves on the brink of a fatal precipice. Our finances are now in a state of confusion and arrear that will never be retrieved, yet had the objects for which we sustained our intolerable and perpetual burthens been *in any degree accomplished*, we should have sat down to contemplate our own misfortunes in silent gratitude for the deliverance of others. But we have failed in every object that swelled the hearts and opened the purses of the nation. The Bourbons are re-established, not as the fathers of their people, but elevated to the throne on the bayonets of the allies; Spain is subjected to the sway of a cruel and ungrateful tyrant; Poland annexed to an empire already too enormous; and Italy, and the states of Venice, reduced to their former barbarous subservience. If the reader be disposed to ask how this representation accords with the approbation we have formerly expressed of many outlines of ministerial policy, our answer is, that *having done so much, they should have done much more*; having awakened and supported the energies of Europe to resistance against the military despotism of Buonaparte, they should have watched with vigilance over the al[illegible]istible power which they had [illegible] supported: they should have de[illegible]ded distinct pledges for the conduct and intentions of the allies; have stood between the victim and the vanquisher; and to every violation of engagement, or of treaty, have opposed a firm and inflexible attitude. Instead of this, we have participated in all their indiscretions, all their intrigues, and all their examples of bad faith. The people, no longer gratified by the hope of delivering Europe, sensibly feel the privations and distresses to which they are reduced. It is too clearly perceived, that the pressure which we now bear can be borne no longer, and the people begin to question the merit of that system which has terminated in unquestionable evil, counterbalanced by no *adequate* good; an evil weighing upon all, and coming home to every apprehension, and to all classes of society. The sacrifices made during the last twenty-five years might, or might not, be necessary, but they have brought us to the verge of a gulf which has swallowed up many other states and nations, and, if not counteracted by a considerable change in every financial and civil arrangement, will prove fatal to our own.—Our military glory may indeed exalt our reputation, but it will not prevent our fall; and ruin can only be averted by consulting the liberty, the happiness, and the wishes of the people, in adopting a system of rigid, impartial, and undeviating ECONOMY.

CHAP. XVIII.——1815.

State of parties in Paris.—Disturbances in the provinces.—Animosity and cruelty of the Prussian troops.—The museum despoiled, and its treasures conveyed to the countries from which they were taken.—Note of lord Castlereagh.—Letter of the duke of Wellington.—Distress of the Parisians.—Persecution of the protestants in France.—Massacre at Nismes.—Death of general La Garde.—Interest excited in England for the French protestants.—Untimely death of Mr. Whitbread, at this critical conjuncture.

IT soon appeared that the apparent enthusiasm of the French, on the arrival of Louis, afforded a suspicious proof of their affection and sincerity. Many, it is true, welcomed

the return of the Bourbons, from honest attachment to the cause of royalty, and of legitimate government, and from unfeigned respect for the benevolent and virtuous character of the sovereign: others welcomed the Bourbons as a security from the excesses of the foreign troops, of which two days' experience had almost driven them to despair. Many more were indifferent to the form of government, and to the reigning prince, but, in present circumstances, peace with Europe, and deliverance from foreign invasion, seemed intimately and inseparably connected with the return of legitimacy.—A very great proportion were desirous to palliate their former opposition, and to ingratiate themselves with the family which they could no longer resist, by the expression of sentiments to which their hearts were strangers. The object of the king was to include the leading men of all parties, and thus to inspire universal confidence. In this he would have succeeded, had not the councils of the moderate and liberal part of the ministry been uniformly thwarted by the violence of their associates, and the secret machinations of the court. It was impossible for such discordant materials as the regicide Fouché, the revolutionary Talleyrand, and the despotic and vindictive princes, ever to form a sincere and permanent union. Suspicion and fear usurped the place of confidence and hope. It was deeply felt that Louis was restored by foreign bayonets, and that his former system of government would be forcibly re-established. Had he, on his return, dismissed all whose evil counsels had before seduced him; had he removed from his confidence those of his family of whom the nation was most suspicious; had he adopted the charter, and fulfilled with good faith all its stipulations; had he published an universal amnesty, and solemnly declared that neither the person nor the property of any of his subjects should be endangered, on account of their former political opinions or conduct, his subjects would gladly have submitted to the sacrifices which the allies demanded, and have rallied round the throne of the constitutional and legitimate monarch.

The best guarantee of the intention of Louis to act in conformity with his declarations, would have been the convocation of a legislative assembly, freely and fairly chosen; but, by the ordonnance of the 13th of July, he called together the electoral colleges, under such regulations, and prescribed such conditions to the eligibility of the deputies, as were sufficiently indicative of the system about to be pursued.

The number of representatives was reduced to 396: the qualification necessary for a candidate was enacted to be the payment of 5000 francs (208*l.*) of contribution; and such presidents were named to the electoral colleges as precluded the success of any but a court candidate. The court was determined to employ no agents but those of the ancient *regime*. Nearly the whole of the new prefects were nobles, and other appointments were made in the same spirit. The certainty of support, from the sovereign and the ministers, gave to the partizans of the restored family an audacity which characterises the victory of a weak and prejudiced minority. Already had accounts arrived that the massacre of the protestants had begun in the south; and though the king was neither suspected nor accused of the slightest blame, these disturbances were regarded as a fatal omen of bigotry and imbecility on the part of his advisers. The accounts from the provinces represented them in a state more violent than that of Paris.—The population on the frontiers were still in arms—many garrisons still held out. General Clausel published an order of the day at Bourdeaux, on the 13th of July, forbidding the authorities to receive orders from Paris, or from any but the prince of Eckmuhl. At Lyons, a monument was raised "to the warriors who died *for their independance* at Waterloo." In the extensive range of those unfortunate provinces which were overrun, or plundered, by the troops of the continental powers, resentment and disaffection were exasperated to the highest pitch of human animosity.

It would be equally tedious and unprofitable to detail the prolix discussions, the servile flatteries, and the abortive attempts at eloquence, which occupied the time of the two chambers, during the first session. It will be sufficient, for the purpose of historical

connection, merely to notice the leading features of the king's administration, and the political opinions of those virtuous and eminent men, who united to the most enlightened views the intrepidity to avow their sentiments.

The moderation of the allies in the last year, when Europe arose in arms, and menaced the gates of Paris, would, it was believed, serve as a precedent for their conduct in this second conquest of the capital of France.

It was fondly imagined by the French that European politics were changed for ever, and that the vulgar ambition of darker ages had given place to a magnanimity worthy of our enlightened times, and confirming all the beautiful systems of human perfectibility. The events which had passed in France, during the last year, had tended to establish this opinion. Satisfied with the overthrow of Napoleon, and with compelling France to relinquish the immense territories she had conquered, all further restitution seemed forgotten; and the only object in Paris that had not been respected was the statue of Napolean, which was quietly taken down from the column of victory in the Place Vendome, while the monument itself remained untouched. Upon the whole, with the excepception of a few provinces, which the allied armies had traversed, France had suffered but little from their first invasion, and it was generally believed that, having once more accomplished their great purpose, they would depart in peace.

Very different was the intention of the allies. The Prussians, like other conquerors, in the pride of a second triumph, began to imagine that they had been too moderate in the conditions of the treaty; that they had, in the last visit, left the Parisians too many trophies of victory; and that the duty yet remained to retaliate on the city, and the provinces, the same enormities which the French had committed in Prussia.

The first project of vengeance that occupied marshal Blucher was that of blowing up the bridge denominated by the Parisians *Pont de Jena:* the execution of which attempt was prevented by the interference of the king of Prussia, who acted with his usual mildness and moderation of character. The next menace of general Blucher was that of sending a considerable number of Parisian bankers and merchants to Prussian fortresses, unless they paid, in twenty-four hours, the fifth part of a hundred millions, which he imposed on the city of Paris. These projects, though not executed, were considered by the troops as intimations that their own excesses, or extravagance, would be treated with indulgence.

A great part of these troops were of the *landwehr*, or Prussian levy in mass. They were in general extremely poor, and their poverty might excuse pillage: but another part of this army consisted of professors and students, who had made the crusade as volunteers. A Frenchman might be robbed—he might suffer even indignities, with patience—but to be compelled to listen to the discourses of professors and students, who assured him that they had come only for his good; who wished to persuade him of the vast superiority of the German over the French nation, and of the propriety of detaching from France one or two of its provinces on the Rhine, with other topics of similar import: this was a refinement in cruelty beyond the rights of war. The bad French, and worse logic, of these war-doctors, were alike insufferable to French ears and French vanity: and the tortured Parisians exclaimed, in piteous accents, "Rob me if you please—shoot me if you will—but spare me your harangues."

The Prussians were thus become the objects of general hatred. There might, indeed, be some doubt whether they were more detested than the Wirtemburghers and the Bavarians. The causes of this antipathy must be placed to the exercise of that spirit of vengeance to which the invading army was abandoned, and to the inflexibility of Blucher, who turned a deaf ear to the complaints of the inhabitants, though the other generals, Bulow, Zeithen, and Tauenzein, always interposed their authority to prevent the outrages of their troops.

Order was still preserved in Paris, but the inhabitants without the walls, and the country round, were left to feel the full vengeance of a licentious soldiery, who, by the most

wanton spoliations, taught the French what the Prussians had endured, from the former visits of their countrymen. The poor peasant was too often the victim of this vengeance, and the remains of his last year's harvest were devoured. The pleasure felt by the husbandman, in watching the fostering showers and the vivid sun-beams, that ripen the fruits of the field, was here lost in the cruel apprehension that his crops would become the prey of the conqueror. The soldier eyed askance the corn as it ripened, and the grape as it swelled, while the desponding owner, instead of thanking the Almighty for his bounties, turned his eyes to heaven to invoke its vengeance on the Prussian soldiery.

The Parisians themselves received occasional lessons from these invaders. A Prussian officer expressed much desire to be quartered at the house of an old countess in the Fauxbourg St. Germain. His request was complied with; and on his arrival at the lady's residence he was shewn into a small but comfortable apartment, with a handsome bed-chamber adjoining. He expressed the greatest dissatisfaction with this accommodation, and required that the countess should give up to him the whole of the first floor, which she occupied herself, and which was most elegantly furnished. She remonstrated, but the officer was absolute, and insisted on being instantly shewn into his new apartments. The countess had no time to remove any of the articles even of her own boudoir, and retreated to the second floor.

She had scarcely retired thither when a new message arrived from the Prussian, that he had appropriated the second floor for his aide-de-camp, and that it must be immediately prepared for his reception. This produced an earnest and angry remonstrance from the lady. She urged not only the inhumanity of the requisition, but the total impossibility of complying with it. The officer was inexorable, and furiously replied, "Obey my orders, or take the consequences:" and at the same time he sent for a file of men from the guard-house.

He now threw himself, in his dirty boots, on one of the handsome sofas, and ordering the cook to be summoned, commanded him to prepare an excellent dinner by an appointed hour, as he had invited several of his brother officers to dine with him, and warned the butler that the best wines which the cellar afforded must be forthcoming.

He now went out, and returned at the appointed hour alone. Dinner was served. He complained that it was execrable, and violently dashed the dishes on the floor.—The wine was worse, and bottle after bottle was spilled on the beautiful carpet.

At length, when he had wearied himself and the domestics with his caprice, he ordered that the lady should be summoned to attend him. She was compelled tremblingly to obey. To her astonishment he received her with respect, and addressed her in the following manner:—"You have doubtless, Madam, been shocked at the conduct which you have witnessed since my entrance into your house. Have you not thought it disgracefully cruel and barbarous?" The lady, ignorant to what this tended, and fearing some new insult, hesitated what to reply.—"I beseech you to answer me candidly," he continued, "have you not deemed me a complete savage?"—"Indeed," answered the lady, "I was not prepared to receive such treatment, and since you will compel me to speak, I do think it most disgracefully barbarous."—"Have you not a son, Madam! in Prussia?"—"I had a son there, but he has perished."—"No, Madam! he has not perished, and I am not the savage whom you imagine. Your son was quartered at the house of my infirm mother. During three months he inflicted on her the sufferings which you have endured in the last few hours. I swore to avenge her. I have kept my oath! No, Madam! I am not the barbarian whom you think. It was with inexpressible reluctance that I schooled myself to act the part which I have done. You will resume your apartments, and I will seek a lodging elsewhere. Your son will soon be in Paris. Tell him that I meant to have required of him a strict account for the sufferings of my poor mother; but I have avenged her in a nobler way, and I cordially forgive him."

In the country through which the English were dispersed no complaint was heard.

They persevered in their humane and generous conduct; they paid for every thing demanded from the cottager; they laboured at the harvests, gathered in the fruits of the orchards, and busied themselves in the occupations of rural industry. "Happy," said the peasants, "the country where the English are quartered!"

Paris itself, though spared the first evils of war, still wore the aspect of a conquered city, guarded by foreign troops at all its gates, at every bridge, and in front of the Thuilleries. The Bois de Bologne (the Hyde Park of Paris), might now be termed a desert rather than a royal domain. The inhabitants might almost imagine themselves in the wilds of America, amidst huts framed of logs and branches, with the ground cleared around them, and nothing left but the stumps of trees, marking where they once grew.—The walks, formerly crowded with the splendid equipages of the gay and great, lost their shade and their visitors, and were transformed into streets of tents. Here and there a tall withered stalk of a tree remained, and served as a rubbing post to the horses and cattle.

The humiliation of the French was now completed, by the determination of the allies to regain the monuments of art which had been plundered from the various continental powers. When the convention was arranged, the provisional government demanded that the museum should remain untouched. The allied generals wrote with a pencil, "Not granted;" and general Blucher, immediately on his entrance into Paris, sent a letter to M. Denon, the director of the museum, demanding the immediate surrender of part of its treasures. M. Denon replied, that it was an affair which must be negociated with his government, and that he would not give them up. M. Denon was arrested during the night, by twenty men, and was threatened to be sent to the fortress of Graudentz, in West Prussia. From this argument there was no appeal. The objects demanded were delivered. This would have been but a trifling loss, had not the king of Prussia seized, in addition to the articles which belonged to Potsdam and Berlin, those which had been taken from Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle, countries on the French side of the Rhine, and therefore not in his possession at the time they were carried away. He justified this act of oppressive retaliation, on the pretext that these objects belonged to the cathedral and the municipality of his capital.

Two months had now elapsed, when the gallery of the Louvre was menaced from another quarter. The king of the Netherlands had published a constitution, in the modern style, that is, on free and liberal principles; but the catholic clergy of Belgium were alarmed by the diffusion of doctrines which might tend to alienate the fidelity and obedience of their flocks, and deeply resented the circulation of the articles of the new constitution. In order to regain their favour, and conciliate their attachment, it was determined to rescue the pictures of which the Belgian churches had been despoiled, from their bondage in the museum of Paris. The same conduct was adopted by M. Canova, the celebrated sculptor, in favour of the pope. The possession of the sculptures taken from Rome, had, indeed, been guaranteed to the French by the treaty of Tolentino, but M. Canova represented that the peace concluded at that place had been broken in various instances by the French, and that it was, therefore, just that the more powerful sovereigns should support the cause of the weaker, and restore the plunder of Rome to the pope. The justice of all these demands was strongly enforced in the subsequent correspondence and explanations of the duke of Wellington and lord Castlereagh.

NOTE,

DELIVERED IN BY VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH TO THE ALLIED MINISTERS, AND PLACED UPON THEIR PROTOCOL.

Paris, September 11th, 1815.

Representations having been laid before the ministers of the allied powers from the pope, the grand duke of Tuscany, the king of the Netherlands, and other sovereigns, claiming, through the intervention of the high allied powers, the restoration of the statues, pictures, and other works of art, of which their respective states have been successively and systematically stripped, by the late revolutionary government of France, contrary to every principle of justice, and to

the usages of modern warfare, and the same having been referred for the consideration of his court, the undersigned has received the commands of the Prince Regent to submit, for the consideration of his allies, the following remarks upon this interesting subject:

It is now the second time, that the powers of Europe have been compelled, in vindication of their own liberties, and for the settlement of the world, to invade France, and twice their armies have possessed themselves of the capital of the state, in which these, the spoils of the greater part of Europe, are accumulated.

The legitimate sovereign of France has, as often, under the protection of those armies, been enabled to resume his throne, and to mediate for his people a peace with the allies, to the marked indulgences of which neither their conduct to their own monarch, nor towards other states, had given them just pretensions to aspire.

That the purest sentiments of regard for Louis XVIII. deference for his ancient and illustrious house, and respect for his misfortunes, have guided invariably the allied councils, has been proved beyond a question by their having, last year, framed the treaty of Paris expressly on the basis of preserving to France its complete integrity, and still more, after their late disappointment, by the endeavour they are again making, ultimately to combine the substantial integrity of France, with such an adequate system of temporary precaution as may satisfy what they owe to the security of their own subjects.

But it would be the height of weakness, as well as of injustice, and in its effects much more likely to mislead than to bring back the people of France to moral and peaceful habits, if the allied sovereigns, to whom the world is anxiously looking up for protection and repose, were to deny that principle of integrity, in its just and liberal application to other nations, their allies (more especially to the feeble and to the helpless), which they are about, for the second time, to concede to a nation against whom they have had occasion so long to contend in war.

Upon what principle can France, at the close of such a war, expect to sit down with the same extent of possessions which she held before the revolution, and desire, at the same time, to retain the ornamental spoils of all other countries? Is it, that there can exist a doubt of the issue of the contest, or of the power of the allies, to effectuate what justice and policy require? If not, upon what principle deprive France of her late territorial acquisitions, and preserve to her the spoliations appertaining to those territories, which all modern conquerors have invariably respected, as inseparable from the country to which they belonged.

The allied sovereigns have perhaps some thing to atone for to Europe, in consequence of the course pursued by them, when at Paris, during the last year. It is true, they never did so far make themselves parties in the criminality of this mass of plunder, as to sanction it by any stipulation in their treaties: such a recognition has been on their part uniformly refused; but they certainly did use their influence to repress, at that moment, any agitation of their claims, in the hope that France, not less subdued by their generosity than by their arms, might be disposed to preserve inviolate a peace which had been studiously framed to serve as a bond of reconciliation, between the nation and the king. They had also reason to expect that his majesty would be advised voluntarily to restore a considerable proportion at least of these spoils, to their lawful owners.

But the question is a very different one now; and to pursue the same course under circumstances so essentially altered, would be, in the judgment of the Prince Regent, equally unwise towards France, and unjust towards our allies, who have a direct interest in this question.

His royal highness, in stating this opinion, feels it necessary to guard against the possibility of misrepresentation.

Whilst he deems it to be the duty of the allied sovereigns not only not to obstruct, but to facilitate, upon the present occasion, the return of these objects to the places from whence they were torn, it seems not less consistent with their delicacy, not to suffer the position of their armies in France, or the removal of these works from the Louvre, to become the means, either directly or indi-

rectly, of bringing within their own dominions a single article which did not of right, at the period of their conquest, belong either to their respective family collections, or to the countries over which they now actually reign.

Whatever value the Prince Regent might attach to such exquisite specimens of the fine arts, if otherwise acquired, he has no wish to become possessed of them at the expence of France, or rather of the countries to which they of right belong, more especially by following up a principle in war which he considers as a reproach to the nation by which it has been adopted; and so far from wishing to take advantage of the occasion to purchase from the rightful owners any articles they might, from pecuniary considerations, be disposed to part with, his royal highness would, on the contrary, be disposed rather to afford the means of replacing them in those very temples and galleries, of which they were so long the ornaments.

Were it possible that his royal highness's sentiments towards the person and cause of Louis XVIII. could be brought into doubt, or that the position of his most Christian majesty would be injured in the eyes of his own people, the Prince Regent would not come to this conclusion without the most painful reluctance; but, on the contrary, his royal highness really believes that his majesty will rise in the love and respect of his own subjects, in proportion as he separates himself from these remembrances of revolutionary warfare. These spoils, which impede a moral reconciliation between France and the countries she has invaded, are not necessary to record the exploits of her armies, which, notwithstanding the cause in which they were achieved, must ever make the arms of the nation respected abroad. But whilst these objects remain at Paris, constituting, as it were, the title-deeds of the countries which have been given up, the sentiments of re-uniting these countries again to France will never be altogether extinct; nor will the genius of the French people ever completely associate itself with the more limited existence assigned to the nation under the Bourbons.

Neither is this opinion given with any disposition, on the part of the Prince Regent, to humiliate the French nation. His royal highness's general policy, the demeanour of his troops in France, his having seized the first moment of Buonaparte's surrender to restore to France the freedom of her commerce, and, above all, the desire he has recently evinced to preserve ultimately to France her territorial integrity, with certain modifications essential to the security of neighbouring states, are the best proofs that, consideration of justice to others, a desire to heal the wounds inflicted by the revolution, and not any illiberal sentiment towards France, have alone dictated this decision.

The whole question resolves itself into this:—Are the powers of Europe now forming in sincerity a permanent settlement with the king? And if so, upon what principles shall it be concluded? Shall it be upon the conservation or the abandonment of revolutionary spoliations?

Can the king feel his own dignity exalted, or his title improved, on being surrounded by monuments of art, which record not less the sufferings of his own illustrious house, than of other nations of Europe? If the French people be desirous of treading back their steps, can they rationally desire to preserve this source of animosity between them and all other nations; and, if they are not, is it politic to flatter their vanity, and to keep alive the hopes which the contemplation of these trophies are calculated to excite? Can even the army reasonably desire it? The recollection of their campaigns can never perish. They are recorded in the military annals of Europe. They are emblazoned on the public monuments of their own country: why is it necessary to associate their glory in the field with a system of plunder, by the adoption of which, in contravention of the law of modern war, the chief that led them to battle, in fact, tarnished the lustre of their arms?

If we are really to return to peace and to ancient maxims, it cannot be wise to preserve just so much of the abuses of the past; nor can the king desire, out of the wrecks of the revolution, of which his family has been one of the chief victims, to perpetuate in his house this odious monopoly of the arts. The

splendid collection which France possessed previous to the revolution, augmented by the Borghese collection, which has since been purchased (one of the finest in the world), will afford to the king ample means of ornamenting, in its fair proportion, the capital of his empire: and his majesty may divest himself of this tainted source of distinction, without prejudice to the due elevation of the arts in France.

In applying a remedy to the offensive evil, it does not appear that any middle line can be adopted, which does not go to recognize a variety of spoliations, under the cover of treaties, if possible more flagrant in their character than the acts of undisguised rapine by which these remains were in general brought together.

The principle of property, regulated by the claims of the territories from whence these works were taken, is the surest and only guide to justice; and perhaps there is nothing which would more tend to settle the public mind of Europe at this day, than such an homage, on the part of the king of France, to a principle of virtue, conciliation, and peace.

(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.

DISPATCH FROM THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH, DATED PARIS, SEPTEMBER 23, 1815.

My Dear Lord,

There has been a good deal of dissension here lately respecting the measures which I have been under the necessity of adopting, in order to get for the king of the Netherlands his pictures, &c. from the museums; and, lest these reports should reach the Prince Regent, I wish to trouble you, for his royal highness's information, with the following statement of what has passed:

Shortly after the arrival of the sovereigns at Paris, the minister of the king of the Netherlands claimed the pictures, &c. belonging to his sovereign, equally with those of other powers; and, as far as I could learn, never could get any satisfactory reply from the French government. After several conversations with me, he addressed your lordship an official note, which was laid before the ministers of the allied sovereigns assembled in conference; and the subject was taken into consideration repeatedly, with a view to discover a mode of doing justice to the claimants of the specimens of the arts in the museums, without injuring the feelings of the king of France. In the meantime, the Prussians had obtained from his majesty not only the really Prussian pictures, but those belonging to the Prussian territories on the left of the Rhine, and the pictures, &c. belonging to all the allies of his Prussian majesty; and the subject pressed for an early decision; and your lordship wrote your note of the 11th instant, in which it was fully discussed.

The minister of the king of the Netherlands still having no satisfactory answer from the French government, appealed to me, as the general in chief of the army of the king of the Netherlands, to know whether I had any objection to employ his majesty's troops to obtain possession of what was his undoubted property. I referred this application again to the ministers of the allied courts, and no objection having been stated, I considered it my duty to take the necessary measures to obtain what was his right.

I accordingly spoke to the prince de Talleyrand upon the subject; explained to him what had passed in conference, and the grounds I had for thinking that the king of the Netherlands had a right to the pictures; and begged him to state the case to the king, and to ask his majesty to do me the favour to point out the mode of effecting the object of the king of the Netherlands which should be least offensive to his majesty. The prince de Talleyrand promised me an answer on the following evening; which not having received, I called upon him at night, and had another discussion with him upon the subject, in which he informed me that the king could give no order upon it; that I might act as I thought proper; and that I might communicate with Monsieur Denon.

I sent my aide-de-camp, lieutenant-colonel Freemantle, to Monsieur Denon, in the morning, who informed him that he had no orders to give any pictures out of the gallery, and that he could give none without the use of force.

I then sent colonel Freemantle to the

prince de Talleyrand, to inform him of this answer, and to acquaint him that the troops would go the next morning, at twelve o'clock, to take possession of the king of the Netherland's pictures; and to point out, that if any disturbance resulted from this measure, the king's ministers, and not I, were responsible. Colonel Freemantle likewise informed Monsieur Denon that the same measures would be adopted.

It was not necessary, however, to send the troops, as a Prussian guard had always remained in possession of the gallery, and the pictures were taken without the necessity of calling for those of the army under my command, excepting as a working party, to assist in taking them down and packing them.

It has been stated, that in being the instrument of removing the pictures belonging to the king of the Netherlands, from the gallery of the Thuilleries, I had been guilty of a breach of a treaty which I had myself made; and as there is no mention of the museum in the treaty of the 25th of March, and it now appears that the treaty meant is the military convention of Paris, it is necessary to shew how that convention affects the museum.

It is not now necessary to discuss the question, whether the allies were or not at war with France; there is no doubt whatever that their armies entered Paris under a military convention concluded with an officer of the government, the prefect of the department of the Seine, and an officer of the army, being a representation of each of the authorities existing at Paris at the moment, and authorised by those authorities to treat and conclude for them.

The article of the convention which it is supposed has been broken, is the 11th, which relates to public property. I positively deny that this article referred at all to the museums or galleries of pictures.

The French commissioners, in the original projet, proposed an article to provide for the security of this description of property.—Prince Blucher would not consent to it, as he said there were pictures in the gallery which had been taken from Prussia, which his majesty Louis XVIII. had promised to restore; but which have never been restored. I stated this circumstance to the French commissioners, and they then offered to adopt the article, with an exception of the Prussian pictures. To this offer, I answered, that I stood there as an ally of all the nations in Europe, and any thing that was granted to Prussia I must claim for other nations. I added, that I had no instructions regarding the museum, nor no grounds on which to form a judgment how the sovereigns would act; that they certainly would insist upon the king's performing his engagements, and that I recommended that the article should be omitted altogether, and that the question should be reserved for the decision of the sovereigns when they should arrive.

Thus the question regarding the museum stands under the treaties. The convention of Paris is silent upon it, and there was a communication upon the subject which reserved the decision for the sovereigns.

Supposing the silence of the treaty of Paris, of May 1814, regarding the museum, gave the French government an undisputed claim to its contents upon all future occasions, it will not be denied that this claim was shaken by this transaction.

Those who acted for the French government at the time, considered that the successful army had a right to, and would touch the contents of the museum; and they made an attempt to save them by an article in the military convention. This article was rejected, and the claim of the allies to their pictures was broadly advanced by the negociators on their part; and this was stated as the ground for rejecting the article. Not only then the military convention did not in itself guarantee the possession, but the transaction above recited tended to weaken the claim to the possession by the French government, which is founded upon the silence of the treaty of Paris, of May 1814. The allies then having the contents of the museum justly in their power, could not do otherwise than restore them to the countries from which, contrary to the practice of civilised warfare, they had been torn, during the disastrous period of the French revolution, and the tyranny of Buonaparte.

The conduct of the allies, regarding the museum, at the period of the treaty of Paris,

might be fairly attributed to their desire to conciliate the French army, and to consolidate the reconciliation with Europe, which the army at that period manifested a disposition to effect. But the circumstances are now entirely different. The army disappointed the reasonable expectations of the world, and seized the earliest opportunity of rebelling against their sovereign, and of giving their services to the common enemy of mankind, with a view to the revival of the disastrous period which had passed, and of the scenes of plunder which the world had made such gigantic efforts to get rid of.

This army having been defeated by the armies of Europe, they have been disbanded by the united council of the sovereigns, and no reason can exist why the powers of Europe should do injustice to their own subjects, with a view to conciliate them again. Neither has it ever appeared to me to be necessary, that the allied sovereigns should omit this opportunity to do justice, and to gratify their own subjects, in order to gratify the people of France. The feelings of the people of France, upon this subject, must be one of national vanity only. It must be a desire to retain these specimens of the arts, not because Paris is the fittest depository for them (as, upon that subject, artists, connoisseurs, and all who have written upon it, agree that the whole ought to be removed to their ancient seat), but because they were obtained by military successes, of which they are the trophies.

The same feelings which induce the people of France to wish to retain the pictures and statues of other nations, would naturally induce other nations to wish, now that success is on their side, that the property should be returned to their rightful owners, and the allied sovereigns must feel a desire to gratify them.

It is, besides, on many accounts, desirable, as well for their happiness, as for that of the world, that the people of France, if they do not already feel that Europe is too strong for them, should be made sensible of it, and that whatever may be the extent, at any time, of their momentary and partial success against any one, or any number of individual powers in Europe, the day of retribution must come.

Not only then, would it, in my opinion, be unjust in the sovereigns to gratify the people of France on this subject, at the expence of their own people, but the sacrifice they would make would be impolitic, as it would deprive them of the opportunity of giving the people of France a great moral lesson.

I have the honour to be,
My dear Lord, your's, most faithfully,
WELLINGTON.

Those to whom the statements of the English ministry were known considered them as made in compliance with a feeling of national jealousy, rather than of justice; and the order of the English cabinet was attributed to the under secretary, Mr. Hamilton, a gentleman known in the literary world, and highly interested in the restoration of the works of art. In answer to the note of lord Castlereagh, another note was given in by M. de Nesselrode, on the part of the emperor Alexander. It represented the painful situation in which it placed Louis XVIII. with regard to the public, and that, if the allies, in the last year, forbore retaking their property in the museum, from their respect for the king, this motive ought to operate with double force at the present period. It was for a short time believed that this Russian note had produced some effect, but whether the emperor Alexander relaxed in the energy of his representations, or because the Russian troops had withdrawn from the capital, this hope was delusive. Further observations were made to the French government by lord Castlereagh, and some irritation excited by the silence with which they were received, but still more by a severe note from M. Talleyrand. The war of diplomacy then ceased—sentence was passed on the gallery—and the attack on the museum began. It had been shut up, but was opened on the requisition of an English colonel, who demanded, with authority, the surrender of the objects which had belonged to the Belgic provinces. English troops were placed on guard at the Louvre. The king ordered the gates to be opened: but that, on no pretence, any assistance should be given to the invaders.

A kind of custom-house was established at the gate, to ascertain what should be taken. Sentinels were posted along the gallery of the museum, at every twenty paces, but this circumstance did not entirely prevent fraud. The Belgic amateurs, aided by the English soldiery, performed their duties in conjunction. The turn of the Austrians came next, who, though always tardy in their operations, never swerve from their purpose. Paris was in an uproar. Curses louder and longer than those heaped on the head of Obadiah, in Tristram Shandy, were poured on the allies by the enraged Parisians. They forgot all other miseries. The project of blowing up bridges, pillage, spoliations, massacres, war-taxes, the dismemberment of the empire, were obliterated from their minds by the loss of the monuments of art. They thought no more of the cession of fortresses, and the fate of the constitutional charter. All principles, feelings, hopes, and fears, were absorbed in this one great and hateful humiliation.

The violence of their resentment, their despair at the removal of the master-pieces of art, denote the feelings of a people arrived at a very high degree of civilization. The Parisians, while they had supported with equanimity the most signal calamities, and endured with cheerfulness the most cruel privations, deplored with sensibility the loss of objects which, far from being necessary to the wants of ordinary life, are only fitted to charm and embellish its highest state of refinement. They asserted that, amidst the rapid revolutions of our times, a possession of some years gives as great a right to property as would have been acquired formerly by the lapse of ages. They remarked, with a kind of spiteful sarcasm, that the doctrine of justice, so ostentatiously preached by the allies, and so severely practised in behalf of statues and pictures, had been less rigidly observed towards human beings; and that, while they established with such grave austerity the rights of inanimate objects, it would have been well if, in the treaties respecting Genoa and Venice, at the late congress, the rulers of the globe had never lost sight of the rights of men, and the principles of liberty.

Europe, after having been shaken to its foundation, had scarcely enjoyed one moment of repose, one hope of stability, when a cry of terror spread itself abroad—"The reign of religious persecution is begun." The astonishment produced by this new calamity surpassed, if possible, even the horror it inspired. Amidst all the various phases of the French revolution, the star of religious liberty had moved calmly in its majestic orbit, and cheered despairing humanity with a ray of celestial radiance. Amidst the violation of every other principle, the domain of conscience appeared to be consecrated ground, where tyranny feared to tread.—Heaven had pleased to rain on France all other afflictions; but religious persecution seemed an obsolete evil, which the continent had no more reason to fear than the return of trials by ordeal, or the burning of sorcerers. During the phrenzy of the time of Robespierre, the catholic priests had indeed been persecuted; but that paroxysm of madness, when churches were profaned by impious rites, and abandoned females personified the goddesses of heaven, had long elapsed; an unprecedented but fleeting horror, that, like the shock of an earthquake, was no sooner felt than gone. The French protestants had, during a long succession of years, been admitted to the court, the army, the legislature, and the senate; holding, in every ceremonial of state, their equal rank with their catholic brethren.

In a single moment the scene was changed. The catholics profiting by the return of the Bourbons, and stimulated by enthusiasm, dispersed themselves in various provinces of the country, and proposed the alternative—repent or perish; become catholics or we kill you. They proceeded at once to execution. Their victims were marked, and they plundered and murdered, as their fury directed, wherever they found protestant property, or persons professing the protestant faith. The citizens of opulent towns, and their populous vicinities, became the martyrs. Nismes was the centre of this desolation; it spread to the country round, and even menaced the citadel of protestantism in France, the mountains of the Cevennes.

From whatever cause this violence pro-

ceeded, the protestants alone were the victims. The assailants were discriminate in their choice; and the selection of the professors of the protestant faith evidently indicated that it was an organised religious persecution. The silence and inaction of the protestant powers led to the disbelief of such violence arising from such a cause; but diplomacy is observant of etiquette, and interference with the internal government might have been deemed an humiliation of royal authority. The foreign troops were also too much occupied in skirmishes, and sieges, and in re-forming the museum, to heed disturbances in the departments: no French army existed. It was awaiting its dissolution in its retreat behind the Loire. A thousand reasons occurred at that moment against any interference of authority to put a stop to these horrible outrages.

The French government, and the French people, were at that period too much occupied in the great European catastrophe that had just taken place, to bestow much attention on what they considered provincial party disputes. Catholics and protestants were names almost unknown at Paris. The Parisians, in their invectives against the protestant allies, exhausted the vocabulary of all ill-sounding epithets, on what they deemed the most nefarious of all measures, the taking their pictures; but never thought of applying to them the offensive terms of Heretic or Hugonot. Royalist and Buonapartist were well understood by the Parisians, and conveyed some meaning; but a contest about catholicism, and protestantism, was a subject which met with no sympathy, and about which, had they understood the nature of the contest, they would have given themselves but little concern. Their interest in affairs of religion is awakened only on some great public event. Their wrath had indeed been kindled against the piety of the court, because it had ordained a more externally strict observance of the sabbath: their ridicule had been excited by the religious processions of the *Fête Dieu*, and their indignation was so strongly manifested against the catholic clergy, on their refusal of canonical interment to an actress, that they forced the doors of the church, with the dead body, and proceeded to chaunt the requiem themselves.

But although the affairs of another world interest little the Parisian, who is so much occupied with the present, the provincial has more leisure, and less indifference on this subject.

In remote provinces, where life glides on more calmly, and where the great events of the present times are only known by the newspapers of the capital, the inhabitant has time to ponder over the historical records of his province, and the traditions of the country around him.

No part of France has been more fertile in those traditions than that of Lower Languedoc. Protestantism had been spread through many provinces of France in a greater or less degree, but the south was its principal abode, and Nismes had been called the protestant Rome. The word protestantism cannot, however, be strictly applied to this description of dissenters from the catholic church. It belongs rather to the Lutherans, the inhabitants of Saxony, and other parts of Germany. Those dissenters were named, in the persecuting state edicts of Louis XVI., professors of the R. P. R. the religion pretendedly reformed; and by the court of Louis XIV. heretics, and Hugonots. The name by which they called themselves, and were justly denominated by their friends, was simply that of Calvinists. Among them the heresies of the protestant world have made no inroads. Bengelins may have raised doubts on certain interpolated texts in protestant Germany; Eichorn, with his vast erudition, may have rendered the Hebrew Scriptures more intelligible; and Wetstein, with his unwearied industry, have collected manuscripts, and discovered ten, instead of four thousand various readings in the writings of the apostles. Pious teachers and learned professors may have confirmed the faith of their followers, by enlightening their reason, and led to a fuller belief in the holy oracles by a more satisfactory interpretation, after exploring the fountain itself of heavenly knowledge.

On his brethren of this inquisitive temper, the steady religionist of the south looks with charitable wonder. The Calvinist, whose

faith was fixed upwards of three centuries since, by the apostle of Geneva, adheres with scrupulous fidelity to all that was then taught by that great leader. At this sort of progressive religion among his protestant brethren the Calvinist stands in sullen amaze, astonished that erudition can be so misapplied, as to be made the instrument of amending what the illustrious reformer had handed down to future times as perfect.

The light which of late years has risen over the holy city, the cradle of the reformation, instead of being hailed as the star in the east, was regarded by those Calvinists only as a misleading meteor. From this venerable mother of their faith their filial eyes were averted, when they beheld her, if not arrayed in gold and scarlet, and the trappings of her Babylon, glorying at least in the tinsel of heathenish learning, applied to the examination of the sacred text, and indulging in that philosophy of the Greeks, which the Calvinist deems stumbling blocks and foolishness. So unwavering in their adherence to the doctrines of the Genevan apostle have been these faithful professors of the south, that they had escaped the dreadful accusation brought against them by the catholic clergy, in their last conversation and address to Louis XVI. when they asserted, that the church of Geneva had ceased to be a member of the christian church, since it had taught the disbelief of what they held to be its great corner-stone, and in which all other churches, whatever be their other heresies, were agreed.

The steady faith of the protestants of the south had therefore never strayed from that called the doctrine of the reformation. They might have mistaken the nature of that great event; they might have reasoned amiss; they might have erred by resting in the infallibility of the opinions of him who was the founder of their faith, and precluding themselves from all further examination; but they have at all times supported the distinguished character they bore in the community, for the practice of every public virtue, and as a people zealous of good works.

What then were the crimes which have drawn down on the heads of those respectable Calvinists the persecution of which they have been of late the victims? Crimes! Their foulest enemies bring none to their charge. One leading cause of this persecution dates from far: it is a renovation of that old spirit of fanaticism, which once infected even the court; and which, driven from the powerful and the great, now sought for refuge in the lowest of the multitude.

It is with governments as with individuals—a bad principle or an evil action has consequences which extend beyond the reach of those who instil the first, or commit the latter. When Louis XIV. began the persecution of the protestants of France, and which brought on the revocation of the edict of Nantz, when fanaticism was let loose with all its horrors, that monarch, alternately the puppet of love and devotion, saw none of the evils that awaited his country, when thus deprived of various sources of its wealth.—But still less did he foresee the greatest calamity attending those measures, in the perpetuity of that infernal spirit of persecution transmitted to future generations.

Louis XIV. half repented when it was too late: we are told by his apologists, that when he let loose his ministers of vengeance, he gave them orders to be merciful, humane, and christian-hearted. The actions of those ministers and priests, clothed in royal and celestial authority, may be obscure in history, but their persecuting principles and doctrines have outlived their memory.

When persecution is enjoined by power, and killing, to do God a service, is inculcated by the priest, let us not wonder that such a hideous doctrine has found adherents. In our own enlightened times have we not seen Frenchmen taught to believe, that violence and conquest were other names for glory?

Such are the consequences of demoralizing a people by the false principles laid down by their rulers. The persecutions of the protestants had become legal acts of the state. Louis and his ministers disappeared; but the laws they enacted remained in all their force, and the sufferings of the protestants were extreme. Pious families, shrouded by the night, bent their way, amidst darkness and danger, towards the spot assigned for their religious ceremonies; a dark-lantern guiding their perilous steps. Arrived at their temple

amidst the rocks, two walking-sticks hastily stuck in the ground, and covered with a black silk apron of the female auditors, formed what was called the pulpit of the desart. To such an assembly how eloquent must have appeared the lessons of that preacher who braved death at every word he uttered! how impressive must have been that divine service, the attending of which incurred the penalty of fetters for life!—These were the glorious days of protestantism in France; these were her proudest triumphs: she could then boast of votaries, of whom the world was not worthy; her martyrs then bore testimony to their faith at the fatal tree, or were chained for life to the oar of the galleys; and women, with the same noble feelings in the same sacred cause, shrunk not from perpetual imprisonment in the gloomy tower that overhangs the shores of the Mediterranean.

The revolution took place, fraught with all happy omens for the protestants. They cast their eyes back on the iron bondage of the past, on the edicts of the last hundred years against their fathers, and blessed the dawn of religious liberty. Yet, during the constituent assembly, how many hesitations, exceptions, and discussions, took place on the subject of the protestants! It was with some difficulty, notwithstanding the proud promulgation of equal rights, and equal laws, that they obtained the privilege of being tolerated. Rabaut St. Ethienne fought against the Abbé Maury, under the shield of Mirabeau, who exclaimed, "that he knew nothing more intolerable than toleration."

The protestants were now tolerated in the public exercise of their worship, and enjoyed their civic rights, but they received no portion of what was allotted to the ministers of religion by the government; to whom, on the contrary, they paid an annual tribute for the hire of the churches in which they officiated. Their state was that of temporary tranquillity—but it was not confirmed repose. Amidst the Saturnalian governments that followed the fall of the monarchy, religion and the priesthood were little respected. The clergy among the catholics were not deprived of their livings; but, as they were no longer paid by the government, their temporal state became worse than that of the protestant ministry, who continued to be supported by their respective congregations.

The cause of religion had been so mangled by the worshippers of the goddess of reason, the professors of theophilanthropism, and other kinds of vagabond divinities, and strange doctrines, that the constitutional catholic clergy began to feel the necessity of some effective means for the preservation of any faith; the most singular of which was, that of a wish to strengthen their cause by a junction with the protestant church. The result of the famous colloque of Poissy afforded no great hopes that such an union could take place. In the discussions of a protestant minister with the archbishop of his diocese, various points, in which both communions agreed, had been laid down as the basis of union. The constitutional and antipapistical fathers of this council met in Paris; most of whom were then the luminaries of the Gallican church. Their debates were liberal, and their decisions, for the greater part, conceived in the spirit of enlarged religion and charity. The union of the catholic and protestant communions also occupied their attention. But it was not deemed prudent to commit the dignity of the council, by an official communication with the chiefs of the French protestant church. An Englishman, who was well known to some of the bishops of one church, and to the pastors of the other, was invited to a conference on the subject. The groundwork of conciliation was the topic. The English protestant, after some discussion on various articles, proposed the Scriptures, to which the catholics assented. But what translation? The catholics were strenuous for that authorised by the church. The protestant alleged several textual facts against this infallibility of translation, and proposed the authority of the earliest manuscripts of the Scriptures in the national library. The conference was adjourned.

Rome was alarmed at the meeting of an unauthorised council, where hostility against ultramontane policy was so avowed. The alliance of the pope and Buonaparte was an affair of more facility than that of the catholic and protestant church. This alliance

took place, and ended in the famous concordat.

Whatever might have been the advantages to the pope, the church, or Buonaparte, from this compact, the protestants completely gained their cause. It was no longer the persecuted, or the tolerated sect. They were at once enthroned in rights equal to those of the catholic church, and became alike the objects of imperial favour.

The impolitic conduct of Buonaparte against the catholic church, in the person of its chief, operated greatly in favour of its cause, and of course was injurious to that of the protestants, particularly to those of the south, in whose provinces the banished cardinals remained in a state of *surveillance*.

The royal family of France returned. By some oversight in the king's charter there was mention of a state-religion, and the protestants consequently were obliged to sink back to toleration.

In protestant countries, where religious liberty may be better defined, or at least better understood, such an article as that of a state religion would have been deemed, by dissidents, the substitute of forbearance for a right: there are men who view remote consequences in an unsound principle, and, as was said of the American lawyers in the first period of their revolution, "who sent tyranny in every tainted breeze." Of such sagacity the French protestants were perfectly innocent. The charter had been less favourable with respect to their religious rights than the concordat; but they were justly satisfied in believing, that their religion could never have been safer, under a ruler indifferent to every system of faith, than under the protection of a pious and philosophical prince. Secure in the virtues of the monarch, and the lights and philosophy of the present times, they little dreamt that they should ever become again the objects of religious persecution.

But the lights of the present times had illuminated but partially the department of the Gard. Driven from almost every other part of France, there was a power which pays no regard to laws, and which cares still less for lights or philosophy, that hovered over this province, gloomily retired like the bird of night, but waiting a propitious moment to flit abroad, and pounce upon its prey. This power was fanaticism.

The catholic inhabitants of the south had learned, from the highest authorities in the state, down to the middle of the last century, that heresy was the most dangerous of crimes, of which an immense body of the most respectable and industrious of their fellow-citizens were attainted. They had long beheld those whom the civil power, and the church, had stigmatised with the foul offences of Hugonotism, delivered over to military execution in this world, and to eternal reprobation in the next; and as no doubt could be entertained of the flagitiousness of their crime, so none could arise of the justice of its punishment.

The persecutions inflicted on the protestants during a long lapse of time, and which were continued in a greater or less degree to our own days, while they exercised their patience, and strengthened their courage and their faith, confirmed the hatred of the lower classes of the catholics; who could not believe that the anathemas of their own holy and infallible church, once pronounced, were subject to the fluctuation of state politics, or of revolutions; but that the continuance of the guilt of protestantism required the continuation of its punishment, as soon as the opportunity should offer.—There was another charge laid against the protestants, which, though of a more worldly nature, had not failed to procure them enemies of a higher rank. The protestants were the wealthiest subjects of the community, because they were the most industrious; and their riches naturally excited the envy and cupidity of their neighbours; who, without absolving them from their fate in the next world, could not but envy them their prosperity in the present.

This hostile disposition was not unknown to the protestants: the iniquitous spirit had been transmitted in the race of the fanatical multitude, who were not prudent in their abhorrence, nor were their projects of vengeance breathed silently. Their menaces, sometimes uttered in the *patois* of Languedoc, had lately met the ear of the protestants; and that of sending back the Hugonots

to the desart, seemed to be the most prevalent, since it was that state of humiliation, which was best known or remembered.

It might have been hoped, that the conduct which the protestants had observed since that glorious epocha which confirmed to them their religious rights, would have disarmed the most rigorous of their foes. They had shewed no exultation in the victory they had obtained; their joy had been confined to their own bosoms, or breathed in secret thanksgivings. The blessings of the revolution had not been perverted by them to any private advantage; they had not been forward to solicit the honours, but had always cheerfully borne their share in the burdens and charges of the state.

But no conduct, however void of offence, can disarm the malignant passions. The tranquillity enjoyed by France, during a few months after the first return of the king, presented no means to the fanatics of gratifying their rage, except by menaces. These menaces alarmed those who were the objects of them no further than as indications of hostile dispositions; but some pastors of the south, who visited Paris during that winter, asserted, that if any public event should take place, the catholics would not fail to pervert it to mischief against the protestants.

They were then far indeed from any conjecture that the disastrous event of the landing of Buonaparte on the coast of Provence was so near. He glided rapidly by the southern provinces, and established himself at Lyons. His presence affected the protestants in no other manner than as it affected all other Frenchmen. His cause was tried at Waterloo; and that battle, the most memorable of modern times, not only from the splendour of military genius it exhibited, and the heroic feats of valour it displayed, but from the mighty consequences which were the result of that immortal day, again placed Louis XVIII. on the throne of France.

Amidst the most important changes in the state, the expulsion of Buonaparte, the surrender of Paris, and the retreat of the French army across the Loire, many partial disorders took place in various parts of France. In some provinces the Buonapartist faction seemed determined not to fall without a struggle; and, in others, the royalist party forgot all moderation in their triumph. Partial insurrections were formed, and various outrages committed at Marseilles, Montpellier, Toulouse, Avignon; and the disorders of Nismes were long believed at Paris to have the same source, and to be no other than the last convulsion of political contests.

But it was at length recognised that, when the troubles which had prevailed in other provinces were hushed into peace, the department of the Gard was still the scene of violence and horror. It was found that some evil of a darker hue, and more portentous meaning, than the desultory warfare of political parties, hung over the devoted city of Nismes. A fanatical multitude, breathing traditionary hatred, was let loose:—the cry of "Down with the Hugonists!" resounded through the streets. Massacre and pillage prevailed; but protestants alone were the victims. The national guard of Nismes, composed of its most respectable citizens, had been dissolved, and a new enrolment of six times the number had taken place, and in which many of the fanatics had found admission. Here, and here only, by some cruel fatality, the national guard betrayed its trust, and abandoned its noble function of protecting its fellow citizens. In vain the unhappy protestants invoked its aid; no arm was stretched out to shelter, or to save them!—their property was devastated without resistance, and their murderers were undisturbed. The government caught the alarm—the complaints of the protestants assailed its ear, and general La Garde was sent to Nismes to command the military force of the department, and protect the protestants.

On his arrival at Nismes, general La Garde ordered the temples to be opened, which was announced to the public at eight o'clock on the Sunday morning. The summons was obeyed with alacrity by the protestants.—They had long been deprived of the consolation of assembling together, and they felt with the psalmist, "How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts!!!"

The church was crowded, but the congregation was almost entirely composed of the higher order of citizens; who perhaps felt

the obligation that their situation imposed on them of shewing an example of courage, and publicly displaying their steadfast and firm adherence to the faith which they professed. It appeared that a high-toned sentiment of duty, an enlightened feeling of what was right and fit towards the community, an abnegation of self, were in this awful conjuncture associated with that piety by which they were no doubt strengthened; that sublime confidence, which looks calmly down on the injustice of earth, making its appeal to Heaven.

The holy service began, but what must have been the emotions of the auditory, when, in less than half an hour, their solemnities were interrupted by the horrible vociferations of a frantic populace, and loud and repeated strokes assailed the doors, in order to burst them open. M. Juillera, the minister, continued the service with a firm voice, and the congregation listened with that calm which is the privilege of those who feel that their witness is in heaven. The uproar increased; the tumult became horrible: the preacher ceased, and his auditors recommended themselves to God. "I held my little girl in my hand," writes Madame Juillera, the wife of the minister, a woman of a superior mind, "and approached the foot of the pulpit,—my husband rejoined us,—I thought of my nursling boy, whom I had left at home, and should embrace no more! I recollected that this day was the anniversary of my marriage—I believed that I was going to die with my husband and my daughter—it was some consolation that we should die together; and it seemed to me that this was the moment in which we were best prepared to appear in the presence of God—the victims of a religious duty; in the performance of which we had braved the fury of the wicked—we had flown with eager footsteps to our temple; we had clung to the altar of our God, without heeding that the assassin's dagger might cross our path, and impede our purpose."

It was at this moment that general La Garde, who had hastened to the post of danger, received from one of the assassins a ball, which entered near his heart. He covered the blood, gushing from his wound, with his manteau, and protected the retreat of the protestants from the temple. He was then conveyed to his house, where the bullet was with difficulty extracted. The fury of the populace was not satiated. In the evening of this day the temples of the protestants were broken open, and every thing contained in them—the registers, psalm-books, the gowns of the ministers, were torn into shreds, and burnt.

Upon receiving tidings of the events of this fatal day, the duke of Angouleme instantly left Toulouse, and repaired to Nismes. As he passed along the streets, he received with repulsive coldness the acclamations of the multitude. He sternly rejected the services of the national guard, who demanded permission to form a guard of honour around his person He declared his intention of ordering the protestant churches to be opened; but was conjured, by such of the protestants as approached him, no less than by the catholics, to abstain from issuing this order, until there was a sufficient military force to ensure public tranquillity; since such was the fury of the populace, that the attempts would be imprudent, and that the consequence might prove fatal. The duke of Angouleme yielded with repugnance to those counsels, but he solemnly declared the will of the king, to adhere to that religious toleration presented by the constitutional charter, and evinced in the most unequivocal manner to the catholic clergy, his abhorrence of the measures that had been exercised against the professors of the protestant faith.

But the question so often repeated will again be asked, How could such evils exist longer than a moment unremedied and unredressed? Lamented and disavowed by all, they have not been more the general abhorrence of protestants than of catholics. Every candid and enlightened mind, every generous heart, has deplored these outrages. The Buonapartists alone exulted in the disastrous events of Nismes; they fondly welcomed every courier that came laden with tidings of dismay. Little did they think, and still less did they care, about principles, toleration, or rights; whether catholics or protestants prevailed was to them alike indifferent; but it was not indifferent to have

a new subject of outcry, a new chance of disorder, and they hailed with complacency the evil omen; they followed eagerly an opening path that seemed to lead towards chaos;—they count every agitation that may be worked up into tumult; abhorring nothing but tranquillity, allowing no breathing-time for humanity, that, wearied with long successive years of turbulence and convulsion, consents to call repose felicity. But the placid blessedness of ordinary life, when it flows in its calm and equal current, is hateful to those whose hopes are only buoyant amidst the disturbance of the tempest.

The period was now arrived, when England fixed her steadfast eye on the protestants of the south of France. The story of their persecution reached her ear. The feeling of their wrongs had penetrated her heart. Indignation beat high in every British bosom. Public meetings were called together. The various associations, which watch with wakeful jealousy over the civil and religious rights of mankind, expressed, in their addresses and declarations, all the energy of virtuous resentment, impatient for redress.

Englishmen wait not the tardy spur of government to goad them into action, when the tidings of religious persecution strike in their ear. They are at their post when danger menaces their brethren. They pause not to enquire against what form of worship or mode of faith religious persecution be directed, it is sufficient for them that this demon exercise its ravages. The followers of Calvin, and the professors of a less difficult faith, become the mutual guarantees of their common religious rights.

The high-toned and generous resolves, proceeding from the three denominations assembled in London, and which were re-echoed by all other denominations, were not unheard in France. The French protestants, while they paid a just tribute to the upright intentions of their own government, in declining the proffered intervention, felt all its grandeur; it was rejected, but admired; it was discreetly repulsed, but enthusiastically applauded. This intervention was the calm commanding voice of a great people, lifted up against persecutors, and claiming kindred with the persecuted. Its sound in Paris was noble and persuasive; and it glided over the south like that sacred harmony of the heavenly host, which spoke to the watch of shepherds "of peace and of good-will."

But it will be inquired, by present and by future times, Did the French government do all that it was possible to do, in order to crush the persecution of the protestants? It did all its position admitted. It exerted the full extent of its power, but its power was then feebleness; and some secret and evil influence rose between its purpose and its act. The French nation, at that period, was not placed in the ordinary situation of human affairs, when the machine of government moves steadily on, controlling the obstacles that oppose its progress. This is not the first example during the French revolution, of a deluded and ferocious populace taking all rule into their hands, and marking their momentary dominion by memorable horrors. The remembrance of the massacres of September, 1792, sometimes rises like an hideous spectre on the mind: they were committed by about fifty assasins, who went from the gates of one prison to another, with their bloody arms bared, and their sabres lifted up, ready to strike their victims as they appeared; while the people of this great capital, frozen with terror, stood aghast, in silent stupefaction, and suffered the work of murder to go on.

In England, the despondency of the friends of religious toleration was augmented, by the untimely and melancholy fate of its noblest champion, at a time when his exertions might have been of peculiar benefit to his country, and to Europe. The death of Mr. Whitbread excited a sensation of regret which attested the estimation in which he had been held, and the affection with which his memory was regarded. It was felt by every class, and every party, that his loss was irreparable; and the circumstances of his death were peculiarly awful and impressive.

Mr. Whitbread was the only son of Samuel Whitbread, esq. many years an eminent brewer in London, by his second wife, Mary, third daughter of earl Cornwallis, and was born in the year 1758. He was taught English and some Latin at home, and was sent

to Eton at a very early age. In that seminary he was contemporary with the late Mr. Lambton, M.P. for Durham, a promising young man, who died at a very early age; with Mr. Charles Grey, now earl Grey; and with several other distinguished characters, who have since filled eminent stations. Jonathan Davies, M.A. was the head-master; and for his private tutor he had Dr. George Heath, who, in 1791, succeeded the former, as head-master of the school.

From this celebrated seminary, with all the advantages which are likely to have been reaped under such able instructors, he repaired to the university of Oxford. He was entered first of Christ-church, but soon removed to St. John's; and, as he possessed none of those convenient pretensions which lead to academical honours without academical industry, it is fair to infer that the degree of A.B., which he took while there, proceeded entirely from his own merits.

After visiting many parts of his native country, Mr. Whitbread, at a proper period, was sent on his travels over the continent of Europe, under the care of the rev. Wm. Coxe, now vicar of Bremerton, and arch-deacon of Sarum, with whom he repaired to France; and, after visiting every thing remarkable there, as well as contemplating the vestiges of Helvetian liberty, he returned home, qualified to become a legislator in his native country.—The tutor, some years afterwards, dedicated one of his works to his pupil in the following terms:—"*To Samuel Whitbread, jun. esq. M.P. this third volume of Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, is inscribed, as a testimony of esteem and friendship.*"

Soon after his return from his travels, Mr. Whitbread, like his father, aspired to a seat in parliament. Their influence in Bedfordshire arose out of character and virtue, a reciprocity of good offices, and a liberal hospitality, afforded by the possession of large estates. These legitimate pretensions enabled Mr. Whitbread, in 1790, after a struggle of some duration, to represent the borough of Bedford. The numbers, at the conclusion of the poll, stood as follows:—

For	Wm. Colhoun, esq.	616
	Sam. Whitbread, jun. esq.	601
	John Payne, esq.	574

Mr. Pitt was at that time *premier*, and he swayed the councils of the government with a degree of authority which had been exercised by no minister since the revolution.—On great occasions he still affected to be the advocate of those early principles which had rendered him popular. His professions, however, were less warm, and his exertions equivocal; for while he employed his voice he denied his authority. That power which he would have exerted on the most trivial occasion, he exercised with constitutional scrupulosity whenever a reform in parliament, an abolition of the slave trade, or a repeal of the test laws, was proposed either by himself or others. Such was his regard for decorum on those occasions, that the dereliction of his dearest friends, or the lowest retainers of the treasury, never affected either the temper or the language of a statesman, who at other times was as irascible as eloquent.

He had hitherto founded his claims to applause on an economical system, but at this period he suddenly changed his principles and his views. As if fully determined on displaying his talent for war, he looked sometimes to the north, and sometimes to the south, of Europe; and, although he had lately announced the certainty of peace for many years, yet he now aimed at a contest with Spain, Russia, and France, in succession, and on light or groundless pretexts. The member for Bedford spoke for the first time on the Spanish aggression; but it was on the Russian armament that he first distinguished himself. The heads of the opposition had moved a resolution expressive of the impolicy of the armament; while the ministry had recurred to the *previous question:* demanding, at the same time, an entire reliance on the wisdom of the cabinet.

It is almost unnecessary to remark, that a *divided* opposition was beaten on this occasion by a *confiding* majority. Yet the former in the end triumphed; for, although the eyes of the ministry were shut to the evils of a Russian war, yet those of the nation were open; and the complaints of the commercial men poured in so thickly, in the form of petitions, that the folly of expending British blood and treasure about the possession of Oczakow became conspicuous. An ar-

mistice accordingly took place; and it was on that occasion that the empress Catharine requested and obtained the bust of Mr. Fox, whom she considered as the presiding genius who had hushed the storm of war.

As the ministers had deferred explanation during the struggle, and at its termination studiously avoided the subject, Mr. Whitbread, on the 29th of February 1792, moved, "That a committee of the whole house should take into consideration the papers on the table, respecting the late armament against Russia." On being seconded by Mr. Grey, the member for Bedford, after an eloquent speech of an hour's duration, moved his resolution:—"That no arrangement, respecting Oczakow and its district, appears to have been capable of affecting the political or commercial interests of this country, so as to justify any hostile interference, on the part of Great Britain, between Russia and the Porte."

Earl Fitzwilliam, at the same time, called the attention of the other house to the same subject; but the minister, in both cases, triumphed, so far as the suffrages of large *parliamentary* majorities could be deemed a triumph. It was visible, however, that from this period he ceased to be popular, and was obliged to recur to the influence of numbers, instead of that of opinion, for support.

In the struggles of the minority in parliament, and of the people out of doors, to prevent the commencement of that series of wars which have now desolated Europe for twenty-five years, Mr. Whitbread was one of the small minority who rallied round Mr. Fox, and whose voice was always raised in the cause of liberty and humanity. To follow his career during this eventful period, and to give the most imperfect sketch of his speeches on various occasions, would far exceed our limits; they form part of the public and parliamentary history of the times, to which we refer the inquisitive reader.

In 1795 a considerable degree of scarcity prevailed, and the situation of the poor became truly deplorable. The hardships incident to labourers, tradesmen, and manufacturers, were referred to the consideration of the house by the member for Bedford, who observed, that the *maximum*, or highest extent of wages to husbandmen was fixable by the magistrate, but not the *minimum*, or lowest, a circumstance which was productive of these hardships. Accordingly, a few days after this, he brought in a bill to authorise justices of the peace to regulate still further the price of labour at every quarter-session. On this occasion he was supported by Messrs. Fox, Jekyll, and Honeywood; and opposed by Messrs. Burdon, Buxton, Vansittart, and Pitt.

Mr. Whitbread, as well as the party with whom he acted, from the beginning, blamed the war with France, as impolitic and unnecessary. It is not, therefore, surprising that they should seize on every opportunity to close the scene of blood; and we accordingly find that, when Buonaparte, on his return from Egypt, had overturned the authority of the directory, and supplied their power by a consulate, of which he was the organ, hopes were entertained of a speedy pacification. The *soldier of fortune* was consequently no sooner invested with the supreme power than he addressed a letter to the king of England, in which he evinced an ardent desire for the termination of hostilities. His majesty, however, was advised to treat this overture with contempt, but there were some who thought differently; and, when Mr. Dundas moved an address to compliment the throne, Feb. 3, 1800, the subject of this memoir made a most able speech, in which he contended that the war might have been avoided in the first instance; that, had it not been for the interference, the folly, and ambition, of the other powers of Europe, the French revolution would have had a very different result; that Buonaparte's letter to his majesty was full of good sense, equally free from republican familiarity and courtly adulation; that, under our present circumstances, we ought not to refuse the proposals of the first consul for a general pacification; and that it was the interest of this country that a peace should be concluded as speedily as possible.

Mr. Whitbread had by this time acquired a high character for talents and integrity, and was considered as only second to Mr. Fox in the house of commons. His exertions in the cause of his country, his large fortune, his

zeal, stimulated into exertion by afflicting abuses, but at the same time moderated by good sense, had obtained for him a high reputation. Clients, in the original sense, were not wanting. He received applications for redress from all parts of the kingdom.—In respect to cases of this kind, we shall only mention two, in both of which Mr. Whitbread took the lead. The one was that of the rev. Fyshe Palmer, who, with Skirving, Muir, Margarot, and Gerald, were driven into exile, for exercising the right of uttering those very opinions, the popularity of which had procured for the premier the exalted station which he then held; and has finally led, in the course of events, to his apotheosis! The other was that of Mr. Morison, a respectable farmer in the county of Banff, who, without the commission of any known crime, and on the most contemptible evidence of a *remote possibility of disloyalty*, was in danger of being cut off from the intercourse of society.

In 1801, Mr. Pitt and his colleagues withdrew suddenly from office. Mr. Addington leaped from the speaker's chair to the treasury-bench, and became minister; and, as he professed himself a friend of economy, a fruitful crop of abuses presented themselves.—Those in the naval department alone excited at once the attention and the indignation of the nation. Nine previous reports of the commissioners had been treated with attention; but the tenth implicated lord Melville, who had returned to power, but who, on many accounts, was far from being popular. He had been one of the most zealous in the prosecution of the American war; he was said to have been the chief cause of the continuance of the slave-trade; and he had, on all occasions, been the decided enemy of constitutional reform and liberal government.—The circumstances of his trial are recorded in our former pages.

The rupture of the treaty of Amiens, which has caused the shedding of such rivers of blood, was the constant theme of Mr. Whitbread's honest animadversions, from the day of the famous message, in March 1803, when it was *asserted* that the French were making preparations in their ports, till within a short period of his death. The friends of liberty, who had opposed the former war against the constitutional monarchy and republic of France, and whose exertions doubtless tended to shorten that war, had themselves justly become the enemies of Buonaparte, who, in 1799, had availed himself of his popularity, and usurped the supreme power. The war-party, who from the first had aimed at the forcible restoration of the Bourbons, availed themselves, therefore, of this feeling of the friends of peace, and both parties now united in the new war, not against France, it was said, but against the tyranny of Buonaparte. The friends of the Bourbons, and the systematic opponents of all liberty, were therefore blended on this occasion with the genuine friends of liberty, who equally disliked the Bourbons and the uncontrolled sway of Buonaparte. Thus, the war became popular, and few lovers of liberty perceived, in the first instance, the snare into which they were falling. Mr. Fox and Mr. Whitbread were, however, among those few. They contended, on every occasion, in opposition to the original war-party, that the war was unnecessary; and they urged to those known friends of liberty, who were among the most vehement partizans of the war, that foreign nations ought not to interfere with the internal policy of other countries; that the alleged tyranny of Buonaparte was a mere French question; and that any supposed benefit of a Bourbon, or any other government, to be imposed by foreign armies, was not worth the sacrifices of blood and treasure, called for by such a war. The eloquence of these patriots failed, however, in its effect; thousands of pounds were spent in printing and circulating tracts, in prose and verse, to inflame the public mind; and perhaps no war was ever so popular as that which was thus commenced about Malta, the alleged surveys of our ports by authorised spies (though the best surveys might be purchased for a few shillings), and the alleged preparations in the French ports. An extensive party favoured the renewal of a contest of which it had always approved; and another party yielded its judgment on minor questions to its honest, but ill-directed, hostility to the misconduct of the head of the French government, in having dissolved the constitutional bodies by the bayonet!

A systematic opposition to this war constituted, therefore, for the last twelve years, a chief feature in the public labours of Mr. Whitbread. It was an onerous, irksome, and often ungracious task. He objected to its principle, and yet was often called upon to praise the valour of the fleets and armies of the executive—and at one time, when the country was considered in danger, he raised and organised a battalion of 350 volunteers at Bedford. This was noble and exemplary; he condemned the measures which had brought the country into danger; yet it was in danger, and, without regarding the cause, he discharged the duty which ought ever to distinguish patriotism, and was disposed, if needful, to part with life in its defence. In nothing did he appear greater; in nothing could he be greater.

A representative of the people is expected to support their interests in parliament, whatever may be the wishes and policy of the ministers of the crown, and for that purpose he is armed with freedom of speech. Few members, however, have the courage to do their duty, because the ministers artfully contrive to identify themselves with the country; and to oppose them, is, they say, to be against the country. The people too become the dupes of this sophistry, and the patriot finds that the little good he can do is not worth the sacrifice of his peace and comfort. No man was ever, perhaps, more the victim of this system of misrepresentation than Mr. Whitbread. He opposed the policy of the ministry, and he was, by their partizans, said to be the enemy of his country; he opposed the war, and he was said to be the friend of the country's enemy; he insisted on economy in the expenditure of the public money, and he was held up as the enemy of his prince. It required, therefore, courage almost superhuman, and patriotism which abhorred every selfish consideration, to persevere in a systematic and spirited opposition to the career of the ministry during the last twenty-five years. It is, however, evident, in regard to a country in which the conservation of liberty depends on the representatives of the people, that good sense and virtue is no less called for in the people than in their representatives; and that, if the people suffer themselves to be deluded by the sophistry and artifices of ministers, the exertions of their representatives must at all times be paralized and feeble. It ought to be a principle interwoven with the feelings of every British heart, that the representatives of the people are at least as much identified with the country as the ministers, and that the doctrines of an honest representative, acting in oppostion, may be as truly British as that of any minister; otherwise no duty can be more harassing, useless, and hazardous, than that of a member of parliament.

When Mr. Fox and the whig party came into power, in 1806, it was understood that Mr. Whitbread might have enjoyed a high appointment; but, as he considered that a seat in the legislature ought not to be used as a passport to office, and that any office would shackle his wonted independence, he contented himself in voting with the ministry on such questions as he approved; but, on the violent rupture of the negociations, after the decease of Mr. Fox, we again find him protesting with energy against the principle, the expediency, and the justice, of the war.

About this time Mr. Whitbread, in the opinion of many of his friends, unnecessarily committed himself, by replying publicly to a circular address of sir Francis Burdett to the electors of Westminster, of whom Mr. W. was one. Sir Francis retorted with energy, on the hustings, to the insinuations of Mr. Whitbread, who was led to demand a formal explanation. These quarrels among patriots, about slight differences of opinion, are to be lamented, as giving relative strength to their political opponents; yet they are a consequence of conduct, founded on a sense of rectitude, which steadily adheres to all its principles. Mr. Whitbread had been a member of the famous society of the friends of the people, in 1790, and he always voted in favour of parliamentary reform; yet, after the dissolution of that society, he never made the desire of parliamentary reform the chief test of patriotism; and in this he appears to have differed from sir Francis Burdett, Messrs. Cartwright, Cobbett, and a very numerous party.

The miscellaneous parliamentary labours of Mr. Whitbread include nearly every

branch of political economy; and the detail of his speeches would constitute a luminous history of the last twenty years. Against the slave trade, in all its ramifications, he was ever animated—in whatever regarded the diffusion of knowledge, and the extension of education, he was zealous—and in every measure connected with the melioration of the condition of the people, with the reform of the penal laws, and with the management of the poor, he was active and useful even to the day of his lamented death. Few legislators ever exhibited more perfect intelligence on so many complicated subjects as those which were constantly brought before him: in debate his intellectual vigour was irresistible; and, in whatever business he engaged, his decision was so prompt and immoveable, that it savoured of severity, though its correctness could seldom be disputed.

The declining state of his health and spirits may be inferred from his silence during the recent events on the continent, which in so special a manner have called for the application of great and liberal principles of morals and public policy. If Mr. Whitbread thought the war unnecessary and unjust in its origin, how much must he have objected to the application of the terms of a treaty to the head of the French government, which treaty, in his view, was not only not founded in any original right of justice, but which had been reduced to waste paper by the non-performance of its conditions on the part of the allies! Never were the public services of a great man more untimely suspended. Never was the world deprived of an intrepid and respected moral censor, at a season when the energy of truth was more requisite to check the arrogance of power. Never was there a period in the history of Europe more critical, and one which required more exertions on the part of those who seek the glory of patriotism. All those qualities, which once constituted the boasted features of the English character, are now basely deserted. The name of LIBERTY is considered as the signal of discord, because it excites the opposition of its enemies; the name of TRUTH is deemed seditious, because it falsifies the assertions of ministers; and the name of INTEGRITY is a libel, because it appertains to so few public characters. We see an association of kings, calling themselves the friends of liberty, and, in that new character of meters of liberty, obtaining credence and applause from a large portion of mankind. We hear men boasting of the liberty which is conferred at the point of the bayonet; and it is the popular doctrine of the day, that kings know better what degree of liberty suits their subjects than subjects know themselves. We are openly told, that the guardians of the independence and liberty of Poland, Genoa, Norway, and Saxony, have proved their qualifications to preserve the independence and liberties of France and all Europe. We find it likewise maintained, on the highest authority, that certain states are not bound by public treaties, but may absolve themselves from their obligations, though the articles continue not less obligatory on the other party; and we see it publicly proclaimed, that to resist hostility, commenced to maintain the violation of treaties, is "to disturb Europe, and to destroy the human race." We see wars commenced without justifiable cause, and then hear it asserted that a right of the aggressors may grow out of the wrong which they inflicted. We hear the cause of Xerxes and his million of armed slaves, in seeking to destroy the liberties and independence of Greece, quoted for the first time as a justifiable precedent. We hear the glories of Brennus exalted for the vengeance he took on the citizens of Rome, and on their public buildings; and we are daily doomed to see Themistocles and Camillus called rebels, whom it was the proper duty of Xerxes and Brennus to hang up amid the smoking ruins of Athens and Rome! In such a state of moral disorganization, when it is dangerous to life or liberty call *a spade a spade*, how afflicting, how irreparable is the loss of so courageous and inflexible an asserter of truth and freedom as Mr. Whitbread!

A few years since he was induced, partly from motives of friendship, and partly from a taste for the drama, to undertake to reorganize the chaos of the Drury Lane property, and to rebuild the theatre, which had been two seasons in ruins. The frauds, the baseness, and the chicanery, which he had to

encounter and overcome in this task, resembled the labour of Hercules in cleansing the Augean stable; yet he surmounted every difficulty—and, by the influence of his integrity and perseverance, the most perfect establishment of the kind has been raised that exists in the world. The gratitude of the proprietors, and the applause of the public, were unbounded; yet the dividends fell short of Mr. Whitbread's hopes, and he stood committed to many personal friends, who had staked all their property in the concern. These circumstances lacerated his feelings, and, though apparently insignificant to a mind occupied with mighty objects, which included the welfare of his country and the destiny of the human race, they were that feather which turned the scale—they were that last drop which made the cup run over—and they produced an intellectual plethora—fits of mental distraction—and, finally, DEATH!

This event took place on Thursday, July the 6th, about ten in the morning, at his house in Dover-street, Piccadilly. On the same evening a coroner's jury sat on the body, and, after hearing the evidence of some of his intimate friends, they found a verdict of *insanity*.

For the satisfaction of his friends and the public, it was deemed proper to submit the brain to the examination of an eminent physician and surgeon, and the following is the REPORT:—"On removing the upper part of skull, it was observed that the dura matter had become thickened and ossified to the extent of a quarter of an inch in length, and an eighth of an inch in breadth, on the left side of the longitudinal sinus, not far from the lamboidal suture. The vessels of the pia mater were considerably distended with blood, and this membrane was thickened and opaque near to the ossified part of the dura mater. The ventricles of the brain contained more fluid than usual, by one-third at least, and the pia mater covering the cerebellum, was thicker than usual.

HENRY HALFORD.
HENRY CLINE.

"*July* 8, 1815."

He had spoken with his usual perspicacity in the House of Commons on Tuesday evening, and had transacted business, and entertained his friends on the previous day, without sensible change; the shock, therefore, of an event so unforeseen, was like that of an earthquake, and it spread itself over the town with equal rapidity, and communicated similar feelings of grief and dismay.

Mr. Whitbread was allied to earl Grey by a double marriage; having been united, in 1788, to Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of sir Charles, afterwards earl, Grey, by whom he had four surviving children; while his sister, Mary Whitbread, in 1789, gave her hand to the hon. George Grey, brother of earl Grey. Another sister, Emma, in 1780, was married to the late lord St. John, of Bletsoe, whom she survives; and a third, and eldest, was united, in 1789, to his neighbour, Mr. Gordon, of Moore-park.

Whatever may have been the transcendant qualities of Mr. Whitbread as a public character and patriot, he maintained the consistency of his principles in all the relations of private life. He was a kind and indulgent husband; a tender and affectionate parent; zealous and faithful in his friendships; and a master to whom his servants were devoted through life. His fire-side was always cheerful and happy. He kept an hospitable table; and was, at Southill, a living portrait of the race of independent country gentlemen, of which few counties possess now more than a solitary instance. He has often been represented as severe, in exacting from all connected with him the performance of their duties; but this was with him a principle.—It was his maxim that every man in his sphere ought to do his duty with zeal and honesty—from its practice he never released himself, and he could not brook indifference in others. He used to say, that, if all men performed their relative duties, half the evils which afflict society would not exist; and therefore he deemed it an unpardonable crime for a man to neglect his duty or abuse his trust. Hence also it was, that, in cases of malversation which came within his sphere of action, no consideration of trouble, opposition, or inconvenience, ever deterred him from seeking to correct them; and this he did with such energy as generally secured success. One instance within

our knowledge will suffice to illustrate his character:—During the hard winter of 1813, while the snow interrupted the communication between different parts of the country, he set the example of a sledge, and drove about his neighbourhood alone, because his servants were unwilling to encounter the risk. At this time he heard of an act of cruelty committed on a pauper by the overseers of a parish twenty miles from Southill; and, conceiving that the case called for prompt correction, he immediately drove across the country, with great personal hazard, in his sledge, convened a parish meeting, exposed the misconduct of the overseers, and procured the relief of the pauper, whose life had been endangered. From his fire-side his vigorous mind extended through his house, his estate, his parish, his hundred, his county, and finally embraced the whole family of man. In all these relations he was equally able and useful; and, amid so great a variety of cares, it is not to be wondered that he was sometimes considered peremptory when he had occasion to arouse indifference, severe when it was necessary to expose and correct crime, and stern if he found himself called upon to compromise with vice. Such were the necessary results of superior virtue, of practice founded on rectitude, of an habitual sense of right and wrong, and of a keen insight into the corruptions and artifices of designing persons, to whom he was an INFLEXIBLE ENEMY.

There is one other relation in which Mr. Whitbread was known to the public, and that was as a man of business. He inherited, from his venerated father, one of the most considerable breweries in London; and, notwithstanding his attention to his public duties, as a member of parliament and a magistrate, he never neglected this legitimate, and in him honourable, source of wealth.—As a man of principle in all things, he constantly resisted the baneful practice of purchasing public houses, for the purpose of forcing upon the town an inferior and deleterious commodity, but depended on the fair demand of the public, and on the free agency of his customers. The size of the plant, though once the most considerable in London, and on that account a celebrated object of royal curiosity, did not enable him to brew so much as some other houses, yet the demand of the public on his house was probably equal to that on any other; and he and his partners contrived to meet it by purchasing largely the approved brewings of many other houses, which they could often effect on better terms than they could brew themselves. On this subject it may be justly said, that Whitbread's ENTIRE was as much approved as a stimulus for *the body-natural*, as his lessons of truth and liberty were admired for their beneficial effects on *the body-politic*.

"The death of a patriot," says one of his friends, "so steady, intrepid, and zealous, in the cause of his country and of human freedom, will be long, deeply, and universally deplored. The loss of Mr. Whitbread in the British parliament is a loss to the civilized world—for, like the exalted model of his conduct as a senator (Mr. Fox), he was the constant, able, and disinterested advocate of justice, freedom, and humanity, wherever and by whomsoever assailed. No man who had a claim on the virtuous for protection ever applied to him in vain. He was the earnest and indefatigable friend of the oppressed; and in the prosecution of justice was dismayed by no combination of power, clamour, or calumny—wearied out by no difficulties, and exhausted by no fatigue. In all his exertions, the only creature whose interests he did not consult were his own; for, of all public characters, we should point Mr. Whitbread out as the individual who had the least consideration for himself, and who was the least actuated by personal motives. His heart and mind were wholly devoted to the amelioration of the state of society, to the maintenance of the rights which our forefathers acquired, and to the communication of those blessings to others which we ourselves enjoy. His views were all public.—He could not be diverted from the right path by any species of influence, for he was inflexible alike to flattery and to corruption. He invariably objected to that system by which the burthens of Great Britain have been so dreadfully accumulated, because he believed that the object of the league of sovereigns was more to restrain the rising spirit of a

just liberty, than to withstand the insatiate ambition of a single individual; and his justification in this sentiment was, the proof that they never adhered, in success, to the professions with which they set out in adversity. He was the warm, liberal, and enthusiastic encourager of universal education, from the pure feeling of benevolence that actuated all his life. He was convinced that to enlighten the national mind, and to make a people familiar with the Holy Scriptures, was to make them strong, moral, and happy. He was no bigot to forms of worship, and therefore was friendly to those institutions, the object of which is to instruct the young mind in the precepts of christianity, according to the tenets which the mature judgment or predilection of the parent might wish to imprint on the child. In his friendships no man went greater lengths, or was more ready to sacrifice time, ease, and comfort, than himself. This was conspicuously shewn in the arduous undertaking of the re-establishment of Drury-lane theatre, which will ever remain a monument of his disinterested labour and perseverance, as well as of the high confidence which was reposed in his power and integrity by the public; for, to his exertions, to his character, and to his invincible constancy alone, are the public indebted for the restoration of that edifice; and it is a memorable trait in his character, that, having the whole patronage in his hand, not one person, male or female, employed in the establishment, owed their appointment to any personal dependence on himself, or connection with his family, but in every instance he selected the fittest objects that presented themselves for the situation that they gained. We fear that, to the daily and hourly fatigues—nay, we may say, the persecution that he endured in this great work, through the petulance, the cabals, and the torment of contrary interests, we must attribute the decline of his health, and the sudden termination of a life so dear to the public. The incessant annoyance preyed on his mind, and strengthened the attacks of a plethoric habit of body, which threatened apoplexy. For some weeks past he had been afflicted with incessant head-ache, and his physicians had advised him to abstain from all exertion, even that of speaking in parliament. No man was more temperate in his mode of living. He was happy in his domestic society—surrounded by an amiable and accomplished family—and in the possession of all that fortune, with the consciousness of the honest discharge of every duty, public and private, could bestow. No man will be more sensibly missed by the people as one of their representatives, for no man was more vigilant, more undaunted, more faithful in watching over their interests, nor more ardent in asserting their rights. He had the good old English character of openness and sincerity.—He called things by their right names, and his detestation of every thing in the nature of a job, made him the terror of delinquents. His death will be an universal source of sorrow to the country; and now that courtiers are released from his castigation, even they will do justice to his talents and integrity."

In the House of Commons, on the 11th, on the occasion of moving for a new writ for Bedford, the marquis of Tavistock, Mr. Wilberforce, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, took occasion to express the following sentiments:—

The marquis of Tavistock rose, evidently under the strongest emotion, and addressed the Speaker to the following effect:

Sir—I am persuaded that it must be quite unnecessary for me to say that I am at this moment labouring under feelings of the most painful and afflicting nature. *(Hear! hear! hear!)* I wish, however, shortly to state to the house the reasons which induce me to depart from the usual practice in moving for a new writ, in order that I may pay a humble, but sincere, tribute of affection to the memory of my departed friend. Sir, it is not on any consideration of private friendship—it is not on any contemplation of his many virtues as a private individual—it is on the reflection of the great space which he occupied in this house—it is on the recollection of his splendid abilities—it is on the conviction which we who thought with him on political subjects entertain of the advantage which the country derived from his exertions, that I found my excuse for this address—that I even claim the concurrence of all those who hear me in the feelings which

agitate me at the present moment. *(Hear! hear! hear!)* I am well aware, Sir, that a great majority of this house thought his opinions erroneous. But I speak it with confidence—I am sure that there is not one of his political opponents who will not lay his hand on his heart and say that he always found in him a manly antagonist. *(Hear! hear! hear!)* The House of Commons will, I am persuaded, ever do justice to the good intentions of those who honestly dissent from the sentiments of the majority. Accustomed to defend his opinions with earnestness and warmth, the energies of his admirable and comprehensive mind would never permit the least approach to tameness or indifference. But no particle of animosity ever found a place in his breast; and, to use his own words on another melancholy occasion, "he never carried his political enmity beyond the threshold of this house." *(Hear! hear! hear!)* It was his uniform practice to do justice to the motives of his political opponents; and I am happy to feel that the same justice is done to his motives by them. *(Hear! hear! hear!)* To those, Sir, who were more immediately acquainted with his exalted character—who knew the directness of his mind, his zeal for truth, his unshaken love of his country, the ardour and boldness of his disposition—incapable of dismay, his unaffected humanity, and his other various and excellent qualities, his loss is irreparable. *(Hear! hear! hear!)* But most of all it will be felt by the poor in his neighbourhood. Truly might he be called "the poor man's friend." Only those who, like myself, have had the opportunity of observing his conduct nearly, can be aware of his unabating zeal in promoting the happiness of all around him. *(Hear! hear! hear!)* Thousands of individuals have benefited by the generosity of his heart; and the county, the principal town of which he represented, contains imperishable records of his active philanthropy, as well as that of the good man who went before him. *(Hear! hear! hear!)* His eloquent appeals in this house in favour of the unfortunate—appeals exhibiting the frankness and honesty of the true English character—will adorn the pages of the historian; although, at the present moment, they afford a subject of melancholy retrospect to those who have formerly dwelt with delight on the benevolence of heart which always beat, and on the vigour of an intellect which was always employed for the benefit of his fellow creatures. *(Hear! hear! hear!)* Sir, I am conscious that I need not entreat pardon of the house at large for thus indulging in the praise of my lamented friend; but I owe an apology to those who loved him, for the feebleness with which it has been bestowed. *(Hear! hear! hear!)* I move, Sir, that the speaker do issue his warrant to the clerk of the crown, to make out a new writ for the election of a burgess to serve in the present parliament for the borough of Bedford, in the room of Samuel Whitbread, esq. deceased.

Mr. Wilberforce expressed the gratification which he felt at the pathetic speech of the noble marquis, which afforded an additional proof that the best eloquence was that of the heart. *(Hear! hear! hear!)* He wished to add his testimony to the excellent qualities of the lamented individual whose death had rendered the present motion necessary; and, in doing so, he could with truth declare that he was only one of many thousands, rich as well as poor, by whom his character had been most highly estimated. Well had it been termed by the noble marquis, "a truly English character." Even its defects, trifling as they were, (and what character was altogether without defect?) were those which belonged to the English character. Never had there existed a more complete Englishman. *(Hear! hear! hear!)* All who knew him must recollect the indefatigable earnestness and perseverance with which, during the course of his life, he directed his talents and the whole of his time to the public interest; and, although he (Mr. Wilberforce) differed from him on many occasions, yet he always did full justice to his public spirit and love of his country. *(Hear! hear! hear!)* He was capable (as had been seen at various times) of controlling the strongest feelings of personal attachment, when he thought that his duty to the public compelled him to do so. *(Hear! hear! hear!)* It was a melancholy satisfaction to those who loved him, to see that those who had differed from him on many political questions, nevertheless considered

him as one of those public treasures, the loss of which must, by all parties, be deeply lamented. *(Hear! hear! hear!)* For himself, he (Mr. Wilberforce) could never forget the important assistance which he derived from his zeal and ability in the great cause which he had so long advocated in that house. On every occasion, indeed, in which the condition of human beings was concerned—and the lower their state the stronger their recommendation to his favour—no one was more anxious to apply his great powers to increase the happiness of mankind. *(Hear! hear! hear!)*

The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, that it was far from his wish to detain the house, after the address, replete with feeling and propriety, which they had heard from the noble marquis, *(hear! hear! hear!)* and after the excellent observations of his hon. friend. *(Hear! hear! hear!)* All that he desired to say was, that it must be some consolation to the noble marquis, and to the whole house, to feel, that, whatever difference of opinion might exist on political questions, there was no one who did not do justice to the virtues and talents of the object of their regret, or who for a moment supposed that he was actuated in his public conduct by any other motive than a conviction of public duty. *(Hear! hear! hear!)*

Perhaps the several parties in the House of Commons never united more cordially in expressions of sorrow for the loss of a member. But it should be recollected that Mr. Whitbread was one of the last surviving, in life or in political consistency, of that great school of senatorial eloquence which will for ever impart lustre to the age of George the Third. Never was there before seen in the House of Commons, or in any assembly of ancient or modern times, a cotemporary race so justly renowned as Fox, Burke, Grey, Sheridan, Whitbread, Pitt, Erskine, Wilberforce, Windham, and Grattan. Of this illustrious band, it was almost the solitary glory of Mr. Whitbread not to have outlived those principles on which were reared the monument of his fame; and, in the House of Commons, whatever may be the voice of its ministerial majorities, on ministerial questions, the perceptions of truth and virtue are still strong enough to produce unanimity on indifferent subjects. Nor could it be overlooked in that house, that, after the death of Mr. Fox, it fell to the lot of Mr. Whitbread to encounter, with feeble aid and divided force, that REACTION OF POWER which the previous exertions of his party had generated; which has proved so fatal to the glory of several of his co-patriots, which has destroyed public spirit, and which still endangers our most valued liberties. Experience has shewn that it requires firmness, disinterestedness, and other difficult virtues, to be superadded to genius and eloquence, to qualify public men to die in the honourable course in which they have lived. Alas! how many in our times have cancelled a life of honour, to administer to the worst passions, or flatter the weakest prejudices, for the sake of obtaining smiles, titles, places, and pensions! It was, however, the rare glory of Mr. Whitbread to die in the *acmé* of unsullied fame; and it is the consolation of his friends to know, that though, by living longer, he might have been longer useful, yet that he could never have achieved HIGHER GLORY, or more deservedly have secured the GRATITUDE OF HIS COUNTRY!

CHAP. XIX.——1815.

Impolicy and cruelty of the Bourbon government.—It denounces and banishes the most eminent orators, patriots, and statesmen.—Establishes a commission of accusation.—Conduct of Fouché.—Trial and execution of Labedoyere.—Violation by the allies of the capitulation of Paris.—Trial, defence, and execution, of marshal Ney.—The king decrees a general amnesty.

It was not unnatural that the restored dynasty should wish to punish those who signalised themselves in the great national attempt to exclude them from the throne, and if the five or six military men of rank, who were the first to declare for Napoleon on his advance to Cannes, have since been shot, disgraced, or banished, there is nothing unusual.

Treason can ne'er succeed: pray what's the reason?
'Cause when it does, no one can call it treason.

An entire oblivion of offences, and a general amnesty, would have been the wisest policy on the part of the king. But the mild and benevolent feelings of Louis were perverted, or rendered inefficient, by the importunities of his family, who breathed only the language of rancorous revenge. In compliance with their pressing representations, he issued a variety of arbitrary ordonances, in one of which he declared that the following individuals should no longer constitute a part of the house of peers:—

Counts Clement de Ris, Colchee, Cornudet, d'Aboville; the duke of Dantzic; counts de Croix, Dedelay d'Agier, Dejean, Fabre de l'Aude Gassendi, Lacepede, and de Latour Maubourg; Dukes de Praslin and de Plaisance; marshals and dukes d'Elchingen, Albufera, Cornegliano, and Treviso; count de Barral, archbishop of Tours; count Boissy d'Anglas; duke de Cadore; counts de Canclaux, Casabianca, de Montesquieu, de Pontecoulant, Rampon, de Segur, de Valence, and Belliard. From these individuals none were to be excepted, unless they could *prove* that they had not sat, nor *wished to sit*, in Napoleon's chamber of peers, to which they had been called.

In another ordonance, Louis proscribed the generals and officers who betrayed him previous to the 21st of March; ordered them to be arrested, and condemned them to be brought before competent councils of war in their respective divisions. The following are the names of the individuals thus denounced:—

Ney, Labedoyere, the two brothers D'Allemand, Drouet, D'Erlon, Lefebvre Desnouettes, Ameith, Brayer, Gillon, Monton Duvernet, Grouchy, Clausel, Laborde, Debelle, Bertrand, Drouet, Cambrone, La Valette, and Rovigo.

The following were in three days ordered to quit Paris, and retire into the interior of France, to places appointed by the minister of police. They were permitted to dispose of their property in the course of a year, and to transport its produce out of France:—

Soult, Alix Excelmans, Bassano, Marbot, Felix Le Pelletier, Boulay de la Meurthe, Mehee Tressenet, Thibaudeau, Carnot, Vandamme, Lamarque, Lobau, Harel, Pierre, Barrere, Arnaut, Pommereuil, Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely, Arrighi, Dejean junior, Garrau, Real, Buvier, Dumolard, Merlin, Durbach, Divat, Defermont, Bory Saint Vincent, Felix Deportes, Garnier-de-Saintes, Melliner, Holin, Cluys, Curtin, Forbin Jansen the elder, and Le Lorne Diderille.

The other decrees suppressed the offices of inspectors-general of artillery and engineers, abolished the general inspection of the gend'armerie, re-organised the army, levied enormous sums on the people for the use of the confederates, and announced the formation of a new house of peers, consisting of emigrants and a few revolutionists. A commission was at the same time authorised, to examine "the conduct of officers who served during the usurpation," and its functions were announced in the following decrees:—

Louis, by the Grace of God, &c.

When Divine Providence recalled us last year to the throne of our fathers, we thought it our duty to remove from public functions some men to whom good reasons did not permit us to grant that confidence with which magistrates and administrators ought always to be invested. Yet, upon the account given us of the long services of some of them, and with the intention of giving to our subjects a fresh proof of justice and royal munificence, we were pleased to grant to several functionaries so removed from the places occupied for a long time, pensions of retreat or provisional salaries. The hope we had conceived of restoring in a few years the finances of our kingdom and the success of our first efforts, permitted us even to extend this beneficent measure, and to introduce into it great liberality. But we have been informed that in the disastrous days that suspended the course of the benefits we were occupied in spreading among our people, several individuals to whom we had granted these marks of our goodness, were eager, under the domination of the usurper, either to return to their old functions, or to accept new. The part they took in the support of the criminal enterprise that has caused all the miseries which France now groans under, has made them lose all right to the favours we had conferred upon them; and the disorder which those evils have introduced into the finances of the state, the immense charges which our faithful subjects are called upon to support, notwithstanding all our care to alleviate the burthen, imposes upon us the obligation to confine for the future our liberality within the bounds of severe justice and strict economy.

However, in fulfilling this duty, we would be sure that the measure we propose to order should be executed with equity and discernment; that the offences of the men to whom it is to be applied should be examined and judged with the most rigorous impartiality; that they should be placed in the balance with the length and importance of the services formerly rendered; in fine, that if in certain cases that which is superfluous ought to be taken from men to whom our generosity was pleased to grant it, our justice nevertheless should still leave them what is necessary.

For these causes we order—

Art. 1. There shall be formed with our minister, secretary for the department of finance, a commission charged to take cognizance of pensions and salaries granted by us since 1st April 1814, to the functionaries of the administrative and judicial order, whom we did not think proper to preserve in their employments.

2. This commission shall have the documents it may deem necessary to ascertain the origin and motives of these recompences, together with the names and qualities of those who have obtained them.

3. It shall besides examine what part these men have taken in the events that occurred since the 20th March to the 7th July, to whom the said pensions or salaries were granted, in order to enable us to decide what treasures and reductions it may be necessary to order.

4. The commission shall make a report upon each of the erasures and reductions which it may be their duty to propose.

Simeon, the father, is appointed president; and Becquey, Royer Collard, Travon de Langlade, and Harmond, are appointed the committee, of which Rosman is to be secretary.

The ordonnance is dated on the 20th September.

A second ordonnance orders:

Art. 1. There shall be formed with our minister at war, a committee, which shall be presided by one of our cousins, marshals of France, and composed of two lieutenant-generals, one marechal-de-camp, one inspector or sub-inspector of reviews, and a commissary. A superior officer shall be the secretary.

2. This commission shall be charged with the examination of the conduct which all officers of all ranks have adopted during the usurpation.

None of the officers mentioned in article 2. shall occupy an employment in our army until the commission shall have examined their conduct, and reported favourably.

The duke of BELLUNO is president.

Lieutenant-general count LAURISTON.

Lieutenant-general count BORDESSOULT.
Marechal-de-camp, Pierre de BROGLIE.
Sub-inspector, Chef de BIEN.
The secretary, chevalier de QUERELLES.

The king, in ordaining the formation of the commission, had for his object:

1. To remove from the list of activity dangerous men, capable of yet corrupting the spirit of the troops.

2. To establish a necessary distinction between officers who associated themselves with the usurper's criminal attempt by the zeal with which they seconded him, and those who yielded to the fatal example which was set them.

It is not the king's intention to confound the latter with the former; for thus there would be a danger of classing with the most guilty, men who may in future perform actual service to the king and state, and though the reduction which has taken place in the battalions of the army removes to many of them the moment when they can be invited to the honour of serving his majesty; it is proper not to place them, at this moment, under a sort of reprobation, which might render them accessible to the intrigues of the enemies of legitimate authority.

To afford the commission rules, with the aid of which it may be able to estimate the degree of confidence which it may yet grant to officers who served during the usurpation, the king has resolved that certain classes shall be fixed, corresponding to the particular position in which these officers were placed, and according to the more or less active part which they took in the rebellion of the army.

The numerical order of classes will serve to fix the order of classes for their replacement in activity.

The business of the committee will be reduced to ascertaining, by examination of the conduct of each officer, the class to which he ought to belong. This indication will determine the rank which he must take among those to whom the king's indulgence still leaves the hope of re-entering the army, or it will mark his place among the officers who must be excluded therefrom.

Thus there will be arranged, in the first class, the general officers, officers of all ranks, military administrators, and employés, who, within 20 days after the arrival of Buonaparte at Paris, abandoned the military service.

In the 2d class: those who, without quitting the service, refused to sign the oath of fidelity to Buonaparte, and to the additional articles of the pretended constitutions of the empire.

In the 3d class: those who, without quitting the service, expiated that oblivion of their duty, by quitting, by voluntary resignation, the service of the usurper.

In the 4th class: the officers who, in the first instance drawn into the rebellion, abandoned the usurper's party before the return of the king, and rallied with the partisans of the royal authority.

In the 5th class: those who, employed in the army in the first instance, were cashiered, as suspected by Buonaparte's government, and not on grounds bringing their reputation in question.

In the 6th class: those who remained in the service, but against whom there exist in the public offices denunciations creditable to their attachment to the cause of the king.

In the 7th class: those who not being in active service on the arrival of the usurper, did not make application for active service until the king's return.

In the 8th class: the officers of all ranks and arms, and the military administrators, who retained the destination they had obtained before the king's departure, and did not solicit any new one.

In the 9th class: the officers who did sedentary duty in the interior, either in the fortresses, or with the national guards.

In the 10th class: the officers of all ranks and arms, and the military administrators, who, after the king's departure, applied for and obtained the appointments, ranks, rewards, or the confirmation of ranks and rewards which it had pleased the king to grant them.

In the 11th class: the officers of all ranks and of all arms, the military administrators and employés, who formed part of one of the armies formed by Buonaparte, and who followed its movements until the return of the king to Paris.

In the 12th class: those of the above denominated persons who signed addresses to Napoleon Buonaparte.

In the 13th class: the officers who commanded battalions of *fédérés*, or corps of partizans.

The 14th class will consist officers and military administrators, placed in one or other of the undermentioned positions:

1. The officers of all ranks and of all arms, military administrators and *employés*, who declared for Buonaparte within the twenty days which preceded the king's departure, excited the troops to insurrection, and favoured, within that period, in any way, the progress of the usurper.

2. The general and superior officers who, in the military divisions and fortresses, hoisted, of their own accord, the standard of usurpation, and published seditious proclamations.

3. The general and superior officers who, in their districts, repressed or punished the movements of the king's faithful servants in support of lawful authority.

4. The commandants of places and forts who, summoned in the king's name, and by officers sent by the minister at war, refused to open their fortresses, and exposed them to all the dangers of a siege, if it be ascertained that they intentionally opposed a criminal resistance to the orders of the king.

5. The general and superior officers who marched against the royal troops collected in the interior.

6. The officers of all ranks and arms, and military *employés*, who shall be convicted of having insulted the effigy of the king or princes, or the decorations which they had previously obtained from the kindness of his majesty.

7. The officers on half-pay who voluntarily quitted their homes to meet Buonaparte, and who accompanied him to Paris.

The officers comprehended within the 14th class shall remain in a state of non-activity, unless ulterior information furnish proof of their repentance and return to true principles.

The commissioners shall distribute the officers subjected to their examination into these *fourteen* classes, according to the circumstances in their conduct respectively.

With this view, it shall draw up lists divided by classes, in which shall be inscribed the officers names, and it shall add its observations on the particular considerations which shall attenuate the offences of these officers, and shall solicit exceptions in their favour: the officers of all ranks and arms, the military administrators and *employés* who served during the usurpation, and who, since the king's return, have retained or obtained employment in the army, or in the royal guard, shall be not the less bound, conformably to article 4. of the ordonnance of October 12, to furnish to the commission all the information which it shall have to demand of them.

The minister at war, in consequence of the opinion of the committee, shall take the king's orders on their destination.

All officers shall be bound to address directly their applications to the minister at war, who shall regulate the order in which they are to be examined; and there shall be drawn up, with that view, lists of the names of the officers, with regard to whom it shall be of importance to the war minister to know, in the first instance, the opinion of the commission.

The commission will remark, that the business is not, in the last result, to impose corporal punishments, but to remove from the army men who, even if not labouring under any preventive cause, could have merely an uncertain hope of their resuming their place, in consequence of the disproportion which already exists between the number of competitors and that of employments; that, by a special favour of the king, these officers have, in the half-pay of non-activity, which is granted to them, an indemnity for the preference which others shall have over them; and the commission will hence perceive the necessity of avoiding the excess of indulgence, because nothing will be more contrary to the interests of France.

These articles were received with dissatisfaction by the chamber of peers, and they proposed to the king the following amendments, which were accepted:—

Art. 1. and 2. No alteration.

3. The king shall have authority, within

the space of two months from the promulgation of the present law, to remove from France all the persons comprised in the second list of the above-mentioned ordonnance, who shall not have been brought before the tribunals, and to deprive them of all property, titles, and pensions, conferred on them gratuitously. They shall not be at liberty to return to France without the express permission of the king, upon pain of transportation.

4. Are excepted from the amnesty as principal movers and instigators of the revolt—1st, Those who have been accomplices in the return of the usurper to France, by corresponding with him or his agents in the isle of Elba, and facilitating his means; 2d, Those persons who, before the 23d of March, accepted from the usurper the functions of ministers or counsellors of state; 3d, The prefects nominated by the king, who acknowledged the usurper before the 23d of March; 4th, The marshals and generals commanding military divisions or sub-divisions, who declared for the usurper before his entrance into Paris; 5th, The generals in chief, who directed their forces against the royal armies. Conformably to the 4th article of the ordonnance of the 24th of July, these individuals cannot be prosecuted, except in the forms and according to the constitutional laws. Nevertheless, the prescription of ten years, determined by the 631st article of the code of criminal process, is reduced to three months with regard to them.

5. In the prosecutions which may take place in pursuance of the preceding articles, the public treasury may proceed as a civil party, by its agents, to recover from the accused, if they be found guilty, an indemnity for the injury caused to the state. The produce of these pecuniary condemnations shall be applied to the payment of the extraordinary war contributions.

6. No alteration.

7.—1st. The children, the relations in the ascending and descending degrees, of Napoleon Buonaparte, his uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, his brothers, their wives and their descendants, his sisters, and their husbands, are excluded from the kingdom for ever.—They must depart from it within a month, under the penalties of the 91st article of the penal code. They cannot enjoy any civil right, or possess any property, titles, revenues, or pensions, gratuitously granted to them; and they must sell, within six months, all the property they possess by legal titles. 2d. Those regicides, who, in contempt of a clemency almost without bounds, have voted for the act additional, or accepted offices or employment under the usurper, and who, by such conduct, declared themselves the irreconcilable enemies of France, and of the legitimate government, are excluded from the kingdom for ever, and must depart from it within one month, under the penalties denounced in the 33d article of the penal code: "If the proscribed shall, during the term of his banishment, return within the territory of the kingdom, he shall, on the mere proof of his identity, be condemned to the punishment of transportation." They cannot enjoy any civil rights, or possess any property, titles, or pensions, gratuitously conferred on them.

The first of the unfortunate victims to these decrees was M. Labedoyere. The facts recorded in our preceding narrative were fully proved by the testimony of many credible witnesses, and he was found guilty, but several legal objections were advanced by his professional advisers, which were referred to a council of revision. Having considered the documents, the reporting judge expressed his opinion that the objections were not so serious as to justify the annulment of his sentence. New council then appeared, to re-argue the questions in dispute, and Messrs. Joly and Mauguin stated the case of the prisoner with great eloquence and effect. The latter again brought forward the objections founded on the incompetence of the councils at war, and the omission of legal and necessary forms. It was pleaded that Labedoyere knew not the Bourbons, had never sworn to them allegiance, and was exempted from all fidelity to Louis by the violation of his pledge to establish a free constitution. The flight of Louis to Ghent was represented as an abdication precisely similar to that of James II. of England, which had absolved his subjects from their allegiance.

"I do not endeavour," said M. Mauguin, "to exculpate my client from all that is imputed to him. Placed in one of those extraordinary situations which are happily rare in the history of nations and of kings, the monarch had to choose between pardon and justice. This choice had been made, and colonel Labedoyere has been brought before you. The natural judges of the accused are the councils of the 7th division. He had been transferred to the 1st division, because there was no council of war formed at Grenoble; but the king alone had not the right of making this transfer. It required an order from the judges of the court of cassation, and perhaps even a law enacted by the three branches of the legislative authority." Proceeding to consider the question of form, M. Mauguin endeavoured to establish:—1. That the second council of war had contravened the law, by not specifying in the minutes of its proceedings the place in which its session was held.—2. That the examination of the witnesses had not been regular. The judgment did not prove that they had been heard separately. They had not been required to make oath, but merely a simple promise to tell truth. They had not declared whether they were relations or allies of the accused.—3. The prisoner's defence was incomplete. Public notoriety proved that he had been interrupted in the middle of his speech. He was not allowed to justify his intentions, though tribunals for the investigation of crimes are obliged to examine, not merely the fact, but the intention by which it is rendered criminal.—4. It was refused to call witnesses in exculpation."

The president here asked, had the accused cited or designated any witnesses by name. M. Mauguin said he believed he had not. M. Mauguin said, that the ordonnance of the 6th of March did not apply to colonel Labedoyere; since the king had, by a proclamation issued at Cambray on the 27th of June, on his entering France, declared his intention to be, to deliver to the tribunals only the authors and instigators of the horrible plot which had brought back Buonaparte. The council had made a vague use of the words treason and rebellion. It should have been distinctly proved that colonel Labedoyere was an author or instigator of the plot. M. Ricard, procurer of the king, having answered these objections, the council withdrew to the hall of deliberation, and at one o'clock pronounced the following judgment:—"Considering that the second council was competent, that the proceedings have been regularly conducted, and the law rightly applied, declares unanimously that the said judgment is confirmed, and that it shall have its full and entire execution."

When the family of Labedoyere heard that the council of revision had confirmed his sentence, his wife, clad in deep mourning, appeared before the king, as he was entering his carriage, and falling at his feet exclaimed, "Pardon! Pardon! Sire!" "Madame!" replied the king, "I know your sentiments, and those of your family, and never was it more painful for me to pronounce a refusal. If M. Labedoyere had only offended me, his pardon should be granted, but all France demands the punishment of the man who has brought upon her the lamentable evils of war. I deign to promise my protection to you and your child." The mother of the unfortunate victim was prevented from seeing the king by those around him. Colonel Labedoyere displayed in his last moments the most touching fortitude. His appeal was heard on Saturday morning; at half-past one his sentence was confirmed, and at half-past six on the same evening he underwent his sentence. He was led to the plain of Grenelle, where, after receiving on his knees the benediction of his confessor, he rose up, and without waiting for his eyes to be bandaged, laid open his breast to the veterans who were to shoot him, and exclaimed, "*Surtout ne me manquez.*"—(Above all do not miss me.) An instant elapsed and he was no more!

The selection of Fouché to guide the councils of Louis was by no means voluntary on the part of the sovereign; but to the duke must be attributed all the subsequent humiliation of France, and all the proscriptions of her statesmen and generals. At the head of the provisional government he alone had acted, and kept his colleagues in a state of entire subservience. They feared they might impede his measures by acting with-

out his direction; and his mode of paralizing their efforts was to absent himself whenever measures were likely to be proposed by any other person. It was known that he was gone to lord Wellington; delay was the consequence, and Fouché gained a day which was lost to his country. It was thus that he prolonged the time, from June 22d to the 7th of July, without giving any explanation to his colleagues or to the chambers, or even to his intimate friends, whose lives were in danger from his impenetrable silence. It has lately been discovered, that in his negociations with the allies he had but one proposition to make—but one remedy for all evils: "Make me minister—I answer for the rest." He stipulated neither for France nor for any of his friends, but for his private interests and views. To him, next to the duke of Wellington, is owing the return of the Bourbons without any condition whatsoever.—Any other man, at the head of the provisional government, supported by the national representation, which was devoted to liberty, and assisted by an army of 70,000 men, with 800 pieces of cannon, would have saved the liberty of his country, even under the present dynasty. But Fouché looked only to himself; and as his first idea, in 1794, was to recover the place he had lost in society by the perpetration of his crimes, so his last thought, in 1815, was reconciliation with the court which he had so grievously offended. Having become a rich and important personage, under the auspices of the emperor, he was desirous to complete his titles under the patronage of the legitimate monarch.—Accordingly he betrayed his country, abandoned his friends, signed the warrants of their death, or the lists of their proscription, and succeeded for a time. He would then have returned to a better system, but it was too late. His reports were elegant and able, but they accelerated his downfal. He was the minister, it is true, of Louis the XVIII. but he was still remembered as the judge of Louis XVI. and he is now wandering over the face of the earth, less respected than any one of those whom he had a few weeks before delivered to the vengeance of the court.

In the zenith of his power he issued the subjoined:—

OFFICIAL NOTE,

By the duc d'Otranto, addressed to their excellencies the ministers of the allied powers.

In order to judge of our situation we must refer to what took place before the 20th of March. Buonaparte employed more than one artifice to resume and keep possession of the supreme power; and when a nation is skilfully cheated, nothing but the course of events can undeceive it. The illusion had already ceased in the mind of every wise man, before the reverses sustained by the army took place; but conviction is not produced in the minds of the multitude with so much facility; the causes of the evil were of long standing. The sovereigns had not time to observe while they were at Paris, that a revolution of twenty-five years cannot terminate without conciliations, without precautions, and without management. A great part of our calamities has arisen from this want of foresight. Why should the truth be now concealed? An imprudent and overwhelming zeal for the rules and maxims of the ancient monarchy led to the commission of many faults; alarms of more than one description were the result, as well as a fluctuation of opinion and a dissaffection towards the government. This moral opposition, which was known to the whole of Europe, did not escape the calculations of Buonaparte, and he had no need of any other invitation to throw himself into the midst of this discontent, and these elements of discord. In proportion as the perilous chances of a conspiracy, and the secrecy it would require, might have rendered all his projects abortive, in the same proportion he might calculate with a degree of certainty upon the stupor which great novelty produces, and that perplexity and confusion which seize the mind when suddenly struck by some bold and unexpected enterprise. A single, but decisive defection doubtless facilitated the entrance of Buonaparte into Grenoble, at the very moment when it was still possible to avoid the evils with which he threatened us. The crisis, besides, was so rapid, that in the short transition from hesitation to compliance, and from thence to the necessity of obedience, the most rigorous justice could

have discovered but few who were guilty, though even the dread of plunging into a civil war would have permitted here the application of revolt. It was difficult for the citizens to hinder what the government could not prevent.

Forced to explain himself with respect to that liberal and popular constitution which he had so pompously announced, public expectation was deceived to such a point that a cry of indignation was heard from one end of France to another. It is to be regretted, that at that decisive moment negociations were not opened, as well with the king as with the allied powers. The publication which Buonaparte made of his additional act to the constitutions of the empire, would have been, for him, the signal of his downfal. It was discovered also, though a little too late, that he had deceived us in regard to the forces which he said he possessed, and which he was about to sacrifice to his own desperate circumstances; but things were come to that extremity, that without a reverse, neither France nor the army could declare itself. The sovereigns had made promises, and we were ignorant of their designs, because, in fact, there was a good deal of ambiguity in their declarations. We were equally ignorant of the designs of the king, and it was feared, not only for himself, but also for the repose of France, that the ministers would persist in some of the errors of their preceding government. The chambers, on their side, would not run the risk of aggravating our miseries, by employing delusive remedies, or by anticipating events.—Above all, we were anxious to avoid deceiving ourselves as to the intentions of the sovereigns, and this it was which produced that want of unanimity which partly subsists at present. In short, it may be affirmed, that if the exclusion pronounced by the acts of congress upon the government of Buonaparte had been understood to apply to every other government except that of the king, France would have adopted means to prevent the war from taking place.

These considerations, though general, were indispensible in forming a correct judgment of our present situation. Buonaparte was irrevocably lost before his abdication: he no longer retained any influence, except over the soldiers, who fancied they should still find him invincible; but his last discomfiture had destroyed that only remaining charm. The army has submitted: if there be still any hesitation in France, it must be attributed to the ignorance of what is passing, to the uncertainty of the future. Negociations for peace have not yet commenced; the people know none of the intentions of the allied powers; the truth is, that France is only anxious to strengthen her union with her monarch. The allied sovereigns desire that France should be calm and tranquil with respect to all parts of her territory; it is in their power to produce that effect; it will be sufficient to announce that the war is finished, and France will be at once pacified. This declaration may not perhaps be consistent with the ordinary rules of diplomacy; but it is necessary. A pacification would prejudge nothing; it would only terminate calamities; the rest of our troubles would soon be got over. Every one would obey the king. We should no longer separate the interests of the people from those of the throne.

The brothers, and the other members of his family, have no credit in France. They have neither the qualities which inspire confidence, nor those which give influence; it may be necessary, however, to remove them. Without being at all dangerous, personally considered, false hopes might animate them, and induce them to become the instruments of others: the same spirit of precaution may apply to other individuals. But these individuals are few in number; for on this point there is more danger in extending applications than in limiting them. We should never behold in public disorders any thing beyond the first cause which produces them: all ceases with that cause; and it has always been seen endeavours to detect a faction only serves to create new ones.

The sovereigns desire to know who were the abettors, the instigators, and the authors of the return of Buonaparte. We venture to say that it was the particular state of France which, as a principal cause, produced his return. If we were to undertake a rigorous enquiry, we must necessarily enter into

the details of grievances which existed, of the imprudent conduct which occasioned those grievances, and of the government who permitted, and in some degree legitimated them.

Those who were honoured with the confidence of the monarch, and who were infamous enough to betray him, are for ever dishonoured in public opinion. After the proclamation of the king, they ought to be surrendered to justice by the chambers.—There are difficulties in conciliating all, in pacifying all immediately; but time, moderation, and a wise dispensation of honours and employments, will have all the success that can be desired.

The twelfth article of the convention of Paris stipulated as follows:—"Private persons and property shall be equally respected. The inhabitants, and in general all individuals who shall be in the capital, shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being disturbed, or called to account, either as to the situation which they hold, or may have occasion to hold, or as to *their conduct or political opinions*." On the very first reading of this article, nothing can be clearer than that it promises a universal oblivion of every thing that had occurred. It is almost impossible that language can be more significant and decisive. But it is replied, that the capitulation of Paris related exclusively to the military occupation of the city, and that the object of the 12th article was to prevent any measures of severity, under the military authority of those who made it, towards any persons in Paris, on account of any conduct or political opinions.

The answer to this is obvious: the military commanders, and no foreign power, had any right to adopt measures of severity on account of political conduct or opinions. No law of nations ever did or can give to an invading general the right to judge that conduct and those political opinions which have reference only to their own sovereign or government. The French had not sworn allegiance to the foreign powers, nor become amenable to their laws. The article, therefore, can have no reference to the allied commanders. It refers to that power alone which had the right to punish, or it is altogether without meaning.

If it be asked what was the intention of the commissioners, the author is unable to give a satisfactory answer. Two of the French commissioners were called to the bar of the peers, and were ready to swear that it had reference to the return of the Bourbons, and that this was expressly understood at the time. The duke of Wellington has unequivocally stated that it was never intended to prevent the French government from acting as it pleased.

It has been urged that the king of France did not ratify the convention. But he took advantage of it; he entered his capital in consequence of it; and he never disavowed it. Had the king meant to have refused to ratify it, Paris should have been placed in the situation in which it was previous to the convention: but when he was perfectly aware that the convention was made in the name of the sovereigns,—when he knew that he had empowered the gallant generals to make what arrangements they thought proper,—when he uttered not one expression of disapprobation, but hurried on to take every advantage of the treaty, it was pitiful, it was disgraceful, afterwards to plead that he had not ratified the treaty, and was not bound by its conditions.

The question derives additional interest from what has since occurred. Lavalette, the post-master-general, who was likewise in Paris at the time of the convention, was accused of a treasonable connection with the conspiracy of Buonaparte, found guilty, and condemned to die. We shall have occasion to record his trial, when we narrate the accusation and imprisonment of our countrymen for aiding in his deliverance. The king of Bavaria, to whom he was related by intermarriage, interfered, and demanded not merely the full and unconditional pardon of Lavalette, but "his free and entire acquittal in virtue of Art. 12 of the convention of the 3d of July, which guaranteed the lives and properties of all those, then in Paris, who had taken any part in the revolution."

This evidently shews the interpretation which one of the coalesced sovereigns put on this article. The French court was stag-

gered. Its desire of revenge would not permit it to retreat, and it apprehended many dangers in proceeding. Most opportunely Lavalette *effected his escape on the night before his appointed execution.*

But the irritation of the Bourbons could not be appeased, and the renowned and gallant Ney became the victim of their mistaken policy. On the return of the king to his capital, the general had set out with the intention of retiring to a foreign country, but having experienced many difficulties in passing to the frontier, he retired into Auvergne, in the environs of Aurillac, where he fixed his residence with a relation of his wife. His name was comprised in the ordonnance of the 24th of July, and he was arrested on the 25th of August.

An officer of the *gendarmerie* (M. Jaumard), in whose hands he was placed, was charged to conduct him to Paris. Before the journey, the marshal gave his word of honour to the officer not to make any attempt to escape. This officer had formerly served under the orders of the marshal, and he thought fit to rely on the word of his former general. He had no reason to repent his confidence.

Between Moulieur and Aurillac, marshal Ney and his conductor stopped in a village to take some instant of repose. After the repast, a public functionary of the neighbourhood came to inform the officer of *gendarmerie*, that at some distance thence he would find on the road persons posted, who had formed a plan to carry off the marshal. The latter was in the same room where this communication took place; some words that he heard gave him an easy insight into the subject of the conversation; he advanced, and said to the officer, "Captain, I shall merely remind you that I have given you my word of honour to go with you to Paris; if, contrary to my expectation, and to all probability, an attempt is made to carry me off, I shall demand arms of you to oppose the attempts that may be made on my person, and to fulfil to the end the sacred promise which I have made to you." The travellers continued their journey, and no attempt was made to carry off the marshal.

Arrived within four leagues of Paris, marshal Ney found at an inn his lady, who had come to meet him in an hired chaise. They had together a conversation of two hours; at the end of this time the marshal told the captain that he was ready to go on: some tears flowed from his eyes. "Do not be surprised," said he to the officer, "if I have not been able to restrain my tears. It is not for myself I weep, but for the fate of my children; when my children are concerned I am no longer master of my sorrow." The marshal and his wife mounted the fiacre, the officer of the *gendarmerie* placed himself in it, and a servant of his lady mounted behind the coach. It was thus they arrived at Paris, August 19th. After having passed the streets of the capital, the coach arrived at the end of the street De Sevres; the officer of *gendarmerie* alighted to seek another vehicle, at sixty or eighty paces distant.—The marshal bade adieu to his wife, ascended the second fiacre, and alighted in the military prison of the Abbaye.

On the morning of the 7th of November, the day appointed for his trial, a detachment of each legion of the national guard, piquets of *gendarmerie*, &c. were stationed at the Palace of Justice, and in the environs.

The service of the interior of the palace was performed by national guards and veterans. The place for the accused was near his advocate, in the semi-circular space below the bench of the judges.

The confluence of persons to hear the trial was prodigious. Prince Augustus of Prussia, lord and lady Castlereagh, and some other persons of distinction, occupied the places reserved for them.

The opening of the sitting was delayed by the following incident:—

Massena, prince of Essling, conceived that delicacy dictated his refusal to assist as judge of the prince of Moskwa. He founded his refusal upon an old enmity produced by some very warm differences that had arisen between them in Spain.

The council of war deliberated upon the validity of the motive urged by marshal Massena, and decided that it was impossible the slight resentment of a general of an army could operate upon the conscience of a judge

The marshal then took his seat among the members of the council.

Lieutenant-general Gazan replaced count Maison, being an older general.

After the reading of divers letters relative to the convocation and formation of the council of war, marshal Jourdan notified to lieutenant-general Grundler, the reporter, to begin reading the papers. The first were, the two ordonnances of the 24th July and 2d August, relative to the individuals to be tried by the council of war of the first division.

The next papers were—

Proces verbal of the arrest of the marshal by the commissary of police of Aurillac, who arrested him, and received from him a portefeuille with several letters.

A passport for the marshal and his suite, and some letters, one of which intreats him to give the preference to Louisiana.

Letters from the minister of war in March last to the marshal. The marshal's letters to the minister, promising to do every thing to defeat the plots of Buonaparte.

Next followed the proclamation of Ney to the troops on the 13th March, beginning with these words:—"The cause of the Bourbons is lost for ever," &c.

A letter from Ney, ordering the arrest, in the name of the emperor, of generals Bourmont, Lecourbe, Laure, Jarry, Jennetiere, Duras, Couet, count Scey, and the mayor of Dole.

The secretary to the council now read the interrogatories of the marshal before the prefect of police.

INTERROGATORIES OF MARSHAL NEY BY THE PREFECT OF THE POLICE.

The first interrogatory.

Q. When you received information of the new landing of Buonaparte, did you offer your services to his majesty? A. I did not offer my services to his majesty; I left my estate near Chateaudun, in consequence of an order which I received from the minister of war, appointing me governor of the military division. But I have to observe that I am not bound to answer your questions.—According to the laws of the kingdom, I am not liable to be tried by a military commission, but by the house of peers. Besides, I know not what your quality is. I perceive indeed from your dress that you belong to the king's government, but nothing proves to me in what character you appear here.

Q. You cannot be ignorant of my office. I am introduced into your apartment by the keeper of this prison, whom you every day see. A. I do not refuse to answer your questions, but I think I might be assisted by my counsel.

Q. When did you arrive at Paris? A. On the 9th.

Q. What induced you to proceed to Paris? A. An order from the minister of war, which directed me to proceed to Besancon.

Q. Why did you not proceed directly to that destination? A. I would have gone to Besançon, but having no uniforms, I came to Paris for them.

Q. Did you ask an audience of his majesty before your departure? A. I made in fact that request, but the minister refused it, under the pretext that his majesty was indisposed. I saw the duke de Berri at six in the morning, and afterwards waited on the king.

Q. What did you say to his majesty? A. I stated that the minister of war having ordered me to depart, I had waited on his majesty to ask such instructions as he pleased to give me.

Q. What did the king say to you? A. That he relied on my zeal and devotedness.

Q. What answer did you make? A. I believe I replied that this was an act of madness, and that if he (Buonaparte) were taken he deserved to be brought to Paris in an iron cage. I know it has been reported that I promised to bring him in an iron cage, but I do not think I said that.

I also stated that Buonaparte was very criminal in having broken his outlawry. I afterwards made the same observation to himself, but he laughed at it.

Q. Did you not ask his majesty for money at that interview? A. I know it has been publicly reported that I received 500,000 francs, but that is false. The prefect of Besançon offered me money if I wanted it.

Q. On taking leave of the king did not you kiss his hand? A. I do not well recollect that incident. Yes, I believe I did in

fact kiss his majesty's hand, when he presented it on my taking leave.

Q. Did you not receive orders from Buonaparte before your arrival at Besançon?—A. No, I received no orders except from the minister at war, the duke de Berri, and his majesty.

Q. On arriving at Lons-le-Saulnier did you not receive an agent from Buonaparte? A. On the 13th, at two in the morning, I received an agent, whom I supposed to be an officer of the guard in disguise, and who had lost an arm. He delivered to me, on the part of general Bertrand, the proclamation which I published on the 14th. I say the proclamation, and not my proclamation, because it was sent to me ready drawn up.

Q. How came you to determine upon publishing that proclamation? A. Before causing it to be read to the troops, I communicated it to generals Bourmont and ———, and asked them what I ought to do? Bourmont replied, that the Bourbons had committed great faults, and that they ought to be abandoned. In the morning I assembled the troops, and read the proclamation, which was printed two hours after.

Q. Do you affirm that you did not write to Buonaparte before the 14th, and that you sent no officers to him? A. I neither wrote nor sent officers to him. Before reading the proclamation to the troops on the 14th, I assembled the senior officers of several regiments. I harangued them in a manner favourable to the interests of the king, and declared that if I observed the least hesitation among any of them, I would punish them with the greatest severity.

Q. Did you on the 14th exhort the troops to abandon the cause of the king, and espouse that of Buonaparte? A. It is true I did. I was impelled—I did wrong; of that there is no doubt.

At the close of this examination, the marshal said, "I have been often tempted to blow out my brains; but I have not done it because I wish to vindicate myself. I know I have done much wrong, for which good men will blame me. I blame myself; but I am not a traitor; I was drawn on. Had I wished to betray, I should have given false information to Suchet, when he wrote to me that his troops were in a state of fermentation."

Second interrogatory.

The second interrogatory was next read. We shall endeavour to report such points of it as are not included in the preceding.

Q. If you did not correspond with Buonaparte before your arrival at Lons-le-Saulnier, why did you so soon change your resolution? A. Why do you ask? One might say that a dyke had broken. I was disconcerted by the bad news which was circulating, and by the terrors which the prefect of Doubs had created. I had lost my head; I stood in no relation with things as they were; I was doubtless wrong in reading the proclamation, but I was impelled by circumstances.

Q. What did Bertrand say to you in the first letter he wrote? A. He gave me orders—"You must have 100 pieces of cannon," he said,—"if you want any, I have found 500 at Grenoble. He said nothing respecting the king; he expressed himself as if the Bourbons had never appeared.

Q. When did you see Buonaparte? A. At Auxerre, on the ——

Q. What did he say to you at that interview? A. He told me that he could have caused the king and the royal family to be arrested, but that he was sure of Paris. He spoke of his dinner on board of an English vessel in the road of the isle of Elba, and mentioned the French generals who were present. He told me that his project was certain, and had been prepared by a long combination. He spoke to me of all that had passed at Paris, of the dinner at the Hotel de Ville, to which he said the marshals had not been invited. He told me that my wife had not been invited, which was not correct, and appeared to be well informed of every thing. I believe it was he who informed me of the disgrace of Soult.

He spoke much of Soult's system, which had placed two lieutenants-general in each military division, one of whom corresponded with himself only; so that there was in each department one general for the king and another for the minister.

Q. Did not Buonaparte *tutoyer* you (speak in the second person singular) in this interview, and did he not remind you of former

connections. A. No; he never *thoued* me; he spoke of my campaigns, and called me "the brave among the brave;" an appellation which he used often to give me.

At the end of this examination the marshal said, "I left Paris with the intention of sacrificing my life for the king. What I did was a great evil. I lost myself. I would have gone to the United States, where I wished to remain for the honour of my children."

INTERROGATORIES BEFORE GENERAL GRUNDLER.

The two examinations of the marshal before general Grundler were then read.

Before the first examination the marshal presented a paper in objection to the jurisdiction of the council of war.

The marshal also gave an account of his arrest, and of the plan which he had for proceeding to Paris. He said he knew nothing of the landing of Buonaparte before the 7th of March, when he came to Paris in consequence of the orders of the minister at war.

He reverted to the letter he had read on the 13th at Lons-le-Saulnier, in which general Bertrand informed him that Buonaparte's enterprise was concerted with Austria and England. He said that after that letter he believed all opposition useless.

The court proceeded to the reading the depositions of the witnesses.

M. Bastardy, notary of the marshal, deposed that he announced to the marshal at Paris, on the 7th of March, the news of the landing of Buonaparte. The marshal exclaimed—"What a misfortune!—what will they do?" and other exclamations of surprise.

Phillippe de Segur, marshal-de-camp, deposed that on the 7th of March the marshal informed him of the news of Buonaparte's landing: that the marshal expressed himself like a faithful servant of the king.

The prince de Poix declared, that he was at the audience of the king when the marshal was admitted: the king said to him, "Set off—I rely on your fidelity." The marshal replied, that he would do his utmost to bring Buonaparte in an iron cage. He kissed the king's hand and departed."

General Mermet deposed, that he had been placed under arrest by the marshal, on account of the orders he had given for the king's service.

Marquis de Sorans, aid-de-camp of Monsieur, was sent to the duke de Berri. He met marshal Ney, who carried him to Lons-le-Saulnier. The disposition of the army appeared disquieting. The marshal re-assured him. Afterwards the marshal received the proclamations of Buonaparte. The witness set off again on the 13th with dispatches for the marshal, who appeared to shew the best principles.

The duke de Duras, first gentleman of the king's chamber, confirmed the deposition of the prince de Poix.

M. de St. Amour, staff officer, was sent to Grenoble, which he could not reach. He returned to Lyons to Monsieur. The fidelity of the troops was then doubtful. The witness left Lyons and proceeded towards Lons-le-Saulnier to find marshal Ney, and engage him to retire on the side of Moulins. He found him at Quingey, and related to him the whole he had seen. The marshal appeared afflicted, but persisted in fighting Buonaparte. The witness returned to Besançon.

In the second interrogatory before the general reporter, the marshal allowed that he knew of the ordonnance of the 6th March, which placed Buonaparte out of the law, but not in an official manner.

The count de Scey, formerly prefect of Doubs, declared that marshal Ney arrived on the 10th of March at Besançon, and demanded from him 15,000 francs, which he refused; that he afterwards received only one letter from the marshal.

The count de la Jennetiere, a superior officer, deposed, that having learnt the disembarkation of Buonaparte, he offered his services to the count de Bourmont, who accepted them. He then proceeded to Lons-le-Saulnier, with his officers, where, on the 14th of March, the marshal read his proclamation to the troops, and embraced the generals. The witness then went to Dole, where he wrote to the marshal a letter, which was read; and which proved that the witness gave in his resignation, not being willing to compromise his honour.

On the 12th and 13th of March the marshal continued to persuade the troops to remain faithful to the king.

The witness supposed that many officers did remain faithful. He adds, that the proclamation and conduct of marshal Ney greatly influenced the conduct of the army, and contributed to withdraw it from the king.

He does not believe the marshal had any communications with Buonaparte previous to the 13th of March.

The witness saw the signature of general Bertrand affixed to a note which marshal Ney said he had received from him, and in which it was declared that the enterprise of Buonaparte was concerted with foreign powers.

The deposition of marshal Suchet, duke of Albufera, was then read. He declared that he had only had relations of service with marshal Ney during the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th of March. These relations were confined to three dispatches which he received from the marshal, and which described the measures taken by him against Buonaparte.

His excellency the marshal duke of Reggio declared, that he had received, in March last, only two letters from marshal Ney, which were directed to madame Ney, and which she would produce.

M. de Bourgiac, sub-prefect of Polegny, declared, that on the night between the 11th and 12th of March he saw a voiture de post, and two general officers alight from it. They were marshal Ney and general de Bourmont. He requested them to come to his house, and they accepted his invitation. The marshal expressed the utmost inveteracy against Buonaparte; they set out at midnight, and the sub-prefect did not see them again.

M. Dulaur, lieutenant-general, declared that, on the 14th of March, after having heard the proclamation of marshal Ney, he retired; that the marshal then issued an order for his arrest; but that this order was afterwards revoked.

M. Pierre Boulogne, a merchant of Paris, declared that, on the 12th of March, he returned from Lyons to Paris, by Lons-le-Saulnier. He was carried before marshal Ney: he informed him of Buonaparte's entrance into Lyons and the details of that event. The marshal said that he had concerted with marshal Massena, who would shortly arrive; that the enterprise of Buonaparte was nothing; and that it would never succeed.

The declaration of M. Garnier, formerly mayor of Dole, was next heard. He deposed, that having seen marshal Ney on the 15th of March, he heard him use the most incendiary language against the august dynasty of the Bourbons; that the marshal caused the city of Dole to be illuminated, and issued the proclamation which he had read the night before at Lons-le-Saulnier. The witness was to have been arrested; but he concealed himself for thirty-two days in a forest, and thus escaped. He believes that the marshal might have stopped the enterprise of Buonaparte.

Lieutenant-general count de Bourmont deposed, that on the 5th of March he was informed of the disembarkation of Buonaparte. He marched the troops from Besançon to Lyons, according to the orders of Monsieur. From the 12th to the 14th of March he was under the orders of marshal Ney, at Lons-le-Saulnier. The marshal declared it to be necessary to oppose Buonaparte. He reports the measures which they took in concert with each other.

On the 15th of March, the marshal read to him a proclamation which he wished to publish; he opposed this publication as much as was in his power, and endeavoured to bring back the marshal to his duty towards the king. The marshal read the proclamation to the soldiers. It excited cries of *Vive l'Empereur*.

The witness is of opinion that if, on taking precautions, battle had been given, the troops might have remained faithful to the king; but the proclamation defeated every thing. The subaltern officers and soldiers impelled the superior officers and generals, many of whom retired. The declaration of general count de Bourmont mentions officers who remained faithful to the king.

Field-marshal Guy made a declaration, which was read. He deposed, that being at Lons-le-Saulnier, on half-pay, he visited marshal Ney on the 12th of March, who engaged him to remain faithful to the king.

The witness only knows by hearsay the measures which were taken for the defence of the country. He was at breakfast with general Jarry when the marshal read his proclamation, which was succeeded by cries of *Vive l'Empereur.*

The declaration of the late lieutenant-general Lecourbe was read. He was at his estate at Ruffry when, on the 5th of March, he learnt the disembarkation of Buonaparte. He proceeded to marshal Ney, at Lons-le-Saulnier. The marshal gave him the command of one or two divisions which he formed. The officers were excellent.

On the 15th of March, the marshal assembled his generals and informed them that they could no longer hesitate, and that it was necessary to join Buonaparte. He disregarded the observations of M. Bourmont, and the witness, and read his proclamation to them. The witness was near the marshal when he read the proclamation to the troops. It produced the most fatal effects; but the witness adds that, at that period, they were so near Lyons, that it would have been difficult to repress the soldiers for any length of time.

M. de Beurogard, chief of a squadron of gendarmerie, said, that after having read his proclamation to the troops, marshal Ney embraced them all, even the fifers and drummers, and that he endeavoured in vain to compel the witness to call out *Vive l'Empereur!*

Baron Capelle, prefect of Ain, declared that generals de Bourmont and Lecourbe, and marshal Ney himself, informed him that the return of Buonaparte was contrived by marshal Ney, other marshals, the minister of war, and madame Hortense. The duke of Orleans was at first thought of, but after having learnt with certainty that that prince would not favour the projects of the conspirators, they were obliged to accept the proposals of madame Hortense.

The prefect of Cruise deposed, that he informed the marshal of his firm resolution to remain faithful to the king, and that the marshal replied—*You are acting foolishly;* adding (says the prefect,) insults and outrages against the princes, which respect will not permit me to repeat; and that the marshal terminated this interview by the following words, which he pronounced with a firm voice:—*We must have another dynasty.*

Several other depositions tended deeply to inculpate the accused. None, however, shewed that he had either demanded or received money before his departure from Paris.

SECOND SITTING, NOV. 10.

The sitting was opened at 11 o'clock.

The reporter.—"I am about to read to the court some documents which are not testimonies: they are letters, or mere notes, which can only be considered as notices.

The first documents were signed by M. Walther, lieutenant in the 63d regiment of the line, by Messrs. Curel, senior and junior, and M. Foutrier.

They went to state, that in April last marshal Ney, conversing at Metz with the officers of the garrison, held the most outrageous language against the king and the royal family. He said to officers of the 63d, "Have you in your regiment any of those voltigeurs of Louis XIV.? If you have any, you must chase them out like the plague. The king said he felt proud of commanding the French, but he was not worthy of them."

Lieutenant Curel, of the regiment of the crown, ascribed to Ney the following expressions in the same conversation:—"The emperor is the greatest man of his age; the conversion which has been produced began by the head of the column."

Of the same interview, M. Foutrier related the following still stronger expressions:—"The cause of the Bourbons is lost: that degenerate race regards the French as cattle, and would make the nation retrograde to the 10th century; they have committed a theft by carrying off the diamonds which belonged to the French people."

M. Bellenet confirmed, in his written declaration, many of the expressions which we have retraced with a painful feeling; but he asserted that he never heard issue from the marshal's mouth any personal attack on the king.

Captains Casse and ——, of the 42d regiment, gave written declarations as to conversation held by marshal Ney, on passing

through Condé, in May last. The marshal then expressed himself nearly as follows:—"If you saw me at the Thuilleries, before my departure, caress the king, it was only the better to deceive him. He was not calculated for reigning; the members of that family scarcely know how to speak. Had the king given me twenty times the value of the Thuilleries, I would not have served him. I bore the emperor in my heart."

According to M. Casse, the marshal should have said, "that the king was neither legitimate nor a Frenchman; that after remaining twenty-five years in England, one ought not to acknowledge him; that he did not appear a Frenchman, but an Iroquois."

M. Favre deposed, that after the return of Buonaparte he went to the Thuilleries, about some business, with marshal Bertrand. By mistake he fell into conversation with marshal Ney. M. Favre did not conceal his attachment to the Bourbons. The marshal said to him—"My brave fellow, you love the king:—well—do not be uneasy—remain tranquil."

The reporter then announced another document, written by a judicial functionary at Dijon, but not signed.

The president—"If it is not signed"—

The reporter—"It was sent to me by the keeper of the seals; and it becomes my duty to read all those pieces, even though anonymous."

Marshal Mortier—"It appears to me that papers not signed cannot be read."

M. Joinville, the king's attorney, assented to this, and the court decided that all such documents should be put aside.

M. Bousquet, a printer, at Beziers, stated in a letter the substance of a conversation he had had with an officer of marshal Ney's staff. The latter said, he was present when Ney read to him, and general Lecourbe, a dispatch from Buonaparte, and delivered a fiery speech to induce them to join the ranks of the usurper. He concluded by complaining that his wife had been, as he said, vilified at court.

M. Belney deposed, before the prefect of the Upper Saone, that Ney said to him, at the end of March, "Maria Louisa and her son are about to arrive, we shall have no difficulty in reconquering the left bank of the Rhine."

The reporter (general Grundler) then read the two last examinations which had been taken of Ney.

In these the marshal denied all knowledge of the conversations imputed to him by the mayor of Dole, by M. Capelle, and M. Vaulchier, prefect of Jura: he had never boasted of having correspondence with the isle of Elba.

"I first learned," he added, "the landing of Buonaparte from M. Bestardy, my notary. I never had any conversation with any of the marshals of France, nor with the then minister at war, respecting the return of Buonaparte. I equally deny all connection with the duchess of St. Leu; I never was at her house since the epoch of the abdication of Buonaparte at Fontainbleau. I was invited to dine at her home with the marquis de Riviere; but I declined going, under pretence of indisposition."

The marshal required the insertion in his examination of the petition which had been presented to the king by his wife, relative to the alleged incompetence of the court-martial. The marshal not only demanded the chamber of peers as his natural judges, but complained also of the mode of formation of the court-martial.

Q. Was it your inclination to go into Switzerland?—Yes, but my passport was antedated.

Q. Why was there found in your papers a passport under the name of Neubourg?—That was concerted with the minister of police, that I might the more easily preserve my incognito.

In answer to the charges contained in the declarations of Messrs. Walther, Turel, Casse, Foutrier, &c. his reply was as follows:

"I set off for Lille on the 23d March, by order of Buonaparte. I there received a very long letter from him. He charged me to visit the fortresses and hospitals on a very extended line, as extraordinary commissioner of the government; I was empowered to change the functionaries. It is known that I exercised this power with great moderation. The authorities visited me; I of course spoke to them of the new government; but I never

held any of that language that has been ascribed to me respecting the royal family. I received a formal order not to detain any member of the Bourbon family, but even to favour their departure.

" All the measures which I took up to the 14th of March were for the king's interest. If I had had ammunition, and could have depended on the spirit of the troops, I should have been attacked, notwithstanding my inferiority in numbers. The spirit of the country parts was daily getting worse. If in these circumstances I erred, I at least wished, above all, to save my country: I never wished to betray the king."

Q. What was your force in infantry, cavalry, and artillery, at Lons-le-Saulnier, on the 13th of March? A. Three regiments of the line, two of cavalry; the gun-carriages were not serviceable.

Q. What ammunition had you? A. Some soldiers had fifty cartridges; others none: we were deficient in lead.

The president.—" The reading of the documents being now terminated, the accused is about to make his appearance. I must remind the public that all marks of applause or disapprobation are prohibited. I have directed the commandant of the guard to remove every person who shall not conduct himself with the respect that is due to the court, and to misfortune."

Here the proceedings were suspended for a few minutes. The scene became highly interesting, since the principal personage was to make his appearance. What a subject for meditation to the observer, to find between those who had been long rivals in glory, the immense interval which separates a person accused from his judges. All eyes were turned towards that door by which a marshal of France was to enter, for the first time, the sanctuary of justice.

Marshal Ney was introduced by captain Hendelin. His countenance was firm and assured. No emotion was depicted on his physiognomy. It would appear as if the habit of strong impressions, which he must have contracted in his military career, prevented him from exhibiting their effects.—He was in a plain military blue frock, without embroidery, with the epaulets of his rank, the ribband of St. Louis, and the plate of the legion of honour; he wore a crape round his arm, in consequence of a recent loss; and he sat down on an arm-chair in the centre of the semicircular space in front of his judges. Several officers of gendarmerie, seated at some distance, and two sentinels, the one a national guard, and the other a veteran, served as his escort. Before sitting down, he bowed to his judges.

The president.—" What is your name, your place of birth, and description?"

Marshal Ney then rose with impetuosity, and read the following speech:—

" From deference to the marshals of France and the lieutenants-general, I have consented to reply to the questions which were put to me, in their name, by the mareschal de camp Grundler, not wishing to obstruct the course of proceedings commenced against me. But introduced before a tribunal, I now think it my duty to abstain from answering every question that might tend to acknowledge the legitimacy of my mode of trial. Without, therefore, failing in the respect which I owe to Messieurs the marshals of France, and the lieutenants-general, I declare that I decline the competence of any court-martial to try me, and I formally demand to be brought before the judges who are assigned to me by the constitutional charter.

" A stranger to matters of jurisprudence, I demand permission of the court to develope my reasons by the organ of my defender."

The president, marshal Jourdan, received the declinatory declaration of the accused; he at the same time observed to him, that to ascertain his identity, it was essential that he should reply to the questions put to him as to his name, surname, quality, and the orders with which he was decorated; but his answers would no way compromise him.

The marshal replied as follows to the questions thus put:—

" My name is Michael Ney, born at Sano Louis, the —— February 1769, marshal of France, duke of Elchingen, prince of the Moskwa, knight of St. Louis, grand cordon of the legion of honour, knight of the iron crown, grand cross of the order of Christ."

M. Berryer.—" The first sentiment which I feel on addressing this august assembly, has

in it something even more sweet and consoling than the most perfect security and the most immovable confidence. I fix my eyes with respect and admiration on this imposing conclave of the first personages of the state, clothed in military purple, and whose names, dear to their country, belong already to future times. But I ask, why these senators of the camp are met in this Areopagus. I fancy myself transported into a temple consecrated to bravery, and I cannot understand what is the object of this company of warriors, what magisterial duties they come to exercise. When I look on him who is brought thither, although now without arms, without any mark of his dignity, and preserving only the uniform of heroes, what a long series of brilliant actions, of glorious services, of acts of intrepidity and of devotion to his country, present themselves to my thoughts, and ennoble him!

"However, a grave accusation is brought against him, proceeding from the government itself; and for an accumulation of misfortune, the moment of justification is not yet arrived.

"Although the marshal would be anxious to justify himself, in order to be restored without reproach to his afflicted family, he refuses to acknowledge the jurisdiction of this council. What is the motive of this temporising? Could he find elsewhere more just appreciation of his political and military conduct? He would wish to be tried by his brave companions in arms, if he was not convinced of your incompetence."

The advocate here divided his discussion into three parts.

1. That crimes of high treason ought to be tried by the chamber of peers, by the terms of the 33d article of the charter.

2. Peers of France can only be tried criminally by the chamber of peers. The same holds good with respect to marshals and grand officers of the crown, who are not essentially part of the army.

3. The composition of the tribunal is not legal, even on the supposition that a marshal is subject to military trial; for marshals bear no analogy to commanders in chief, who may be tried by officers of the same rank.

"The imposing authority (he continued) of the royal ordonnance of the 24th of July ought not to bind down your jurisdiction; and if it were necessary, I would appeal, with the Macedonian, *to Philip, when better informed of the object in dispute.*"

He then developed his three propositions. He established his point, that, according to the charter, the chamber of peers is alone competent to take cognizance of high treason and of state offences.

He did not dissemble the objection arising from the royal ordonnance of the 6th of May, by which all the adherents of Buonaparte were given up to councils of war, but he maintained that the time of crisis being past, the regular order of judicial proceedings should be restored.

He instanced the case of M. de Lavalette, who, having been originally comprised in the ordonnance of the 24th July, in order to be tried by a military tribunal, had, by a subsequent order, been committed to his regular judges. On the point, whether marshals were triable by military councils, the advocate, after a glowing eulogium on the character of the judges, and of the title of marshal, shewed by numerous examples the privileges which marshals of France had always enjoyed and claimed.

On the last point, he contended, that the accused, as marshal, had a right to decline the authority of the court, because the marshals, as grand dignitaries of the empire, are styled cousins by the king, and are not necessarily a part of the army, like generals in chief. Analogies on subjects like these were dangerous.

"You have (concluded the advocate) open before you the sacred book of our liberties; the charter on which are engraven the titles of marshal Ney. Your consciences (as heroes) feel the price of the deposit which is intrusted to you. Pronounce."

General Grundler (the reporter) spoke to the following effect:—"The country mourns this day to see placed in the ranks of the accused, one of its hitherto most glorious defenders. Fatal result of our political dissensions! Fatal error, which brings down the sword of justice on one who ought to have been its firmest supporter.

"In times of revolution, crimes are not

always punished with impartiality. You will afford an illustrious example of a military tribunal deliberating calmly, in the midst of the general effervescence of passions, on the case of an unfortunate accused. The eyes of France, of all Europe, are upon us. We shall leave this assembly with untouched consciences, and without dreading the judgment of our contemporaries, or of posterity."

The general reporter (the king's advocate-general) then entered into a learned research on the origin of the privileges of the peerage, and on the origin and prerogatives of the marshals of France. And in his view of the subject, the chamber of peers is the only tribunal that could judge criminally a peer of France.

He denied that the marshal had lost the right of being tried by his peers, by accepting the peerage under Buonaparte. An accused should always be tried according to the quality which he possessed at the time of committing the offence.

He pointed out the absurdity which might follow, if the sentence of this court (its competence being allowed) should go according to the regular routine of military appeals, to be investigated before the usual but inferior court of revision, which was by law composed merely of persons of the rank of colonels, and officers lower than colonels. He asked if a court composed of such dignitaries as marshals of France should have their acts revised by such a council.

He then gave nine different reasons against the competence of the court, but did not make any positive inferences, leaving all to the wisdom of the council.

The function of public administration in military courts being divided between the king's reporter and the king's procureur, M. Joinville, in this last quality, entered into an argument diametrically opposite to the preceding.

The competence of the court seemed to him fully established by the ordonnances of the 6th of March and the 24th of July. The charter allowed to the king extraordinary measures, when requisite for the public safety. Marshal Ney had abdicated his rank by accepting the peerage under Buonaparte. General Moreau was tried by a similar tribunal, and could marshal Ney demand other judges than such as were allotted to general Moreau?

Marshal Ney was conducted back to the prison of the Conciergerie. The council retired at four o'clock, and in half an hour the president, in open court, pronounced the following judgment:—

"The council having deliberated on the question of its competence to try marshal Ney, has decided, by a majority of five voices against two, that it is not competent to try marshal Ney.

"It directs the marshal-de-camp Grundler, the reporter, to acquaint marshal Ney with this judgment."

The court broke up at half-past four o'clock.

CHAMBER OF PEERS.

Bulletin of the sitting of the 11th Nov.

The sitting was opened at two o'clock.

The minister of the interior presented to the chamber a plan of law on departmental companies, as adopted by the deputies. He detailed the motives of this plan.

Ordered to be printed and distributed.

At five o'clock, the ministers of the king, accompanied by the attorney-general of the royal court of Paris, brought into the chamber an ordonnance of the king, dated this day, and of which the following is the text.

"Louis, by the grace of God, &c.

"Considering the 33d article of the constitutional charter, and having heard our ministers, we have decreed and do decree as follows:—

"The chamber of peers shall proceed, without delay, to the trial of marshal Ney, accused of high treason, and of an outrage against the safety of the state.

"It will observe, on the trial, the same forms as on the proposition of laws, without, however, dividing itself into bureaux.

"The president of the chamber shall question the prisoner during the audience, and shall regulate the debates.

"The opinions shall be taken according to the forms used in the tribunals.

"The present ordonnance shall be carried to the chamber of peers by our ministers, secretaries of state, and by our attorney-general of the royal court of Paris, whom we

charge to support the accusation and the discussion.

"Done at the palace of the Thuilleries, the 11th November 1815, and of our reign the 21st.

"LOUIS.

(Countersigned) "RICHELIEU."

The duke of Richelieu, president of the cabinet, detailed to the chamber the motives of this ordonnance. His speech was as follows:—

"My Lords—The extraordinary court-martial established for the trial of marshal Ney has declared itself incompetent. I shall not mention all the reasons on which their opinion is founded. Suffice it to say, that one of the motives is, that the marshal is accused of high treason.

"By the terms of the charter, it belongs to you to try this sort of crimes. It is not necessary, for exercising this high jurisdiction, that the chamber be organised like an ordinary tribunal. The forms which you follow in the proposition of laws, and for judging in some sort of those which are presented to you, are undoubtedly sufficiently solemn and sufficiently sure for judging any man, whatever be his dignity, whatever his rank.

"The chamber is then adequately constituted for judging the crime of high treason, of which marshal Ney has been so long ago accused.

"No person could wish that judgment be retarded, by reason that there does not exist in the chamber of peers a magistrate who exercises the office of attorney-general. The charter has not established such office—it has not desired to establish it—perhaps it ought not. In some cases of high treason, the accuser will come from the chamber of deputies; in others, the government itself will become one; the ministers are the natural organs of the accusation; and we conceive, that we rather fulfil a duty than exercise a right, in discharging before you the public ministry.

"It is not merely in the name of the king that we perform this office—it is in that of France, long since indignant and even now stupified—it is even in the name of Europe that we approach, conjuring and requiring you at once to judge marshal Ney.

"It is unnecessary, gentlemen, to pursue the method of magistrates, who, in accusing, enumerate by detail all the charges brought against the accused—they arise from the proceedings which will be submitted to you. This process subsists in full force, notwithstanding the incompetence, or even the cause of it as pronounced. The reading of the documents which we place on your bureaux will acquaint you with the charges. There is, then, no necessity to define the different crimes of which marshal Ney is accused; they are all united in the words traced by the charter, which, after the convulsion of society in France, has become its surest basis.

"We accuse before you marshal Ney of high treason, and of a wicked attempt against the safety of the state.

"We dare add, that the chamber of peers owes to the world a signal reparation; it must be prompt, for it is of importance to restrain the indignation which bursts forth from every quarter. You will not suffer a long impunity to engender new miseries, perhaps greater than those we endeavour to escape.

"The ministers of the king are obliged to tell you, that this decision of the council of war has become a triumph to the factious. It is necessary that their joy be short, to prevent its being fatal to them. We then conjure you, and in the name of the king we require you, to proceed immediately to the trial of marshal Ney, pursuing in this process the forms you observe in the deliberation upon laws, saving the modifications recommended by his majesty's ordonnance, which shall now be read to you.

"By this ordonnance your judicial functions immediately commence. You owe it yourselves, gentlemen, to hold no language by which your sentiments for or against the prisoner could be discovered. He shall appear before you on the day and hour the chamber shall fix."

The attorney-general, as king's commissioner, then read to the chamber—1st, The judgment by which the permanent court-martial of the first military division declares itself incompetent to try marshal Ney. 2d, The ordonnance of the king, of which the motives were just manifested.

The decree being read, the chamber, on the motion of one of the members, declared, that it received with respect the communication then made to them by his majesty's ministers; that it recognised the attributes which were given to it by the 33d article of the charter, and was ready to fulfil its duty in conformity with the king's ordonnance.

The chamber then adjourned to Monday, at eleven o'clock in the morning, to take cognizance of the documents of the process against marshal Ney.

On the 4th of December the chamber met. Before the court was opened, a memorial, intitled, "The Effects of the Military Convention of the 3d of July, and the treaty of the 20th of November, relative to the accusation of marshal Ney," was distributed. The president then put to the marshal several interrogatories. He replied, that he was at his estate when he received the order to proceed to Besançon, and did not know of Buonaparte's landing till he arrived at Paris. He saw the king. "It is said that I told the king I would bring back Buonaparte in an iron cage. If I said so, it was a foolish thing, but still a pardonable one. It proved that I had in my heart (striking his breast) the intention of serving the king."

Count de Bourmont.—"I have read that marshal Ney says I approved of his proclamation of the 14th March; I will give a detailed explanation: I was with the marshal; general Lecourbe came in; the marshal said to him, 'I was telling the count de Bourmont that all was prepared in such a manner that the troops might reach the emperor; the king had quitted Paris; no harm was to be done to him; woe to the man who should do any. He is a good prince, but he will be sent on board a ship. What now remains for us to do? Join Buonaparte.' 'What!' said Lecourbe, 'I have no reason to rally under that ———. The king never did me any thing but good, and the other nothing but harm. Besides, I have honour, and therefore will not join Buonaparte;' 'and I too,' said the marshal, 'and therefore I will join him. No more humiliation for me. I will not have my wife come back every night with tears in her eyes on account of ill-treatment.' After half an hour's discussion, he took up a paper from the table, and read the proclamation."

Marshal Ney.—"It appears that M. de Bourmont has got his part. He thought I should be treated as Labedoyere, and that we should never see each other again; but at last here we are face to face. I appeal to M. de Bourmont, before God, who hears us, if he did not say he was quite satisfied with the proclamation."

[M. de Bourmont made a sign that the assertion was not true.]

M. Batardi deposed, that he first, on the 7th March, informed Ney of Buonaparte's landing. The marshal said, "Oh! my God, what a misfortune!"

Lieutenant-general count Heudelet was called, and declared, that he served under the marshal's orders. At Dijon, the insurrection had broken out, and it was impossible to stop it. There was a bad spirit in all the troops; even the gendarmerie was bad. The insurrection of Buonaparte's partisans was general, and the minority of good servants of the king was evident. It was the same in the country parts, which openly announced the intention of joining Buonaparte.

M. Berryer.—"Do you think marshal Ney, with the forces he had, could have successfully opposed the progress of Buonaparte?"

Witness.—"No: with the four incomplete regiments he had, it was not possible."

Marshal Davoust deposed, that "in the night of the 2d July, all was prepared for fighting; the commission had sent an order to come to an understanding with the allied generals: firing had already begun; I sent to the advanced posts to stop the effusion of blood; the commission had remitted the project of a convention; I added to it all that related to the demarcation of the military line—I added to it articles relative to the safety of persons and property, and I specially charged the commission to break off the conferences if those dispositions were not ratified. Marshal Blucher was at St. Cloud; the duke of Wellington, I think, was at Gonesse. He had repaired to St. Cloud when he was informed of the conferences. It was there the convention was signed. I

had 25,000 cavalry, and from 4 to 500 pieces of cannon. If the French had been quick in flying, they had been quick in rallying under the walls of Paris."

"What was the sense which he and the provisional government attached to the 12th article?"

The attorney-general.—"The king's commissioners object to this indiscreet question. The discussion, I see it well, will turn upon the capitulation. But the act exists as it exists. The opinion of the prince cannot change it. An act cannot be altered by declarations."

Marshal Ney.—"The declaration was so protecting that it was upon that I relied.—Without it, is it to be believed that I would not have preferred dying sword in hand? It is in contradiction to this capitulation that I was arrested, and it was on the faith of it that I remained in France."

President.—"The meaning of the capitulation is to be found in the document itself. The opinion which each individual may have of its sense is of no importance. In virtue of the discretionary power conferred upon me, I decide the question shall not be put."

Count Bondy, formerly prefect of the Seine, who signed the convention, deposed that the principal basis of the convention was the public tranquillity—the security of Paris—the respect of persons and property. It was with a view to these objects that it was drawn up and proposed to the generals Blucher and Wellington. There were some discussions on these points, but no difficulty was made relative to the 12th article, which was accepted in a manner calculated to give the most complete assurance to those comprehended under it.

M. Guilemot deposed to the part he had in the capitulation of Paris. "As chief of the staff, I was charged with stipulating for an amnesty in favour of persons, whatever might be their opinions, their offices, or their conduct. This point was granted without any dispute. My orders were to break off the conferences, had any refusal been made. This article induced him to lay down his arms."

"Why were Messrs. Boigny and Bondy joined with you?"

Answer.—"They stipulated for the civil persons as I did for the military."

On the 6th, M. Berryer entered upon the defence of marshal Ney. Having alluded to the convention of the 3d of July—

The attorney-general said, "I have considered it my duty to save the counsel of the accused from one disgrace in an affair which is already but too disgraceful. We are Frenchmen, and we have French laws, and it is singular when a Frenchman is accused, that a convention signed by English and Prussians should be appealed to. The king's commissioners ought to have already opposed the pleading of this defence, but they did not, because they hoped that the defenders of the accused would, upon better consideration, have abandoned it. They have acted otherwise. It is now clear to every one that they mean to rely on this military convention, and the moment therefore is arrived for the king's attorney-general to make a formal opposition to such a proceeding. This military convention is the work of foreigners. It was not ratified, nor even approved by the king. Besides, had the defenders of the accused wished to plead their defence, they were restricted even by the decision of the court to do so cumulatively. The only thing now to be considered is the substance of the question on which pleadings can alone be admitted. On these grounds and considerations the king's commissioners require, That the defenders of the accused be formally interdicted from availing themselves of the convention of the 3d of July, and from reading it in the defence of the accused.

The president.—"I might have taken it upon myself, in virtue of the discretional power with which I am invested, to oppose the introduction of an objection which should have been brought forward at the commencement of the trial, and at the time pointed out by the chamber of peers for presenting all the objections cumulatively; but I thought it right to consult the chamber, in order that I might be supported by its opinion. That opinion concurs with mine in the impropriety of appealing to a convention purely military, absolutely foreign to the king, who never ratified or approved it;—a convention

by which his majesty considered himself so little bound, that twenty-three days after he issued the ordonnance of the 24th of July, by which he referred to the tribunals several of those who were to have profited by this convention; an ordonnance issued while the troops of the allied powers still occupied the capital, and "countersigned by the minister of the king, who was president of what was called the provisional government at the period of the 3d of July." Consequently confirmed by the opinion of the peers and the sentiments of my duty, I interdict the defenders of the accused from making any use in their pleadings of the pretended convention of the 3d of July.

M. Dupin, advocate.—"The marshal is not only under the protection of the French laws—he is under the protection of the law of nations. I speak not of the convention, but of the limits traced by the treaty of the 20th November, which certainly is an act solemn and legal, which we may invoke, since it is to that we owe the happy peace we now enjoy. The treaty of the 20th November, in tracing a new line round France, has left on the right Sarrebruck, the country of the marshal. The marshal, Frenchman as he is in heart, is no longer a Frenchman since the treaty.

Marshal Ney, much affected, and with vehemence—"Yes, I am a Frenchman! I will die a Frenchman! I beg his excellency to hear what I have to say. Hitherto my defence has been free; I perceive it is wished to render it otherwise. I thank my counsel for what they have done and are ready to do: but desire them rather to cease defending me at all than to defend me imperfectly. I had rather not be defended at all than have the mere shadow of a defence. I am accused against the faith of treaties, and they will not let me justify myself. I will act like Moreau; I appeal to Europe and to posterity!"

The president.—"Gentlemen, defenders of the accused, continue the defence by confining yourselves within the circle marked out for you. The chamber of peers in its wisdom will appreciate the means you shall deem to be most suitable."

Marshal Ney.—"I forbid my counsel from saying a word more. Your excellency will give what orders you please. The chamber may judge me. But I forbid my counsel to speak, unless they are permitted to make use of all the means in their power."

[A profound silence reigned for a short time in the chamber.]

M. Bellart, after a conference with the king's ministers, rose.—"We have a right, and it is our duty to refute the captious means that have been resorted to—but since the marshal renounces all further defence, we renounce the right of reply. I shall now present the requisition, upon which the chamber will retire to deliberate. To condemn marshal Ney, marshal of France, duke of Elchingen, prince of the Moskwa, to the penalty declared in the said dispositions, in the form prescribed by the decree of the 12th May 1793."

President.—"Accused, have you any thing to say on the application of the penalty?"

Marshal Ney (rising and with a firm tone).—"Not another word, my lord."

President.—"The chamber having deliberated six hours, declares the accused guilty of the crimes provided against by articles 77, 87, 88, 102, of the penal code—1 and 5 of title 1st of the law of the 21st Brumaire, year 5, and of article 1st of title 3d of the same law: Therefore, in application to the said articles, it condemns marshal Ney, marshal of France, duke of Elchingen, prince of the Moskwa, late peer of France, to the full punishment of the law and the expences of the trial; and also that the decree shall be executed conformably to the dispositions of the law of the 12th of May 1797, by the care of the king's commissioners."

Marshal Ney not being present when his condemnation was pronounced, the secretary was charged to notify it to him.

The marshal, upon returning to his apartment, whilst the chamber were deliberating upon his fate, appeared to be animated and sustained by a feeling of deep resolution. He pressed his advocate in his arms, who said to him, "You would have it so." "It is all over, my dear friend," replied the marshal, "we shall see each other again in another world." He asked for dinner, and ate with good appetite; he thought that a small knife was the object of attention and uneasi-

ness to the persons charged to guard him, "Do you think," he said, on looking at them, "that I fear death?" and then threw the knife some distance from him. After dinner he smoked a segar tranquilly, and then lay down and slept, or seemed to sleep, for a couple of hours.

This sentence was carried into execution on the morning of the 7th, at twenty minutes past nine o'clock. From three in the morning the guard of the condemned marshal had been given up to the commandant of Paris. Marshal Ney seemed to be in a sound sleep when the secretary of the chamber repaired to him to read his sentence. Before he proceeded to read it, he attempted to address some kind words to him, to testify how painful it was to him to be forced to discharge so sad an office. "Sir," said the marshal, stopping him, "do your duty; every one must do his duty---read."

Upon the preamble being read, he said impatiently, "to the fact, to the fact at once." When his titles were detailed, he observed, "What good can this do? Michael Ney, then a heap of dust, that is all." When M. Cauchy came to that article relating to the succession to the crown---"That law," exclaimed the marshal, "cannot be applicable to me---it is for the imperial family it was made." M. Cauchy then retired, and the marshal, throwing himself in his clothes on the bed, soon fell asleep!

At four in the morning he was awakened by the arrival of the Marechale, his wife, with her children, and madame Gamon, his sister. The unfortunate wife, as soon as she entered the chamber, fell in a fit on the ground. The marshal and his guard raised her. To a long fainting fit succeeded tears and groans. Madame Gamon, on her knees before the marshal, was not in a less deplorable condition. The children, silent and sad, did not weep. The eldest appeared to be about eleven years of age. The marshal spoke to them a long time, but in a low tone of voice. On a sudden he rose, and entreated his family to withdraw.

Left alone with his guards, he walked up and down the chamber. One of them, a grenadier of Laroche Jaquelin, said to him, "Marshal, in the situation in which you are, should you not think of God? It is always good to reconcile one's self to God. I have seen many battles; and every time I could I confessed myself, and found myself always the better for it."

At nine, being informed that all was ready, the marshal gave the priest his hand to help him into the coach, saying to him, "Get in first, M. le Curé, I shall be quicker than you on high." Two officers of gendarmerie were in the coach with him and the clergyman. About 200 veterans of the royal catholic army (of La Vendée we suppose) accompanied the coach. The coach, traversing the garden of the Luxemberg, proceeded to the end of the grand alley that leads to the observatory, which was the spot fixed on for the execution. On seeing the coach stop, the marshal, who thought they were going to carry him to the plain of Grenelle, expressed some surprise. Asking if that was the place of execution, he was answered in the affirmative, and immediately got out of the coach. After embracing his confessor, to whom he gave his snuff-box to give to madame la Marechale, and some pieces of gold to be distributed to the poor, he proceeded with a quick step to within eight paces of the wall. The confessor remained near the coach, praying fervently. The marshal now faced the detachment of veterans who were to fire, and cried out in a strong and loud voice, at the same time taking off his hat with his left hand, and placing his right on his heart, "Comrades, straight to the heart---fire." The officer gave the signal at the same moment with his sword, and he fell dead without a single struggle. Twelve balls had taken effect; three in the head. There were but few persons present, for the populace, believing that the execution would take place on the plain of Grenelle, had repaired thither.

On the day of the marshal's execution, madame Ney, like the people, ignorant of its having taking place, went to the Thuilleries at ten to implore the king's clemency, but the duke of Duras, to whom she addressed herself in order to be introduced, was obliged to inform her that the marshal no longer existed!

On the following day (the 8th) the minis-

ters of Louis thought it proper to submit the following project of a law to the chamber of deputies; and its spirit would be creditable to them if it contained no exceptions, and had not been preceded by obnoxious prosecutions and cruel proscriptions. It proposes—

Art. 1. Full and complete amnesty is granted to all those who, either directly or indirectly, have taken part in the rebellion and usurpation of Napoleon Buonaparte, with the undermentioned exceptions.

2. The ordonnance of the 24th July shall continue to be executed in regard to the persons comprehended in the 1st article of that ordonnance.

3. The persons included in article 2d of the said ordonnance shall quit France in the two months which shall follow the promulgation of the present law. They shall not be at liberty to return without the express permission of the king, the whole upon pain of transportation.

4. All the members of, or persons allied to the family of Buonaparte, and their descendants to the degree of uncle and nephew, inclusively, are excluded for ever from the kingdom, and are required to leave it within one month, under the penalty decreed by art. 91 of the penal code. They shall be incapacitated from enjoying any civil right there, or possessing any property, titles, annuities, or pensions, granted to them gratuitously in that country; and they shall be required to sell, within six months, the property of all kinds which they shall have obtained, for a valuable consideration.

5. The present amnesty is not applicable to all the persons against whom proceedings have been instituted, or sentences passed, prior to the promulgation of the present law; the proceedings shall be continued, and the sentences executed agreeably to the laws.

6. The present amnesty does not extend to the crimes or offences against individuals. At whatever period they may have been committed, the persons who have been guilty of them shall be liable to prosecution according to the laws

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The following documents will put the reader in possession of the real merits of the case, and will be perused with interest by the present generation, and by the future historian. The author will only remark that the question is not whether Ney deserved to die, but whether he justly suffered after the 12th article of the convention.

THE MARSHAL PRINCE OF THE MOSKWA TO THE AMBASSADORS OF THE FOUR GRAND ALLIED POWERS.

Excellency,—It is at the last extremity, at the moment in which the critical circumstances to which I see myself reduced leave me no longer but too feeble means of avoiding the condition and the terrible danger of an accusation of the crime of high treason, that I resolve to have recourse to a legitimate address to you, of which the object is as follows:—

I am sent before the chamber of peers by virtue of an ordonnance issued by the king on the 11th instant, and after a speech addressed to that chamber by his majesty's prime minister. This imposing denunciation, and the considerations upon which it is founded, are of a nature to give me just apprehensions. Among other motives for instituting my process, I have read with astonishment in that speech, "that it was even in the name of Europe that the ministers came to conjure the chamber, and to require it to try me." Such a declaration, suffer me to observe, is irreconcileable with what has passed in these last periods of agitation in France. I do not conceive how the august allies can be made to intervene in this criminal proceeding, since their magnanimity was generously occupied with the care of guaranteeing me against it, and since a formal, sacred, and inviolable convention exists upon this subject.

Deign to recollect that by the treaty of Paris of the 30th May 1814, the high contracting parties had formed an alliance with his majesty, Louis XVIII. Being informed at Vienna on the 13th March last, that the cause of legitimacy in France was threatened by the return of Buonaparte, they resolved upon the solemn compact of that day (13th March) in conjunction with the ministers of his most christian majesty. In this compact the allied sovereigns declared, 'that they were ready to give to the king of France

and to the French nation the necessary succours to restore public tranquillity, and to make common cause against those who should undertake to disturb it."

In the confirmatory compact of the 25th of the same month of March, the high powers engaged solemnly to unite all their force to maintain in all their integrity the conditions of the treaty of Paris against the plans of Buonaparte; they promise to act in common. They regulate the respective contingents, they propose to march against the common enemy. In fine, his most christian majesty was invited to give his assent to the said measures, in case he should stand in need of the auxiliary troops that were promised him, &c.

It results clearly from these different stipulations that all the armies of Europe, without distinction, have been the auxiliaries of the king of France, that they have fought in his direct interest for the submission of all his subjects. Victory soon decided in favour of the English and Prussian arms united on the plains of Waterloo, and brought them under the walls of Paris. There remained, to oppose their ulterior progress, a corps of the French army which might have sold their lives dearly. A negociation took place, and on the 3d of July a convention between the two parties was signed. The 12th article of which says—

'Private persons and property shall be equally respected. The inhabitants, and in general all the individuals who are in the capital shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being disturbed or sought after for any thing relating to the functions they occupy, or shall have occupied, or their conduct and their political opinions.'

The convention has been since ratified by each of the allied sovereigns as being the work of the two powers, at first delegated *de facto*. It has thus acquired all the force which the sacred right of nations, the rights of nature, and of persons could impart to it. It is become the unalterable safeguard of all Frenchmen whom the misfortune of the troubles may have exposed even to the legitimate resentment of their prince.

His most christian majesty positively acceded to it himself upon entering into his capital; more than once he has invoked the imposing authority of this political contract as an act indivisible in all its parts.

Hence, excellency, can it be doubted that I am justified as one of the persons for whom this stipulation was made, in claiming the benefit of the 12th article, and the religious execution of the guarantees expressed in it?

I presume, in consequence, to require expressly from your ministry, and from the august power in the name of which you exercise it, that you cause an end to be put, with regard to me, to all criminal procedure on account of the functions which I filled in the month of March 1815, of my conduct, and of my political opinions.

My state of isolation and abandonment is a reason for determining your excellency more readily to come to my succour, and to enable me to enjoy, by your powerful mediation, the right I have acquired.

If I had not blindly relied on the word of so many sovereigns, I should, in some unknown land, have made myself forgotten. It is this august and holy word that has caused my security.—Can it be deceived? I cannot believe so; and I expect with confidence from your sense of honour, that you will grant me your powerful intervention.

(Signed) NEY."

Paris, Nov. 14.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S ANSWER TO MARSHAL NEY.

Paris, Nov. 15, 1815.

Monsieur le Mareschal.—I have had the honour of receiving the note which you addressed to me on the 13th instant, relative to the operation of the capitulation of Paris in your case.

The capitulation of Paris of the 3d of July last, was made between the commanders in chief of the allied and Prussian armies, on the one part, and the prince d'Eckmuhl, commander in chief of the French army, on the other, and related exclusively to the military occupation of Paris.

The object of the twelfth article was to prevent any measure of severity, under the military authority of those who made it, towards any persons in Paris, on account of

any offices they had filled, or any conduct or political opinions of theirs; but it never was intended, and never could be intended, to prevent either the existing French government, under whose authority the French commander in chief must have acted, or any French government which might succeed to it, from acting in this respect as it might seem fit.

I have the honour to be, Monsieur le Mareschal, your most obedient humble servant,

Signed) WELLINGTON.

The following is the substance of the argument of Ney's counsel on this point:

Effects of the military convention of July 3, 1815, and the treaty of Nov. 20, 1815, relative to the accusation against marshal Ney.

After the battle of Waterloo, the flight of Buonaparte and his abdication, the French army rallied under the walls of Paris, resolved to defend themselves, and sell their lives dearly to whoever should dare to attack them in their lines.

But soon some wise man sought to shake this resolution, in representing to the chiefs that if a first advantage was probable, the superiority of numbers promised the foreigners a revenge, which would have for its inevitable result the ruin of Paris and the massacre of its inhabitants.

The generals of the allied troops likewise considered the extent of the loss which French valour reduced to despair might cause them; they felt the immense advantage of assuring, without striking a blow, the possession of a city, which the taking by main force would have cost enormous sacrifices.

Negociations were opened between the commissioners of the allied generals, provided with full powers on the one part, and on the other, M. Bignon, holding the portfolio of foreign affairs, M. Guilleminot, *chef de l' etat*, major-general of the French army, and M. de Bondy, prefect of the department of the Seine, who openly announced their intention of treating for the interests of the state, the army, and the city of Paris.

The allied generals did not dissimulate that their intention was not to conquer France, but only to re-establish the legitimate king on his throne. The provisional government were perfectly acquainted that the king approached the capital; they knew too of the proclamation of the 25th June; it had been communicated to the chambers, inserted in the journals, and printed and posted all over Paris. There was particularly remarked in it the following passage:—"But at present when the powerful efforts of our allies have dissipated the satellites of the tyrant, we hasten to re-enter our states; to re-establish therein the constitution we had given to France; to repair by all the means in our power the evils of the revolt, and of the war which was its necessary result; to recompense the good and put in execution the existing laws against the guilty."

Another proclamation, dated the 28th, equally known at Paris, contained the promise of pardon to all the French who had strayed, but it announced at the same time, that some persons would be excepted from pardon.

These announced punishments, these limitations to the amnesty, in other respects promised with so much liberality, were not of a nature to satisfy those who had taken part in the revolution, and who were then in the possession of the civil and military government of France. The chiefs of the army would have preferred perishing a thousand times with arms in their hands, to preserving their lives for the melancholy prospect of a criminal tribunal. The heads of the government and the functionaries attached no less importance to the point of sheltering themselves from all re-action.

To dissipate all fears in this respect, and inspire all minds with confidence, an article was inserted in the convention, which runs thus:—"In like manner shall be respected persons and private property. The inhabitants, and in general all the individuals who are in the capital, shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being troubled or sought after *in any thing* relative to the functions which they occupy, or shall have occupied, or for their conduct or political opinions."

For greater security, article 13 was added,

stating, " that if any difficulties should arise as to the execution of any of the articles of the present convention, they should be interpreted in favour of the French army and the city of Paris."

Marshal Ney was evidently included in the terms of article 12; he was an inhabitant of Paris, he had his residence there in law and in fact; he exercised functions there—he belonged to the army.

Accused, he invokes the benefit of this article.

But it is objected to him, that, " the king had not ratified the convention of the 3d of July; that the stipulation written in article 12 only expressed a renunciation of the high powers on their own account of troubling any person whosoever in France, on account of his conduct or political opinions, and that they had no intention to interfere in any way with the acts of the king's government.

This reply made to the lady of marshal Ney does not solve the difficulty.

The high powers could not renounce on their own account any inquiry after any person whatever in France, on account of his conduct or political opinions, unless they actually possessed the right to make these inquiries.

We undoubtedly cannot renounce any right whatever, excepting, as far as we have acquired it, and we can only pardon as far as we were able to punish. *Ejus est permittere cujus est votare. Ejus est nolle, qui potest velle.*—L. III. ff. de reg. Jur. *Quod quis si velit habere non potest, id repudiare non potest.*—L. CLXXIV. ff. de reg. Juris. *Is potest, repudiare qui et acquirere potest.*—L. XVIII. ff. de *acquirendâ vel omittendâ hereditate.*

There is likewise a principle of the rights of men, that " foreign nations ought not to interfere in the interior government of an independent state. It is not for them to judge between the citizens whom discord induces to fly to arms, nor between the prince and the subjects; the two parties are equally foreign to them, equally independent of their authority: it remains for them to interpose their good offices for the re-establishment of peace, and natural law invites them to it." —Vattel, lib. III. cap. 18. sec. 296

Thus the high powers had only the rights of war in the country which the force of arms placed in their power, but they had not (according to the law of nations) the power of judging the conduct and the political opinions of the citizens who had taken part in the revolution.

This principle was well known on the part of the plenipotentiaries who concluded the convention of Paris; it is therefore impossible to understand art. 12 in the sense which the high powers understood it, viz. renouncing a right which they had not.

But the king of France was their ally; it was in his holy cause that they had taken up arms; they acted for him and in his name. The proclamation of the 25th of June, and the treaty of the 20th November, leave no doubt in this respect; it cannot therefore be said, that the convention of the 3d July was not binding on the king of France.

His majesty, always great and generous, " had not wished to unite his arms nor those of his family to the instruments which Providence had made use of to punish treason" (proclamation 25th June), but the allied generals, " whose powerful efforts dissipated the satellites of the tyrant (same proclamation), had necessarily, with the power of acting offensively in the interest of the alliance, and what the lawyers call *casus fœderis*, the power of making capitulations and truces, which in stopping the effusion of blood, would naturally hasten the epoch of the pacification and return to order. Otherwise, and if we only suppose them to possess the first of these powers without admitting the second, it follows, that war once commenced could only terminate with the extinction of all the combatants; a principle too repugnant to the rights of nations, to humanity, and above all, to the paternal sentiments of his majesty for his people.

Thus, the same generals who had the power of attacking the French army and taking Paris in case of resistance, had certainly the right of granting the clauses of a convention which spared the city the horrors of a siege, and the consequences of being taken by storm.

" Since a general and a commandant of a place ought naturally to be provided with

all the powers necessary for the exercise of their functions, we have a right to presume that they have these powers; and that of concluding a capitulation is certainly of the number, especially when the orders of the sovereign cannot be waited for. The treaty which they shall make on this subject will be valid, and will bind the sovereigns in whose name and authority the respective commanders acted."—Vattel, lib. III. art. 16. sec. 261.

Will it be said that this convention was made with rebels? If so, it would not be the less a treaty, a faith sworn, and an obligatory convention. Let us hear what Vattel says on the subject. "The most certain means of appeasing seditions, and at the same time the most just, is that of giving satisfaction to the people; and if they have risen without a cause, which, perhaps, never happened, we ought, as we have observed, to grant an amnesty to the greater number.—As soon as the amnesty is published and accepted, all the past ought to be buried in oblivion; no one ought to be troubled for what he had done relative to the commotions. And in general, the prince, a religious observer of his word, ought to keep all he has promised even to the rebels, by whom I understand those who had revolted without reason or necessity. If his promises are not inviolable, there will be no longer any safety for the rebels in treating with him. As soon as they have drawn the sword they must throw away the sheath, as an old author observed. The prince will be wanting in the gentlest and most salutary means of appeasing a revolt, and there will only be left to him to put it down, and to exterminate the revolters. Despair will render them formidable, while compassion will procure them aid, increase their party, and the state will find itself in danger. What would have become of France if the leaguers had not been able to confide in the promises of Henry the Great?"—Vattel, book III. ch. 18. sect. 291.

Will it still be said that article 12 is out of the ordinary terms of a capitulation?

We reply no, because the parties only capitulate to save their lives and liberty, and it would not be saving them, to exchange the chance of a cannon ball for the expectation of the gallows; to stipulate for a partial and temporary amnesty, of use to-day, and of no value to-morrow; binding on the allies, from whom they had nothing to fear, and without effect as to the king of France, who alone had the right of punishing legally.

In the second place we reply, that "if it happen in the conferences for a capitulation that one of the commandants insists on conditions which the other does not think it in his power to grant, they have one step to take, which is to agree on a suspension of arms, during which all things shall remain in their present state until superior orders are received."—Vattel, book III. ch. 16. sect. 262. Now nothing of this kind was done, because the allied generals knew well that they had full powers from the king of France to save his capital, even at the price of his most just resentments.

Thus when his majesty entered Paris, amidst the lively acclamations of a people intoxicated with the happiness of seeing him again, he did not disavow the convention of the 3d July, which it is to be presumed, his majesty would not have failed to have done, if his intention had not been, in profiting by the benefits of the convention, to carefully maintain all the stipulations. "We have shewn," says Vattel, "that the state cannot be bound by an agreement made without its order, and without authority on its part; but is it absolutely bound to nothing? that is what we have to examine. If the things still remain *in statu quo*, the state or the sovereign can simply disavow the treaty, which falls to the ground by this disavowal, and is perfectly as if it had not been made; but the sovereign ought to manifest his will as soon as the treaty comes to his knowledge; not, in fact, that his silence can give force to a convention which ought to have none without his approbation, but there would be bad faith in leaving the time to the other party to execute on his part an agreement not intended to be ratified."—Vattel, book II. chap. 16. sect. 212.

Now the fact is, that his majesty has not disavowed the convention of the 3d July, after being made acquainted with it. Not only his majesty has not disavowed the convention of the 3d July, but it may be said that his government suffered and procured

its execution in what concerned the retreat of the army behind the Loire, and remitting the arms of Paris and Vincennes; and that he has claimed its execution in the interest of the monuments, whose preservation was stipulated for to the profit of the city of Paris, &c. &c.

Will it be objected that these partial executions do not bear on article 12? We briefly reply, that conventions are indivisible; that we cannot rescind the dispositions, or reject one and retain another, because they altogether form the general condition under which the contract was made, and without which it would not have been made.

If the allied generals had not granted article 12 we should have fought; 250,000 men would have lost their lives, and Paris would have been taken, pillaged, burnt, and destroyed. All these miseries are spared by the convention; and if it has been necessary to subscribe to an amnesty, which, at the most, could only benefit a few individuals, we may easily console ourselves on reflecting on all the calamities which the rejection of article 12 would inevitably have produced.

Amidst the general confusion and alarm, marshal Soult profited by the hints which he had received from several of his friends, escaped from Paris, and published a long memorial, more remarkable for its prolixity than its eloquence or veracity.

CHAP. XX.——1815.

War in Ceylon.—Unfortunate expedition of 1803.—*Massacre of the English.—Renewal of the war.—Capture of Candy, and dethronement of the king.—Hostilities against the Nepaulese.—Proclamation of the governor-general.—Termination of the Indian war.—Ratification of our treaty with America.—Revolutions in Guadaloupe, Martinique, and China.—Domestic History.*

It will now be necessary to revert from the contemplation of the interesting vicissitudes which had marked the character of European history, to more distant scenes of intrigue, of bloodshed, and of hostility.

The vast extension of the British company's possessions in the East Indies having proportionally enlarged the sphere of their contact with the neighbouring powers, always either jealous of their sway, or envious of their prosperity, it could not be expected that they should long remain in the enjoyment of perfect peace, even supposing no ambitious views on the part of their own servants; and the present year afforded very interesting intelligence of the military kind from that quarter of the world.

At the most distant extremity of the Indian peninsula, the island of Ceylon afforded employment for the British arms. On the transfer of that island from Holland to Great Britain, Ceylon was divided between their high mightinesses the states-general and the king of Candy, under circumstances which could not fail to be the source of perpetual hostility. The former possessed a belt of sea-coast round the whole island, broad in some parts and narrow in others, in which the latter was confined, as within an enchanted castle which he could not pass. The king of Candy had Areca nuts, and ivory, and honey, and a few other articles which were saleable among the various merchants and traders who lived under the protection of the Dutch, but none of the first necessity; while the latter had under their complete controul, two articles that were almost indispensible to the king of Candy—fish and salt. The Candians were therefore naturally desirous to obtain an establishment on the sea-coast. The policy of the British, as well as of the Dutch government, was to exclude them from all approach to the salt waters.—The seeds of war thus sown were easily

brought into a state of activity, and the disposition to hostility was promoted by the unsettled state of the Candian government. On the death of the legitimate king of Candy, in the year 1798, Pelemé Talavé, the chief adigar or prime minister, contrived to raise to the throne, in prejudice of the nearest relatives of the deceased king, a young Malabar of inferior extraction, and of no talents. The queen, and all the relations of the former king, were thrown into prison; but the queen's brother, Mooto Sawmey, escaped from Candy, and sought the protection of the British government. The second adigar, who was a man of integrity, was beheaded; and as the upstart king had been raised to the throne as a mere puppet, to dazzle the eyes of the vulgar, Pelemé Talavé ruled with absolute sway. Six months had scarcely elapsed of the new reign when this consummate villain made certain mysterious overtures to Mr. North, the whole scope of which he did not at that time clearly comprehend: but on a second interview, he had the audacity to submit a direct proposal for assistance to take away the life of the king whom he had recently created, and to place himself on the throne. On the price of these infamous conditions he offered to make the English masters of the country. It is unnecessary to add that Mr. North received with horror, and refused with indignation, a proposal so atrocious.

This man was not, however, deterred from renewing his infamous offer, in the following year, to Mr. Boyd, the public secretary; making at the same time a declaration, that his sole motive in raising an ignorant and obscure youth to the throne, had been that of rendering him detestable in the eyes of his people, and to effect a revolution which should end in the extinction of the foreign family, and allow the Candians to be governed by the legitimate chiefs of the island. His real intention, however, appeared to be that of drawing the British into a war with the Candians; of enticing their troops into the interior of the country; where, from the impassable defiles, mountain torrents, thick forests, the total want of roads for carriages and beasts of burthen, but above all, from the extreme unhealthiness of the climate, added to the hostility of the natives, they would be doomed to almost certain destruction.

His overture having been rejected with disdain, the next step was to shew that the Candians were making preparations for immediate war against the British. They assembled in force upon the frontiers; they detained thirty or forty British subjects, who had repaired as usual to Candia, in the pursuit of commerce, and treated them with the utmost barbarity. They robbed some Moormen also, subjects of the British government, who had from time immemorial carried on a commerce with the Candians, of their cattle and Areca nuts. An explanation was demanded, but the first adigar refused to give any, and rejected every conciliatory proposition for the accommodation of existing differences. It was evident indeed that he courted war, as best suited to his own nefarious purposes. He calculated upon obtaining credit if the English were vanquished and expelled from the island, or that in the struggle he might find an opportunity of dispatching his puppet king, and then secure his own power by offering advantageous terms to the English.

In this state of treacherous plotting and open preparation for war, the governor felt it his duty to put the British troops in motion. The adigar made no secret of his opinion, that the English would succeed in taking Candy; he seemed indeed to wish it; but he made himself secure that he could contrive to starve or drown them afterwards. In fact, our troops, almost without firing a shot, found themselves in the capital of the Candian dominions, where, however, not a living creature was to be seen excepting a few parish dogs. One division of the army, from Columbo, had performed the march of one hundred and three miles, and the other division, from the opposite point of Trincomalee, a march of one hundred and forty-two miles, through one of the most difficult countries in the world. Both arrived nearly about the same time at the central city, but they found it a desert: it had been evacuated and set fire to in many places, and the treasure and all the most valuable articles had been removed.

The king had fled to Hangerambettee, a royal palace, in a strong position, two days march from Candy, and hither the first adigar, still playing the villain, endeavoured to draw the British army, commanded by general Macdowall, under a promise that he himself would assist in delivering his master into their hands. They were so credulous as to trust him, and marched a detachment of 800 men towards that quarter, many of whom were cut off by the enemy, who had been posted everywhere in ambush. Parties of banditti hovered continually round the British outposts, and whenever any stragglers fell into their hands they were invariably put to death in the most barbarous and shocking manner.

The chief adigar now addressed letters to the Maha Madelier, the head Singalese servant of the British government, expressing his surprise that the governor should put himself to so much trouble and expence, instead of coming to some arrangement as to the deposition of the king, and the establishment of his (the adigar's) power. An answer was returned from the English head-quarters, that if the safety of the king's person were secured, by putting him into the hands of the English, the province of the Wanny yielded to Mootoo Sawmey, the king's brother, and the Seven Corles, with the road across the country, to the British, peace should be restored.

The garrison of Candy was already reduced to a very critical situation. The rains had commenced, and were soon expected to fall in torrents from the mountains; so that it became evident that no further hostilities could be prosecuted until the ensuing dry season; and sickness had spread among the troops to a most alarming degree. On the arrival of the second adigar in Candy, carrying a firelock and match wrapped up in white muslin, as an emblem of peace, it was agreed in the conference with general Macdowall, and in the spirit of the chief adigar's letters, that the fugitive king should be delivered over to the care of the British government; that Pelemé Talavé should be invested with supreme authority in Candy, under the title of *Ootoon Komarogen*, the great prince; that he should pay annually the amount of 30,000 rupees to Mootoo Sawmey, who would hold his court at Jaffnapatnam; that the road to Trincomalee and the province of the Seven Corles, should be ceded to his Britannic majesty, and that a cessation of arms should immediately take place.

On the faith of this treaty, which nothing but extreme necessity could have justified, and by which we sanctioned the injustice of the usurper, a garrison was left in Candy, consisting of 700 Malays, and 300 Europeans of the 19th regiment, and Bengal and Madras cavalry; besides a considerable number of sick who could not then be safely removed.

The Candians now began to draw nearer to the capital. They attempted by every means to seduce the Malay soldiers from their allegiance. Their chief native officer, captain Nouradeen, received a letter from his brother, a Malay prince in the Candian service, soliciting him to seduce his countrymen to revolt, and assassinate the British soldiers, for which the king would reward them handsomely with lands and money. Nouradeen immediately made known this insidious proposal to major Davie, who had been left in command, and used every exertion to prevent desertion in his corps: but, in spite of his endeavours, a few of his men went over to the enemy; and the Europeans were dying at the rate of six men a-day. The Candians were evidently making preparations, but major Davie was ignorant whether they were intended as an infraction of the treaty, or to forward its execution. Mootoo Sawmey trembled at his situation, and would gladly have renounced all pretensions to the sceptre of Candy to be within the dominions of the British.

At length the Candians made their long threatened attack on the garrison, which, in its enfeebled state, was incapable of much resistance. The English hoisted the white flag, and the firing ceased. A parley was held with the first adigar, in which it was stipulated that Candy should be immediately delivered up by the British; that all the British troops should march out of Candy, with their arms, on the road leading to Trincomalee; that Mootoo Sawmey should be permitted to accompany them; and that the

adigar should take charge of the sick and wounded until such time as they could be removed to Trincomalee or Columbo. These articles were written on sacred paper, signed and exchanged between major Davie and the adigar, and passports given in the name of the king. The troops accordingly marched out of the town, except the sick, consisting of 14 officers, 20 British soldiers, 250 Malays, 140 gun Lascars, with prince Mootoo Sawmey and his attendants. At the distance of a mile and a half, they were obliged to halt on the banks of the Mahavillaganga river, it not being fordable. Several armed Candians advanced, and among them were four headmen, who informed major Davie that the king had been greatly enraged at the adigar for allowing the garrison to leave Candy; but that on delivering up Mootoo Sawmey they should be supplied with boats to cross the river, and such assistance as might enable them to reach Trincomalee. Major Davie referred them to the articles of the treaty, by which he declared his resolution to abide.—Two hours after this another party waited on the major, spoke to him in a mild and friendly manner, declared that the king was desirous to see and embrace Mootoo Sawmey, and that he wished to receive and protect him as a relation; but the major, after consulting his brother officers, replied, that he could not part with Mootoo Sawmey without orders from Columbo. They then went away, but presently returning, declared, that if Mootoo Sawmey was not given up, the king would send his whole force to seize him, and prevent the British troops from crossing the river. On this major Davie, addressing himself to the unfortunate prince, told him he had not sufficient force to detain him longer, but that the king had pledged himself to receive him kindly. Mootoo Sawmey then exclaimed, "My God! Is it possible, that the triumphant arms of England can be so humbled as to fear the menaces of such cowards as the Candians!" The English officers felt for the unfortunate prince, but felt also that resistance would be in vain, and only tend to involve them in destruction. He was delivered up to the chief, and, with his relations and servants, conducted to Candy. The king, after upbraiding him for his attempt to deprive him of the crown, delivered him and two of his relations to the executioner, who *struck off their heads!* Eight of his servants were deprived of their noses and ears, in which mutilated condition they arrived six weeks afterwards at Trincomalee.

Presently about 100 Candian Malays, nearly as many Caffrees, and a crowd of undisciplined Candians, posted themselves within a hundred paces of the British troops. A dessave, or head-man, then approached major Davie, and told him it was the king's order that they should all return to Candy unarmed: in case of refusal they would be immediately surrounded and put to death.—The officers, after a short consultation, abandoned themselves to the mercy of the Candians, by delivering up their swords, and the troops were ordered to ground their arms. They were then marched towards the town. Such of the Malays as could be prevailed upon to enter into the service of the king were separated from the rest. The others were handed over to the Candian troops.—The English officers were then separated from the private soldiers, and all led out, two by two, at a distance from one another, when the Caffrees, by order of the chief adigar, perpetrated one of the most barbarous massacres which history records. The only Englishmen selected for preservation were major Davie and captain Rumley of the Malay regiment, who were carried to Candy after the massacre was completed. Previous to this massacre, all the sick in Candy, to the number of one hundred and twenty men, had been murdered in cold blood, as they lay, incapable of any resistance, in the hospital. The infamous adigar closed this day of blood by collecting together the effects of the murdered officers and soldiers, and by firing a royal salute in celebration of his diabolical triumph.

During the confusion occasioned by the perpetration of this atrocious act, captain Humphreys laying hold of the arm of an assistant-surgeon of the Malay regiment, rolled down with him from a height to a hollow, into which the dead bodies were thrown. They contrived to conceal themselves for several days; the latter finally

escaped to Columbo; the former was taken, and died, or was murdered, in Candy. George Barnsley, a corporal of the 19th regiment, left for dead in the general slaughter, found means to make his escape, and was the first to communicate the horrible story at Fort Macdowall.

A trait of heroic fidelity and devotion was displayed on this melancholy occasion, which well deserves to be mentioned. Captain Nouradeen and his brother, native Malay officers, were ordered to prostrate themselves before the king, which they refused to do, as an act of humiliation to royal blood, from which they had sprung, their grandfather having been an independent sovereign. He then asked them to enter his service and command his Malay troops.—Nouradeen replied, that in accepting such a proposal he should disgrace himself: that he had sworn allegiance to the king of England, and that he would live and die in his service. They were then thrown into prison, and after six weeks brought again before the king, when he asked them whether they preferred death or his service. They both answered that they were ready to die in the service of the illustrious king of England. The king, turning from them in a rage, ordered them to be immediately put to death; and a servant who had attended Nouradeen shared the same fate. Their bodies were dragged into the woods, and left to be devoured by the beasts of prey.

Such were the melancholy results of the capture of Candy by the British arms in 1803. From that period the mind of the usurper seemed to feel an impression of superiority. He refused to release major Davie and captain Rumley, and treated them with the greatest barbarity. He rejected all advances on our part towards a friendly understanding, regarding them as indications of our weakness; and took every occasion of evincing the most rooted and implacable animosity against the subjects of the British government. Among the numerous objects of brutal insolence may be mentioned the fate of ten innocent traders, of the province of Columbo, whom he caused to be seized and carried to the capital, where, without the imputation of crime, or the form of trial, they were all mutilated in the most barbarous manner. Seven died on the spot, and the remaining three were sent to Columbo, by way of defiance, with their amputated limbs, arms, noses, and ears, suspended round their necks.

The savage character of this foreign usurper was afterwards displayed in another instance, which included every thing that was barbarous and unprincipled in public rule, and pourtrays the last stage of individual depravity and wickedness, the obliteration of every remains of conscience, and the complete extinction of every trace of human feeling. In the month of March 1814, Eheylapola, the first adigar, or prime minister, of the province of Suffragan, was summoned to Candy, to answer for some supposed offence. He knew too well the fate that awaited him where suspicion was a crime, and prepared to resist an attempt to force him. The whole population flocked to his standard; he offered to surrender his province to the British government, but the governor rejected the proposal. He deemed it prudent, however, to send a small detachment to the limits, in order to protect the integrity of our own territory, and the natives of his own government, from having their fields and villages made the scene of warfare between the two parties. The family of the adigar, who, according to the custom of many of the eastern courts, had been detained as hostages, were instantly singled out by the savage usurper to be exhibited as the victims of his fury and revenge. The mother and her four children, the youngest an infant at the breast, were dragged into the market place; the infant was first torn from the arms of its mother, its head severed from the body and cast into a mortar, in which the mother with her own hands was compelled to pound it; the rest were murdered in succession in her presence; and this wanton and savage butchery of innocent children was crowned by an act of unintentional mercy—the murder of the distracted mother. She, with three other females, was cast into a lake and drowned.

These atrocious acts, joined with the revolt of the people in the frontier provinces, finally determined the English governor to take up arms, and troops were put in motion

in January 1815, while a proclamation was issued promising security and protection to the Candians, and announcing that the court alone was the object of hostility.

The governor, and lieutenant-gen. Brownrigg, now commander in chief, arranged the march of the army from Columbo, in divisions, to avoid the difficulty of supplying it with provisions. This, and the ruggedness of the roads, with rainy weather, were in fact the only obstacles against which they had to contend. At no point did they meet with armed resistance; and the provincial adigars were all ready to join them, as soon as they found it could be done with safety to their families. A detachment entered Candy on February 11th, which was found entirely deserted by the inhabitants, and stript of all valuable property. The king had taken flight with a small number of adherents, and after much enquiry was known to be in the court house of Dombera, where he had no means of escaping. Previous to his departure, a messenger brought him intelligence of the British troops having crossed the frontiers; he immediately ordered his head to be struck off: another acquainted him with the defection of his army; he directed that he should be impaled alive. The defection of his prime ministers concluded the general revolt; and every circumstance of this miserable monarch's fall denoted the general detestation inspired by his inhuman tyranny.

The first and most striking objects that presented themselves to view, on the entrance of the British into the city, confirmed all that had been heard and known of the savage character of the fugitive king: they were the mutilated remains of 14 wretches, stuck upon stakes before the town. A living object presented itself before the commanding officer, with a face meagre and sallow, a beard long and matted, clothing ragged, scanty, and of the same kind as that worn by the Singalese. He spoke the English language; his name, he said, was Thoen: he had been a private in the Bengal artillery; had accompanied the expedition to Candy in 1803, and had survived the massacre of major Davie's corps; having been one of the sick in the hospital, felled by a blow from the butt end of a musket, and thrown out among the dead. Being discovered the following morning crawling towards an excavation in the ground, he was seized, hung by the neck on the branch of a tree, and once more left to his fate: the rope broke and he fell: he was a second time observed to be alive, a second time hung up, and a second time the rope gave way. After some time, recovering a little strength, he began to set a higher value upon life. By great efforts he reached a deserted hut, where he remained for ten days, without any other sustenance than the grass which grew around it, and the rain that fell through the roof. An old Candian, looking by accident into the hut, and seeing this wretched tenant, fled with apparent terror, but shortly returning, slipped in a plate of rice and instantly disappeared. On being told the tale of Thoen, the monarch, who had never felt the "quality of mercy," yielded to the terrors of superstition, and spared his life, but regarded him as an object of suspicion, and made his existence as miserable as possible. Thoen once attempted to send a message to major Davie by a woman, who being discovered in this act of humanity was instantly put to death.

On the 2d of March, a solemn conference was held in the palace of Candy, between the governor and commander in chief, on the part of the king of Great Britain, and the adigars and principal Candian chiefs, on the part of the natives. With a monster of depravity who could select for his victims helpless females, uncharged with any offence, it was quite impossible to establish any civilised relations either of peace or war; and humanity as well as policy called general Brownrigg to accede to the wishes of the chiefs and people, that the dominion should be vested in the sovereign of the British empire. A treaty previously framed for establishing his majesty's government in the Candian provinces, was read and unanimously assented to. It was followed by a proclamation, declaring the result of the convention, in seven articles. In the first, the cruelties and oppressions of the Malabar ruler are recited, consisting in an arbitrary and unjust infliction of tortures and death, and a general disregard of all civil rights. The second declares, that by the habitual violation of all

the duties of a sovereign, the said ruler, the Rajah Sri Wikreme Rajah Sinha, has forfeited all claims to his title and power, and is deposed from the office of king. His family and relatives, ascending or descending, are also for ever excluded from the throne; and all claims of the Malabar race to the sovereignty of the Candian provinces is abolished. The remaining articles prohibit all the relatives of the deposed king from entering these provinces, without express permission from the British government; declare the dominion of them to be vested in the sovereign of the British empire; establish the religion of Budha; abolish all bodily torture and mutilation; and forbid the execution of any sentence of death except by warrant from the British governor.

The capture of the fugitive monarch was accomplished by the friends of Eheylapola, whose wife and children had been so inhumanly butchered: and from these, in the most abject manner, he implored mercy for himself and for his wives. His life was spared, but he shared the indignation and contempt of his subjects, who bound and dragged him from Dombera to an adjacent village, where, with difficulty, he was rescued from the vengeance of those over whom he had recently tyrannised. He was marched, with his two wives, down to Columbo, where every precaution is taken to prevent his escape, and his commission of future atrocities. Of the fate of the accomplished villain Palamé Talavé, no account has arrived in Europe.

At the opposite extremity of the Indian peninsula, our armies were for a while unfortunate. The incursions of the forces of the Dhoon district, in the empire of Nepaul, had rendered it necessary to chastise their enmity; and an attack was made on their fort of Kalunga, by major-general Gillespie, October 31, 1814. After several unsuccessful assaults, attended with a great loss of officers and men, the general himself, gallantly cheering on his men, within thirty yards of the gateway, received a mortal wound, and the attempt was relinquished. A battering train having been brought from Delhi, operations against Kalunga were resumed on November 25th, and a practical breach being reported on the 27th, an assault was directed by colonel Mawbey. The storming party, however, met with insuperable difficulties, and after their exposure for two hours to a galling fire, they were ordered to abandon the attack.—Their efforts, though unsuccessful at the time, produced such an effect upon the enemy, that the fort was evacuated by its Nepaulese garrison on the 30th, and left to the occupation of the British. In the same month some small forts, garrisoned from Gorkah in Nepaul were taken, and a Nepaulese *Subah* was surprised in his position and slain.

The British government in India was now engaged in a direct war with the state of Nepaul, or Nipauly; and the vice-president of Fort William thought it necessary to publish, on January the 6th, 1816, the following statement of the causes which had produced hostilities between them:—

After some preliminary observations, the manifesto proceeds as follows:—"While the conduct of the British government has been uniformly regulated, in its relations with the Nepaulese, by the most scrupulous adherence to the principles of justice and moderation, there is scarcely a single district within the British frontier, in which the Gorkahs have not usurped and appropriated lands forming the ascertained dominions of the honourable company. Questions originating in the usurpations of the Nepaulese have arisen in Purnea, Tirhoot, Sarun, Goruckpore, and Baricilly, as well as in the protected territory between the Sutlege and the Jumna; and each case might be appealed to in proof of the moderation and forbearance of the British government, and the aggressive and insolent spirit of the Nepaulese. It will be enough, however, to advert in detail to two instances only, namely, those which have occurred in Sarun and in Goruckpore, which more particularly demonstrate the systematic design of the Nepaulese to encroach on the acknowledged possessions of the honourable company, and in fact have been the proximate causes of the war.

In the former district (Sarun) they have at different times established their authority over portions of the territory of Betteah; but the British government, abiding by those principles of moderation and forbearance so

conspicuous in all its transactions with the Nepaulese, contented itself for a considerable period with remonstrances and representations, trusting that the justice of its cause would become apparent to the Nepaulese government, and produce the proper effect on the mind of its Rajah and his ministers. The repeated complaints of its subjects, and the occurrence of a new instance of encroachment in the Tuppah of Nunnore, forming a portion of Betteah, which led to an affair in which Subah Luchinger, an officer of the Nepaulese government, was slain, at last induced the British government to depute one of its civil officers on the spot, where he was met by deputies from the state of Nepaul, in concert with whom proceedings were held, and evidence taken, for the purpose of ascertaining the claims of the parties. The result left no doubt of the right of the British government, and of the unjust and violent procedure of the Nepaulese.

A more striking proof of the spirit of rapacity and unjust aggression by which the Nepaulese were actuated, cannot be adduced, than the fact, that, after having agreed in the investigation referred to above, and after the actual deputation of officers by each government, the Nepaulese suddenly seized an additional tract of country belonging to the company, at a very short distance from the scene of their former aggressions. This violent and unjust procedure would have warranted an immediate demand for restitution, or even the actual re-occupation of the lands by force; and it may now be subject of regret to the British government that this course was not pursued. Far, however, from resenting or punishing this daring outrage as it deserved, the British government resolved to persevere in the amicable course which it had pursued in other cases, and permitted Mr. Young, the gentleman deputed to meet the Nepaulese commissioners, to extend his inquiries to the lands newly seized as above stated, as well as those which formed the original object of his deputation.

The pretext by which the Nepaulese attempted to justify their occupation of the lands in Nunnoar, which consisted of no fewer than twenty-two villages, was, that they were included in the Tuppah of Rotehut, forming a division of Pergunah Sunnown, which Tuppah was restored to the Nepaulese in the year 1780, with the rest of the Terraice of Muckwanpore, which had been conquered by the British arms under major Kinloch. The utter groundlessness of this pretext was proved by the evidence taken by Mr. Young, which clearly established that the disputed lands were situated in the Tuppah of Nunnoar, a portion of Purgunnah Suurawan, which had been reserved by the company at the time of the restitution of Rotehut and Muckwanpore.

The declaration charges the Nepaulese with having acted on a premeditated system of gradual encroachment, which, owing to the unexampled forbearance and moderation of the British government, they had already found to be successful; and that the assertion of the twenty-two villages having been included in the Tuppah of Rotehut, was merely brought forward to give a colour to their conduct. The attempt to fix on the subjects of the honourable company the guilt of the murder of Subah Luchinger, and to urge, because the Rajah of Betteah, and his followers, were not punished for that act, that they were justified in their subsequent proceedings, is rebutted by the uncontested fact, that Luchinger had, previously to the occurrence of the affray in which he died, possessed himself of some villages in Betteah, and was preparing to extend his encroachments. The declaration then proceeds:

As the final resolution of the British government, with respect to the usurped lands in Betteah, was in part influenced by the conduct of the Nepaulese, relative to the disputed territory of Bootwul Sheoraj in Goruckpore, it will be proper to advert to the circumstances of that transaction in this place.

It is notorious, and it has also been proved by reference to authentic records, and by the unimpeached testimony of living witnesses, that the whole of Bootwul, to the very foot of the hills, with the exception of the town of Bootwul alone, was held by the Rajahs of Palpah, from the Nawaub Vizier, for a considerable period antecedent to the treaty of cession in 1801: and that it was transferred to the company by the terms of that treaty, being specifically included in the schedule

thereunto annexed. It is no less matter of notoriety that the district of Bootwul actually came into the possession of the British government by virtue of the cession, and that a settlement was made by the collector of Goruckpore with the agent of the late Rajah of Palpah, at that time a prisoner at Catmandhoo, for an annual rent of thirty-two thousand rupees, without the semblance of an objection on the part of the Rajah of Nepaul. So it remained until the year 1804, when the Nepaulese commenced that system of gradual encroachment below the hills, which terminated in their occupation of nearly the whole district of Bootwul. The Tuppah of Sheoraj was occupied by the Nepaulese antecedently to the cession; but it is no less certain, that it was a part of the territory of the Vizier, and, together with the rest of the low lands skirting the hills in the district of Goruckpore, included in the cession.

The Nepaulese pretended to found their claim to Bootwul and Sheoraj, and to the other portions on the lands below the hills, on the circumstance of their having formed the Terraice, or low lands of the hill countries of Bulpah, Goolmee, Pentaneh, Kamchee, &c. which the Nepaulese have conquered. Admitting that the low lands were possessed by the chiefs of the neighbouring hill principalities, the admission does not affect the question, since it was perfectly ascertained, that for a considerable period before the Goorkah conquest, they formed a part of the dominions of Oude; and the conquest therefore of the independent hill principalities cannot give to the conquering power any just claim to other lands, which, though in the occupation of the same chiefs, were held independent tenures from another state.

The system of gradual, and at times almost imperceptible, encroachment pursued by the Nepaulese, prevented the British government from having recourse to such measures as would have re-established its authority in the usurped lands. The remonstrance and discussions which followed the first usurpation in that quarter, continued with frequent interruption, for a period of some years, during which the Nepaulese extended their encroachments. At length a proposition was made by the Rajah of Nepaul, that commissioners should be appointed to treat on the spot, and decide the respective claims of the parties, under the express condition that both governments would abide by the issue of it. The proposition was acceded to: major Bradshaw proceeded to Bootwul, and met two commissioners from Catmandhoo: after much delay and procrastination, the proceedings were brought to a close; the most irrefragable proofs, both oral and documentary, established the right of the British government to the whole of the low lands. The Nepaulese commissioners, unable to reject the force of this evidence, and restrained by the order of their court, from admitting the right of the British government, pretended that they were not authorised to come to a decision, and referred the case to the Rajah's government for orders. The British government then applied to the Rajah to give up the lands, in consequence of the result of the investigation; which he refused. In this state the affair necessarily remained until the ensuing season, 1813—14. In the meanwhile major Bradshaw proceeded, as soon as the state of the country admitted of his marching to the frontier of Betteah, where he was to be met by commissioners from Nepaul, empowered to adjust, in concert with him, the depending claims in that quarter, no practical measure having yet resulted from the inquiry conducted by Mr. Young.

Major Bradshaw, soon after his arrival, renewed a demand which had been made to the British government, but not enforced at the time, for the restoration of the twenty-two villages of Nunnoar, previously to any examination of the question of right. This demand was acceded to by the Nepaulese, and the villages were re-occupied by the officers of the honourable company, subject to the ultimate disposal of them, according to the issue of the intended inquiry. The governor-general in council, after due deliberation, now conceived that, in point of fairness, nothing more could be required than that the commissioners of both governments should meet for the purpose of discussing the question on the basis of investigation

actually closed, and of supplying any defects which might be considered in that investigation by further inquiry on the spot. This proposal being made by major Bradshaw, with an offer to produce further documents, they declared that they would not meet him, nor hold any communication with him; and, revoking the conditional transfer of the reversed lands, demanded that major Bradshaw should instantly leave the frontier. The British government, finding all conciliatory proposals rejected with insult, ordered the troops to march; and the Nepaulese forces, and the public officers of that government, retiring on the advance of the British troops, the civil officers of the honourable company were enabled to establish their authority in the disputed lands.

The commencement of the rainy season shortly rendered it necessary to withdraw the regular troops, in order that they might not be exposed to the periodical fevers which reign throughout the tract in that part of the year. The defence of the recovered lands was, of course, unavoidably entrusted to the police establishments. The apparent acquiescence, however, of the Nepaulese in what had taken place, left no room for apprehension: especially as no real violence had been used in obliging the Nepaulese to retire from the district. On the morning of the 29th of May, the principal police station in Bootwul was attacked by a large body of the Nepaulese troops, headed by an officer of that government, named Munraj Foujdar, and driven out of Bootwul, with the loss of eighteen men killed and wounded. Among the former was the Darojah, or principal police officer, who was murdered in cold blood, with circumstances of peculiar barbarity, in the presence of Munraj Foujdar, after surrendering himself a prisoner. Another police Tannah was subsequently attacked by the Nepaulese troops, and driven out with the loss of several persons killed and wounded. In consequence of the impracticability of supporting the police Tannahs, by sending troops into the country at that unhealthy season, it became necessary to withdraw them, and the Nepaulese were thus enabled to re-occupy the whole of the disputed territory, which they have since retained. The British government had not ceased to hope that an amicable adjustment of its differences with the state of Nepaul might still be accomplished, when the perpetration of this sanguinary and atrocious outrage, by which the state of Nepaul at once placed itself in the condition of a public enemy of the British government, put an end to the possibility of any accommodation, except on the basis of unqualified submission and atonement. Still the governor-general would not proceed to actual hostilities, without giving to the Rajah of Nepaul one other opening for avoiding so serious an issue. Therefore, his excellency wrote to the Rajah of Nepaul, to apprise him of what must be the consequence of the insolent outrage which had taken place, unless the government of Nepaul should exonerate itself from the act by disavowal and punishment of the perpetrators. This letter received an answer wholly evasive, and even implying menace.

The requisite submission and atonement having thus been withheld, the British government had no choice left but an appeal to arms, in order to avenge its innocent subjects, and vindicate its insulted dignity and honour. The unfavourable season of the year alone prevented it from having instant recourse to the measures necessary for chastising the insolence, violence, and barbarity of the Nepaulese, whose whole conduct, not only in the particular cases above detailed, but in every part of their proceedings towards the British government for a series of years, has been marked by an entire disregard of the principles of honour, justice, and good faith, aggravated by the most flagrant insolence, presumption, and audacity, and has manifested the existence of a long determined resolution, on the part of the court of Catmundhoo, to reject all the just demands of the British government, and to refer the decision of the questions depending between the two states to the issue of a war.

Ever since the murder of the police officers in Bootwul, and during the unavoidable interval of inaction which followed, the Nepaulese, with a baseness and barbarity peculiar to themselves, had endeavoured to destroy the British troops and the subjects of the company, on the frontier of Sarun, by

poisoning the water of the wells and tanks in a tract of considerable extent. The fortunate discovery of this attempt baffled the infamous design, and placed incontrovertible proof of it in the hands of the British government.

The impediment to military operations, arising from the season of the year, is now removed, and the British government is prepared, by the active and vigorous employment of its resources, to compel the state of Nepaul to make that atonement which it is so justly entitled to demand; the British government has long borne the conduct of the Nepaulese with unexampled patience, opposing to their violence, insolence, and rapacity, a course of procedure uniformly just and moderate. But forbearance and moderation must have their limits, and the British government having been compelled to take up arms in defence of its rights, its interests, and its honour, will never lay them down, until its enemy shall be forced to make ample submission and atonement for his outrageous conduct, to indemnify it for the expence of the war, and to afford full security for the maintenance of those relations which he has so shamefully violated.

If the misguided councils of the state of Nepaul shall lead it obstinately to persist in rejecting those just demands, it will itself be responsible for the consequences. The British government has studiously endeavoured, by every effort of conciliation, to avert the extremity of a war, but it can have no apprehension of the result; and it relies with confidence on the justice of its cause, and on the skill, discipline, and valour of its armies, for a speedy, honourable, and decisive termination of the contest in which it is engaged.

By command of his excellency the governor-general,

(Signed) J. ADAM,
Secretary to government.

Published by command of his excellency the vice-president in council.

J. MONCKTON,
Acting secretary to government.

The chief command of the forces against Nepaul having been entrusted to major-general sir David Ochterlony, he began his operations by an attempt to take possession of three points in front of his right, by which the supplies of the enemy from the interior would be cut off. For this purpose lieutenant-colonel Thomson was sent at night, on December the 27th, to dislodge them from the stockades, or timber forts, which they had erected on two of these points. The difficulties of the road having prevented him from reaching the first point till late on the following morning, he found the stockade too strong to be carried by assault, and brought up his artillery against it. While engaged in preparing a battery, he was attacked in great numbers by the enemy, who attempted to surround him. The warm reception they met with obliged them to retire with loss; and having abandoned one stockade, the Nepaulese took possession of a post at a small distance with all their force.

At the beginning of 1815, an advance of the divisions commanded by major-general Wood and Morley was successfully resisted by the enemy, who, with superior numbers, obliged the assailants to retreat. An attack also on a stockaded fort, made by the division under major-general Martindell, was repulsed with considerable loss. General Ochterlony, however, succeeded, by a series of skilful operations, on the 14th and 15th of April 1815, in establishing the British troops on the Malown range of mountains. On the 16th, a desperate attempt was made by the Gorkah commander, in person, to storm the position of the reserve, under lieutenant-col. Thompson, which terminated in the total defeat of the enemy with severe loss. In the same month, colonel Nichols was employed in another part of the Nepaul frontier, where he carried by assault the fortified heights and town of Almora, repulsed the enemy in a night attack on the British position, and on the 27th concluded a convention with the principal Nepaul chiefs of the Kemahoon. The result of these operations was the surrender of the Nepaul or Gorkah commander in chief, Ummer Sing Thappa; the evacuation of the fortresses of Malown and Tyetuck; and the cession of the whole country from Kemahoon to the Sutlege. For this success the governor-general directed a royal salute to be fired at all the principal stations of the army. It is evident, however,

that the conflict had been with a bold and adventurous foe, with whom the establishment of a lasting pacification was more to be desired than expected.

Intelligence of the peace of Ghent had reached America early in the year, and the treaty was ratified on the 17th of February by the president and senate of the United States.

THE TREATY IN DETAIL.

Art. I. There shall be a firm and universal peace between his Britannic majesty and the United States, and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns, and people of every degree, without exception of places or persons. All hostilities by sea and land shall cease, as soon as this treaty shall have been ratified by both parties as hereinafter mentioned. All territories, places, and possessions whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of the treaty, excepting only the islands hereafter mentioned, shall be restored without delay, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any of the artillery, or other public property, originally captured in the said forts or places, and which shall remain therein upon the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, or any slaves or other private property. And all archives, records, deeds, and papers, either of a public nature, or belonging to private persons, which in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of the officers of either party, shall be, as far as may be practicable, forthwith restored, and delivered to the proper authorities and persons to whom they respectively belong.

Such of the islands in the bay of Passamaquoddy as are claimed by both parties shall remain in the possession of the party in whose occupation they may be at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, until the decision respecting the title to the said islands shall have been made, in conformity with the fourth article of this treaty.

No disposition made by this treaty, as to such possession of the islands and territories claimed by both parties, shall in any manner whatever be construed to affect the right of either.

Art. II. Immediately after the ratifications of this treaty by both parties, as hereinafter mentioned, orders shall be sent to the armies, squadrons, officers, subjects, and citizens of the two powers, to cease from all hostilities. And to prevent all causes of complaint which might arise on account of the prizes which may be taken at sea after the said ratifications of this treaty, it is reciprocally agreed, that all vessels and effects which may be taken after the space of twelve days from the said ratifications, upon all parts of the coast of North America, from the latitude of twenty-three degrees north, to the latitude of fifty degrees north, and as far eastward in the Atlantic ocean as the thirty-sixth degree of west longitude from the meridian of Greenwich, shall be restored on each side: that the time shall be thirty days in all other parts of the Atlantic ocean north of the equinoctial line, or equator; and the same time for the British and Irish channels, for the gulf of Mexico, and all parts of the West Indies: forty days for the North seas, for the Baltic, and for all parts of the Mediterranean: sixty days for the Atlantic ocean, south of the equator, as far as the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope: ninety days for every other part of the world south of the equator; and one hundred and twenty days for all other parts of the world without exception.

Art. III. All prisoners of war taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, shall be restored as soon as practicable after the ratification of this treaty, as hereinafter mentioned, on their paying the debts which they may have contracted during their captivity. The two contracting parties respectively engage to discharge in specie the advances which may have been made by the other for the sustenance and maintenance of such prisoners.

Art. IV. Whereas it was stipulated by the 2d article in the treaty of peace of 1783, between his Britannic majesty and the United States of America, that the boundary of the United States should comprehend "all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one point, and

East Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean, excepting such islands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of Nova Scotia;" and whereas the several islands in the bay of Passamaquoddy, which is part of the bay of Fundy, and the island of Grand Menan, in the said bay of Fundy, are claimed by the United States, as being comprehended within their aforesaid boundaries, which said islands are claimed as belonging to his Britannic majesty, as having been at the time of, and previous to the aforesaid treaty of 1783, within the limits of the province of Nova Scotia; in order, therefore, finally, to decide upon these claims, it is agreed that they shall be referred to two commissioners, to be appointed in the following manner, viz.—One commissioner shall be appointed by his Britannic majesty, and one by the president of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the senate thereof; and the said two commissioners, so appointed, shall be sworn impartially to examine and decide upon the said claims, according to such evidence as shall be laid before them on the part of his Britannic majesty and of the United States respectively. The said commissioners shall meet at St. Andrew's, in the province of New Brunswick, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. The said commissioners shall, by a declaration or report, under their hands and seals, decide to which of the two contracting parties the several islands aforesaid do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said treaty of peace of 1783: and if the said commissioners shall agree in their decision, both parties shall consider such decision as final and conclusive.

It is further agreed, that in the event of the two commissioners differing upon all or any of the matters so referred to them, or in the event of both or either of the said commissioners refusing or declining, or wilfully omitting to act as such, they shall make, jointly or separately, report or reports, as well to the government of his Britannic majesty as to that of the United States, stating in detail the points on which they differ, and the grounds upon which their respective opinions have been formed, or the grounds upon which they, or either of them, have so refused, declined, or omitted to act. And his Britannic majesty and the government of the United States hereby agree to refer the report or reports of the said commissioners to some friendly sovereign or state, to be then named for that purpose, and who shall be requested to decide on the differences which may be stated in the said report or reports, or upon the report of one commissioner, together with the grounds upon which the other commissioner shall have refused, declined, or omitted to act, as the case may be. And if the commissioner so refusing, declining, or omitting to act, shall also wilfully omit to state the grounds upon which he has so done, in such manner that the said statement may be referred to such friendly sovereign or state, together with the report of such other commissioner, that such sovereign or state shall decide, *ex parte*, upon the said report alone; and his Britannic majesty, and the government of the United States, engage to consider the decision of such friendly sovereign or state to be final and conclusive on all the matters so referred.

Art. V. Whereas neither that point of the high lands lying due north from the source of the river St. Croix, designated in the former treaty of peace between the two powers as the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, nor the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river, have yet been ascertained; and whereas that part of the boundary line between the dominions of the two powers, which extends from the source of the river St. Croix, directly north to the above mentioned north-west angle of Nova Scotia, thence along the said high lands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river, thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, thence by a line due west on said latitude until it strikes the river Iroquois, or Cataraguy, has not yet been surveyed, it is agreed that for these several purposes two commissioners shall be appointed, sworn, and authorised, to act exactly in the manner directed with respect to those men-

tioned in the next preceding article, unless otherwise specified in the present article.—The said commissioners shall meet at St. Andrew's, in the province of New Brunswick, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. The said commissioners shall have power to ascertain and determine the points above mentioned, in conformity with the provisions of the said treaty of peace of 1783; and shall cause the boundary aforesaid, from the source of the river St. Croix to the river Iroquois, or Cataraguy, to be surveyed and marked according to the said provisions; the said commissioners shall make a map of the said boundary, and annex to it a declaration under their hands and seals, certifying it to be a true map of the said boundary, and particularising the latitude and longitude of the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, of the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river, and of such other points of the said boundary as they may deem proper: and both parties agree to consider such map and declaration as finally and conclusively fixing the said boundary. And in the event of the said two commissioners differing, or both, or either of them, refusing, declining, or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements, shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly sovereign or state shall be made in all respects, as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

Art. VI. Whereas by the former treaty of peace, that portion of the boundary of the United States, from the point where the forty-fifth degree of north latitude strikes the river Iroquois, or Cataraguy, to the lake Superior, was declared to be "along the middle of said river into lake Ontario, through the middle of said lake, until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and lake Erie; thence along the middle of said communication into lake Erie, through the middle of said lake, until it arrives at the water communication into the lake Huron, thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and lake Superior;" and whereas doubts have arisen what was the middle of the said river, lakes, and water communications, and whether certain islands lying in the same were within the dominions of his Britannic majesty or of the United States. In order, therefore, finally to decide these doubts, they shall be referred to two commissioners, to be appointed, sworn, and authorised to act exactly in the manner directed with respect to those mentioned in the next preceding article, unless otherwise specified in this present article. The said commissioners shall meet, in the first instance, at Albany, in the state of New York, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. The said commissioners shall, by a report or declaration, under their hands and seals, designate the boundary through the said river, lakes, and water communications, and decide to which of the two contracting parties the several islands lying within the said rivers, lakes, and water communications, do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said treaty of 1783. And both parties agree to consider such designation and decision as final and conclusive. And in the event of the said two commissioners differing, or both or either of them refusing, declining, or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements, shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly sovereign or state shall be made, in all respects as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

Art. VII. It is further agreed, that the said two last mentioned commissioners, after they shall have executed the duties assigned to them in the preceding article, shall be, and they are hereby authorised upon their oaths, impartially to fix and determine, according to the true intent of the said treaty of peace of 1783, that part of the boundary between the dominions of the two powers, which extends from the water communication between lake Huron and lake Superior, to the most north-western point of the lake of the Woods; to decide to which of the two parties the several islands lying in the lakes, water communications, and rivers forming the said boundary, do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said

treaty of peace of 1783, and to cause such parts of the said boundary as require it, to be surveyed and marked. The said commissioners shall, by a report or declaration under their hands and seals, designate the boundary aforesaid, state their decision on the points thus referred to them, and particularise the latitude and longitude of the most north-western point of the lake of the Woods, and of such other parts of the said boundary as they may deem proper. And both parties agree to consider such designation and decision as final and conclusive. And in the event of the said two commissioners differing, or both, or either of them, refusing, declining, or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements, shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly sovereign or state shall be made in all respects as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

Art. VIII. The several boards of two commissioners, mentioned in the four preceding articles, shall respectively have power to appoint a secretary, and to employ such surveyors or other persons as they shall judge necessary. Duplicates of all their respective reports, declarations, statements, and decisions, and of their accounts, and of the journal of their proceedings, shall be delivered by them to the agents of his Britannic majesty, and to the agents of the United States, who may be respectively appointed and authorised to manage the business on behalf of their respective governments. The said commissioners shall be respectively paid in such manner as shall be agreed between the two contracting parties, such agreement being to be settled at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty. And all other expenses attending the said commissions shall be defrayed equally by the two parties. And in the case of death, sickness, resignation, or necessary absence, the place of every such commissioner respectively shall be supplied in the same manner as such commissioner was first appointed, and the new commissioner shall take the same oath or affirmation, and do the same duties.

It is further agreed between the two contracting parties, that in case of any of the islands mentioned in any of the preceding articles, which were in the possession of one of the parties prior to the commencement of the present war between the two countries, should, by the decision of any of the boards of commissioners aforesaid, or of the sovereign or state so referred to as in the four next preceding articles contained, fall within the dominions of the other party, all grants of land made previous to the commencement of the war by the party having had such possession, shall be as valid as if such island or islands had by such decision or decisions been adjudged to be within the dominions of the party having had such possession.

Art. IX. The United States of America engage to put an end, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, to hostilities with all the tribes or nations of Indians with whom they may be at war at the time of such ratification, and forthwith to restore to such tribes or nations respectively, all the possessions, rights, and privileges which they may have enjoyed or been entitled to in 1811, previous to such hostilities. Provided always, that such tribes or nations shall agree to desist from all hostilities against the United States of America, their citizens and subjects, upon the ratification of the present treaty being notified to such tribes or nations, and shall so desist accordingly.

And his Britannic majesty engages, on his part, to put an end immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, to hostilities with all the tribes or nations of Indians with whom he may be at war at the time of such ratification, and forthwith to restore to such tribes or nations respectively, all the possessions, rights, and privileges, which they may have enjoyed or been entitled to in 1811, previous to such hostilities. Provided always, that such tribes or nations shall agree to desist from all hostilities against his Britannic majesty and his subjects, upon the ratification of the present treaty being notified to such tribes or nations, and shall so desist accordingly.

Art. X. Whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcileable with the principles of humanity and justice, and whereas both his majesty and the United States are desirous of

continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition, it is hereby agreed that both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavours to accomplish so desirable an object.

Art. XI. This treaty, when the same shall have been ratified on both sides without alteration by either of the contracting parties, and the ratifications mutually exchanged, shall be binding on both parties; and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington, in the space of four months from this day, or sooner if practicable.

In faith whereof, we the respective plenipotentiaries, have signed this treaty, and have thereunto affixed our seals.

Done in triplicate, at Ghent, the twenty-fourth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen.

(L. S.) GAMBIER.
(L. S.) H. GOULBURN.
(L. S.) WM. ADAMS.
(L. S.) JOHN QUINCEY ADAMS.
(L. S.) J. A. BAYARD.
(L. S.) H. CLAY.
(L. S.) JON. RUSSELL.
(L. S.) ALBERT GALLATIN.

On February first, the president of the United States sent a message to both houses of congress, accompanying the treaty of peace. In this paper, after some general observations on the policy of being at all times in a state of preparation against the possible necessity of having again recourse to arms, the president expressed his confidence that the wisdom of congress would provide for the maintenance of an adequate regular force, for the gradual advance of the naval establishment, for improving all the means of harbour defence, for adding discipline to the bravery of the militia, and for cultivating the art military in all its essential branches, under the liberal patronage of government. The peace establishment, after much debate between the two houses, was fixed at 10,000 regulars; from which small number it may be concluded, that a general aversion existed against any attempt to promote a spirit of conquest in the United States.

A treaty between major Jackson and the Creek Indians, by which the war of the latter against the United States had been terminated in August 1814, was ratified by the president and senate. The naval force of the United States, which had been set free by the peace of Great Britain, was at the same time usefully and honourably employed in avenging the piracy of the Barbary states on the commerce of the Americans. A squadron commanded by commodore Decatur sailed to the Mediterranean, and on June 20th engaged an Algerine fleet, of which two ships were taken; one being that of the admiral. After this victory he proceeded to Algiers, the dey of which entered into a treaty, by which the tribute demanded from the Americans was for ever relinquished.—Decatur then landing in the bay of Tunis, demanded satisfaction of the government for having suffered two prizes made by the Americans, and carried into that port, to be taken out by a British ship of war. He obliged the bey to pay the damage into the hands of the American consul; and sailing to Tripoli, compelled, by menaces, the pashaw of that place to pay 25,000 dollars, by way of indemnity. Commodore Bambridge, the American commander in chief, afterwards adopted precautionary measures for preventing any future depredations on the commerce of the United States by the Barbary corsairs.

The war with Great Britain having left the American warehouses exhausted of their store of many necessary articles, as soon as peace was restored their ships came in numbers to the British ports and renewed their usual commercial transactions, to the benefit of both countries. The sense each entertained of the mutual advantages to be derived from an intimate correspondence, and their disposition to forget past animosities, were agreeably displayed by a "convention to regulate the commerce between the territories of the United States of America and those of his Britannic majesty," agreed upon by the negociators on each part, in London, on July 3d, and ratified by the American president in December. Of its articles, the first stipulates generally a reciprocal liberty of commerce between the countries: 2. That no other duties on export or import, on either side, shall be imposed on the produce or manufactures of each country, than on the like goods to or from any other country; and

that the duties on shipping and goods imported shall be the same, whether the vessels be British or American; the same principle also to apply to drawbacks and bounties: 3. American vessels are to be admitted to trade with the four principal British settlements in the East Indies, paying no higher duties than the most favoured nations; but they are not to carry their cargoes direct to any other port than in the United States, there to be unladen; and also are not to engage in the British coasting trade of the East Indies: 4. Consuls for the protection of trade are to reside freely in each country: 5. This convention is to continue in force during four years.

On December 5th, president Madison transmitted to both houses of congress a message, in which a detailed account is given of the most important occurrences since their last meeting. It begins with relating the successful termination of the war which had been commenced by the regency of Algiers against the United States. It is next mentioned, as a source of satisfaction, that the treaty of peace with Great Britain has been succeeded by a commercial convention, the disposition shown in which, it is hoped, will be improved into liberal arrangements on other subjects which might otherwise endanger future harmony. The existing relations between the states and the Indians on their frontiers are then adverted to; and it is said, that whilst treaties of amity have been entered into with the greater part of the tribes on the western and north-western borders, a restlessness has been manifested by those on the southern frontier, who had been chastised into peace, which has called for preparatory measures to repress it. Two following paragraphs relate to the act passed for the military peace establishment, respecting which difficulties had occurred which still required legislative aid. The revival of the public credit is then spoken of with satisfaction, and a statement is given of the late receipts into the treasury. The national debt, as ascertained in October last, is reckoned at 120 millions of dollars, to which some addition would probably occur on the liquidation of the public accounts; and it is observed that the improved condition of the revenue would not only afford the means of maintaining the faith of the government towards its creditors, but would justify an immediate alleviation of burdens imposed by the war. Various objects of internal improvement are then pointed out for the consideration of congress, among which is the establishment of a national seminary of learning within the district of Columbia. The message closes with a congratulatory view of the situation and prospects of the country. "Whilst other portions of mankind (says the president) are labouring under the distresses of war, or struggling with adversity in other forms, the United States are in the tranquil enjoyment of prosperous and honourable peace. In reviewing the scenes through which it has been attained, we can rejoice in the proofs given, that our political institutions, founded in human rights, and framed for their preservation, are equal to the severest trials of war, as well as adapted to the ordinary periods of repose."

The political tumults by which France was agitated during the present year were extended to the West Indies. At Martinique, the troops who were in possession of the forts displayed such a disposition to mount the tri-coloured cockade, and declare for Buonaparte, that the count de Vaugirard, governor of the island, found it necessary to anticipate an open revolt, by assembling the soldiery and releasing from their obligations such of the soldiers as desired it; at the same time informing them that they must quit Martinique, and that an attempt to raise the standard of rebellion would be resisted by force. A revolutionary movement could not, however, have been prevented, if sir James Leith, commander of the British military force in the leeward islands, had not sent over from St. Lucie an auxiliary body of troops, which, landing in the island on June the 5th, occupied all the strong positions. The whole of the French troops, with the exception of part of a regiment, were afterwards permitted to depart from the island unarmed. The terms on which this succour was afforded were perfectly liberal. The sovereignty of the island was to remain entire in the king

of France; the British troops remaining to act as auxiliaries to the governor were to be maintained at the expense of the British government, and to preserve strict discipline. The persons and property of the inhabitants were to be fully respected.

In the island of Guadaloupe the revolutionary cause obtained a temporary triumph. A vessel having arrived, after a short passage, from France, on June 18th, with intelligence of the return of Napoleon, an insurrection broke out, in which the military and the citizens declared for Buonaparte. The governor, admiral count de Linois, was placed under arrest, as a matter of form, but on the next day he was set at liberty, and issued a proclamation, acquainting the soldiers and inhabitants with the late unexpected intelligence from Europe. On the same day Buonaparte was proclaimed in great ceremony at Point-a-Petre, under the direction of the commandant Fromentin, acting for general Boyer, and with every display of enthusiastic joy. As soon, however, as the affairs of Martinique were settled, preparations were making by the British commanders to wrest Guadaloupe from the imperial usurper. Sir James Leith, having collected troops from the windward islands and the continent of America, and made arrangements with rear-admiral sir Charles Durham, sailed, on July 31st from Carlisle bay in Barbadoes, whilst the land force, from St. Lucie, Martinique, and Dominica, was ordered to rendezvous at the Saintes. On the 7th August, the whole force being assembled at the Saintes, it was resolved to lose no time in making the attack, expedition being rendered necessary as well by the approach of the hurricane season, as by the internal state of Guadaloupe, in which the sanguinary scenes of the French revolution were about to be renewed. The 15th of the month, being Buonaparte's birthday, was, according to report, to have been solemnized by the execution of a number of royalists already condemned to death; and their rescue was an object of interest to the British commander. The troops of the line and armed militia in the island amounted to about 6000 men, posted in Grandterre and Basseterre, and it was the plan of sir J. Leith to land his principal force so as to prevent the intended junction of the enemy. This was successfully effected on the 8th, and the troops were moved forward, driving the enemy from the position they had taken. At the time of landing, the general and admiral circulated a proclamation, of which they had previously sent a copy to Linois with notice of their intention. Its substance was an information to the inhabitants of the events which had taken place in France since Buonaparte's landing, namely, his entire defeat at Waterloo, the march of Wellington and Blucher to Paris, and the advance of all the allied armies to the French frontiers. They also announced their arrival with a powerful force to place Guadaloupe under the protection of his Britannic majesty, and stated the terms on which they proposed to receive the colony.

Early on the 9th the troops advanced in columns with all possible rapidity, and a series of actions ensued, by which the enemy were completely cut off from making their intended junction. On that night an officer came to propose a capitulation on the part of Linois; but the answer returned was, that no other conditions would be accepted than those mentioned in the proclamation. On the next morning, preparations being made for an attack on Morne Houel, a white flag was hung out, as a signal that the troops in it had surrendered as prisoners of war, and that all the forts in the colony had yielded to the British arms. This conquest was obtained with a small loss, and by it an end was put to revolutionary attempts in the French West Indies. By the articles of capitulation, it was agreed that the count de Linois, Baron Boyer, and the French troops of the line, with the military administration, should be sent to France, to the duke of Wellington, as prisoners of war: that the militia who had already withdrawn to their habitations should be protected in person and property, but that those who were still in arms should be treated as prisoners of war, and sent away: that no individual should be molested by the British government on account of his political conduct to the present moment: and that the laws, and private property on shore, should be respected. All the forts, redoubts, &c. in the island, with

magazines, arms, and every thing military, were to be delivered to the British troops; and all persons under arms were to surrender them.

Guadaloupe, though completely in the martial occupation of Great Britain, was not reduced to a state of tranquillity. A number of French soldiers, who had deserted previously to the surrender of the island, took refuge in the woods, whence they carried on a desultory and ferocious war against the posts of the English, several of whom were killed in their desperate sallies. Many of the inhabitants of Point-a-Petre, who formerly pursued the trade of privateering, were suspected of holding correspondence with them, and supplying them with provisions and ammunition. Measures had, however, been taken to prevent this intercourse, and a force had been sent against the insurgents. A letter from Basseterre, dated November 2d, asserts that about three hundred of Buonaparte's adherents in the island had been apprehended, and that a ship load had been sent to Europe, many still remaining under strong guard in the fort. An exact police was maintained in the capital, by which order was perfectly preserved, though it was evident that the French inhabitants looked upon their conquerors with great aversion.

Some disputes with the Chinese empire were the source of difficulty and disquiet to our traders in that part of Asia during the last and the present years. Their origin is thus stated: Early in May 1814, a boat belonging to his majesty's ship Doris proceeded up the Tigris to Whampoa, and boarded an American schooner lying in the river. The viceroy of Canton considered this act as an insult offered to the government, and demanded satisfaction from the committee of English supercargoes. The committee, in various discussions with the Hong merchants and the chief magistrates of Macao, represented that they could not be answerable for the conduct of king's ships, over which they had no controul. The Chinese government appeared at first to admit the reasonableness of this allegation, but it afterwards addressed the committee, in a memorial, stating various complaints, and insisting on the immediate departure of the Doris. A subsequent act of the commander of that ship aggravated the displeasure of the Chinese government. A vessel belonging to Calcutta was captured by an American privateer, which was proceeding with her to Whampoa, when, perceiving the Doris, she took refuge in the harbour. The governor of that settlement, in conformity with an existing treaty, ordered the prize to quit the Portuguese limits, and sent a guard for her protection till she was beyond them. A boat from the Doris immediately afterwards boarded her, and found in her three British subjects. This was construed by the Chinese viceroy as the capture of a neutral in Macao roads, and he issued a strict prohibition against supplying the king's ships with provision. To his demand for the removal of these ships the committee remonstrated, that it would be endangering many valuable Indiamen and private traders hourly arriving in the river, which, if deprived of their protectors, would certainly fall a prey to the numerous American privateers on the station; and it was further said, that it was manifestly unjust to admit without question American privateers with their prizes, and exclude British ships of war. The Doris, in the meantime, whilst conveying two English vessels up the Bocca of the Tigris, and protecting them from four Americans lying there, was fired at by the Chinese ships of war. Captain O'Brien returned one gun without shot, and boarding a Chinese ship demanded an explanation of the insult. This circumstance was reported to the government in a manner unfavourable to the British captain; and though proper representations on the subject were transmitted to Canton, they were returned unopened. About the middle of September, the viceroy issued an order, forbidding all Chinese subjects to enter into the service of the British resident in the factory. The committee thereupon stated, that for more than a century the servants employed in the factory were chiefly Chinese, and that the houses of the factory were not capable of containing the number of Europeans requisite for the necessary duties. These, and other representations, were made in the Can-

nese language, which were returned by the viceroy unopened, with the declaration that he would receive addresses from the English only in their own language; the obvious reason for which was, that by the medium of false translations he might transmit to Pekin garbled accounts of their contents. After various other indications of ill-will to the English, all intercourse was prohibited between the company's ships at Whampoa and the king's ships at Champee, boats passing up and down the river were stopt, and several English vessels provided with port-clearances were fired at. The committee at length, finding that no justice could be expected from the viceroy, who appeared to be entirely gained over to the American interest, resolved upon appealing to the imperial court; and in the beginning of October issued orders for all British subjects to quit Canton within four days. The order was suspended for the purpose of trying the effect of a negociation by the medium of sir G. Staunton, who acted as representative of the company; but this having proved unsuccessful, sir George, in November, left Canton, accompanied by all the British subjects, ships, and treasure, leaving with the local government a sealed letter to be forwarded to the court of Pekin. This decisive proceeding alarmed the viceroy, who, dreading the defalcation of the revenue, and the consequent displeasure of the emperor, deputed the Hong merchants to follow sir G. Staunton, and renew the conference. He was persuaded to return, and negociations being recommenced, several important concessions were made by the Chinese. The king's ships returned to Champee, those of the company proceeded to Whampoa, and the usual amicable relations were resumed.

Subsequent advices, however, convey the information that these appearances of conciliation were fallacious. A month had scarcely elapsed when an imperial edict was received at Canton, extremely hostile to the British both in its style and spirit. After renewing the complaints against the conduct of the English men of war, it peremptorily ordered the dismissal of the younger Hong merchants, and the consignment of the whole British trade to three or four persons. It expressed great displeasure against sir G. Staunton for his interference, and appeared to enjoin his detention. It accused the English of being a litigious and ungrateful race, delighting in broils, and insensible of the blessings showered upon them. With the real or affected contempt of the commercial relations between the two countries, it affirmed, that in return for the valuable products exported from China, the English have introduced only articles of luxury, the effect of which has been to corrupt his imperial majesty's subjects. In conclusion, it informed the supercargoes, that if they were discontented with the paternal protection of the Chinese government, the wisest thing they could do would be to withdraw themselves from it. Whether or not the supercargoes would take this advice seemed at that time undetermined; but the state of affairs was on the whole so unpromising, that a mercantile house in London was strongly advised to lay aside speculations to China for a twelvemonth to come.

In the meantime another embassy to the court of Pekin has been resolved upon by the British government, at the head of which lord Amherst has been placed, and great preparations are making to give it due splendour. Whether it will prove more beneficial than that of lord Macartney, time must discover: there is, however, too much reason to apprehend that in the oriental regions the English nation is regarded with more fear and suspicion than good-will; and probably the war in Nepaul, and the revolution in Ceylon, if brought to the knowledge of the Chinese government, will tend to augment the unfavourable impressions it has already received.

Reports have been made to the court of Rome from the Roman catholic missionaries in China, of a great progress of the Christian religion in that empire. M. de Molke, the titular bishop of Cathay, states, that in the province of Fo-kien, twenty-two families had been converted by him, who, in the course of one year, administered baptism to 10,400 children, and 1677 adults; and that 2675 catechumens were under preparations for receiving the holy sacrament. In Ho-nan, the labours of the fathers had effected the

conversion of 126 families, and 16,000 adults and children had received baptism. In other provinces some progress had been made; and churches were gradually multiplying, one of which had been erected in sight of the grand temple of the idol Fo, in Fo-kien.—On the whole, it is supposed that the new Christians in China cannot be fewer than 60,000 souls. In Tonquin, likewise, the missionaries had been permitted to pursue their labours, the fruits of which had been upwards of 6000 converts. When the many vicissitudes of the Christian religion in the Chinese empire are recollected, and that when it has become an object of political suspicion, it has always been suppressed by despotic power, little confidence will probably be placed in this revival; not to add, that among a people so immersed in ignorance, it can only be exchanging one form of superstition for another.

An article of intelligence from Egypt, dated July 25th, affords information which would import the final suppression of the Wahabee Arabs. Mahomet Ali, the viceroy of Egypt, had returned to the capital after an absence of almost two years, in which he had been engaged in an expedition for the purpose of recovering the holy cities of Mecca and Medina from the Wahabees, and for removing the obstacles presented by those marauders to all commercial intercourse by sea and land. It is affirmed that his exertions have been attended with complete success; that he has driven them from the holy cities, and the ports along the coasts of the Red Sea, has taken possession of their great inland capital Tarabe, their principal strong hold, and has effected their total defeat, by pursuing them to the remotest confines of their widely extended territory. It is, however, known, from the experience of ages, that the dispersion and discomfiture of an Arabian tribe are far distant from their extirpation.

The Tunisian government has undergone a revolution in this year, accompanied with circumstances of barbarity characteristic of that part of the world. The old bey, Sidi Ottoman, was assassinated on January 20th, by his cousin, Sidi Mahomet Flassen, who had long enjoyed his confidence and favour. The two sons of the bey, who were in the apartments of their wives at the time of the assassination, took to flight, but were overtaken, and dragged into the presence of Sidi Mahomet, who caused their heads to be immediately struck off. He was then recognised as absolute chief of the regency; and his prime minister, Jussuf Rogia, commenced his functions with ordering a favourite of the former bey to be impaled, and another to be strangled.

The martial glory acquired by the British nation in its long war had thrown such a lustre on the military character, that it had become almost as much a favourite here as in the monarchies on the continent; and the Prince Regent determined to signalise the conclusion of the arduous contest in which the empire had been engaged, by a splendid display of his sense of the meritorious services of the officers of his majesty's forces by sea and land. The military order of the Bath was the institution by which he was pleased to execute this intention; and in virtue of the powers reserved to the sovereign in the statutes of this order, he made an extension of its plan and limits for the purpose of including a greater number of individuals in the honours bestowed by it. On January 3d, 1816, there was published in the London Gazette an ordinance, the substance of which will appear in the following summary:—It begins with declaring that, from this time forward, the order of the Bath shall be composed of three classes, differing in their degrees of rank and dignity. The first is to consist of knights grand crosses, which designation is substituted for that of knights companions. The number of these is not at any time to exceed seventy-two, of which a number not exceeding twelve may be nominated in consideration of eminent services rendered to the state in civil and diplomatic employments. By a subsequent article it is ordained, that princes of the blood-royal, holding high commissions in the army or navy, may be appointed grand crosses without being included in the number above-specified. The military rank required for this dignity is that of major-general in the army, and rear-admiral in the navy The rights and privileges in which they are

invested are the same with those formerly belonging to the knights companions.

The second class is to be composed of knights commanders, who are to enjoy precedence before all knights bachelors. Upon their first institution, their number is not to exceed one hundred and eighty, exclusive of foreign officers holding British commissions, of whom ten may be admitted as honorary knights. But in the event of future wars in which distinction is obtained, the number may be increased. No person is to be eligible to this class who does not hold a commission not below the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, or of post-captain in the navy. The knights commanders are entitled to assume the distinctive appellation of knighthood; and no officer shall hereafter be nominated to the dignity of grand cross who shall not previously have been appointed a knight commander.

The third class is to be composed of officers in the army and navy, to be styled companions of the order of the Bath. They are not to be entitled to the appellation or precedence of knights bachelors, but are to take place of all esquires. None are to be admitted into this class but such as have received a medal or other badge of honour, or have been mentioned by name in the London Gazette, as having been distinguished by valour and conduct in action.

Other articles describe the badges, ensigns, or distinctive marks assigned to each of these classes; and lists are subjoined of the persons nominated to them, which comprehend all the eminent military characters of the three kingdoms. As this nomination took place before that renewal of the war, the termination of which has been so peculiarly glorious to the British arms, it will readily be supposed that great additions have in the latter part of the year been made to the preceding lists.

The internal tranquillity of the country has in this year undergone some disturbance, though, in the larger portion of the empire, not to a degree materially affecting the public peace. The re introduction into parliament of a bill to prohibit the importation of corn, except when it had reached a price considered by the great body of consumers as exorbitant, rekindled the animosity of the inferior classes against the legislature; and the metropolis was for some days in a state of tumult and outrage which excited serious apprehensions in the government, and caused strong measures to be resorted to for quelling the popular commotion. This was with little difficulty effected, after several obnoxious individuals had been sufferers from the usual mischiefs of riotous mobs, directed against windows and furniture. In some parts of the country violences of a similar kind were perpetrated, though in a less degree. The public mind was pacified by a fall in the price of grain, which a plentiful harvest rendered progressive, till it reached a point that threw real distress upon the class of agriculturists, and entirely frustrated any hopes which the landed interest might have entertained of maintaining by legislative measures the advanced value and rents of estates.

A resistance to legal authority of a more alarming nature, and much more difficult to repress, broke out in the latter part of the year among the numerous sailors of the ports in Durham and Northumberland, chiefly occupied in the coal trade. Their object was to obtain an advance in their wages, and also to fix a certain proportion of able seamen to be employed in every coaster. The coal-owners not acceding to their demands, they began to use measures of force, which were the more serious from the method and order with which their operations were conducted, displaying an organised combination similar to that in the naval mutiny. They took entire possession of the river Tyne, by a chain of boats which did not allow a vessel to put to sea without a regular permit. The efforts of the local magistrates, and conciliatory propositions from the merchants, proving insufficient to restore obedience, whilst the sailors in other ports were also manifesting a disposition to combine for similar purposes, government resolved to interpose with effect to quell this dangerous spirit. A strong force, military and naval, was collected at the disturbed ports, which was so judiciously applied, that no resistance was attempted on the part of the sailors, and their coercive system was immediately broken up. Reason-

able offers were then made to them, which they accepted, and tranquillity was restored. Not a life was lost on the occasion, and a few of the ringleaders only were apprehended, to abide the sentence of the law.

The sister island, which seems fated never long to enjoy a state of internal quiet, was in this year the scene of disturbances, which in various parts seriously outraged the public peace, and were not effectually suppressed by all the exertions of authority. It is observable that in the many years of disturbances in Ireland, the particular subjects of grievance, and views of the malcontents, have been perpetually varying; so that it would seem, that from some unfortunate cause, a spirit of resistance to the established order of things is constantly in existence in the mass of people, ready to be called into operation on any occasion by which the passions are temporarily excited. In the present year the great object of popular attack has been the tythe system, always, indeed, a topic of complaint, and likely so to continue while tythes are exacted with rigour from the lowest classes, for the support of a religious establishment of which they are not members. The purpose of the insurgents was distinctly announced in a proclamation posted by them on the bridge of Clonmel, commanding the Irish people to lay aside all their trifling feuds of Caravats and Shanavests, and to adhere to the great point of cutting down the tythe proctors, and those who gain by tythes. The principal seat of the disturbances has been the counties to the south and south-west of Dublin, as those of Tipperary, Limerick, Waterford, and Kilkenny, in which violences have been exercised that have rendered military aid and extraordinary magisterial powers necessary for their suppression. Many legislative measures were adopted for strengthening the hands of government. Of these the principal was the renewal of the insurrection act, which gave authority to the justices of peace in any county, assembled at an extraordinary session, to signify to the lord lieutenant the disturbed state of that county, who thereupon was to issue his proclamation, by which the same was publicly declared. This was done on September 25th with respect to the greatest part of the county of Tipperary, at the requisition of forty justices of peace. Shortly after, a meeting of forty-nine of the magistrates of Limerick unanimously agreed to make a similar application to the lord lieutenant with respect to that city and county. Various corps of troops were concentrated in this quarter of the island, of which Limerick was the principal station. In King's county the rioters assembled in force, under the denomination of Carders, and perpetrated various outrages, which the magistrates found themselves unable to suppress by the civil power. They therefore, in a meeting held on October 8th, at Clara, resolved to apply to the lord lieutenant for military aid. In this instance, as in most of the other acts of violence, the acquisition of fire-arms appeared to be the great object of the insurgents; a circumstance denoting plans of serious resistance to the government. The murder of a very respectable magistrate near Cashel, in November, occasioned a peculiar alarm in that part of the country; and it is to be lamented that notwithstanding the unanimous exertions of the gentry and magistrates, and the ready assistance afforded by the Irish government, much remained to be done at the close of the year for the restoration of a state of public peace and security.

The cause of catholic emancipation had been so much injured by differences among the catholics themselves, that the efforts of its friends in parliament were in this year faint and unpromising; and it does not appear that the subject was agitated with zeal in Ireland, unless it were in the assemblies of the party at Dublin. An aggregate meeting of the catholics was held on January 14, when lord Fingall being called to the chair, declined taking it, alleging, that faith had been broken with him respecting the veto; and he quitted the room in the midst of tokens of disapprobation from the rest of the company. Mr. O'Connor being then unanimously nominated to fill it, resolutions for unqualified emancipation were moved and carried by general acclamation. The renewal of a petition to parliament was agreed upon; but it will be seen in the narrative of the parliamentary debates, that the former leaders of the question in both houses refused taking

upon them that office, though they still declared themselves friends to the fundamental principle.

At a meeting of the Irish catholic association at Dublin, in December, the copy of a letter was read, addressed to the right rev. Dr. Poynter, by cardinal Litta, on the part of the pope, and dated in April from Genoa, whither the papal court had then retired, in which the opinion of his holiness was given, concerning the three principal points at issue between the catholics of Great Britain and Ireland and the government; namely, the oath of allegiance required; the mode of appointing bishops to vacant sees; and the revision of rescripts, &c. from Rome. With respect to the first, the pope grants permission to take one of three forms of oath annexed, each of which solemnly engages the juror to obedience and fidelity to the king, to the disclosure of any plot against the government, and to abstaining from any attempt to disturb the public tranquillity. As to the second, his holiness, besides an earnest exhortation to all who have been accustomed to nominate bishops, that they should be extremely careful to admit none into the number of candidates who are not of approved fidelity to the king, does not hesitate to permit that the list of candidates be exhibited to the king's ministers, that if any of them be disliked or suspected, they may be expunged, provided a sufficient number be left for the pope to choose from. With regard to the point of revising, sanctioning, or rejecting rescripts from Rome, it is affirmed to be inadmissible, even as a matter of discussion; for although that power has been claimed and exercised by some catholic sovereigns, "it is an abuse which the holy see, to prevent greater evils, is forced to endure, but can by no means sanction." Some explanations and assurances are however given in another form, which, it is hoped, will be deemed satisfactory by the British government.

In the result it appeared that even the pope's allowance of a kind of veto respecting the nomination of bishops, could not reconcile the Irish catholics to that measure. An address to the Prince Regent was drawn up by the catholic prelates of Ireland, and transmitted through the medium of the lord lieutenant, in which, after their congratulations on the success of his majesty's arms, and their grateful acknowledgments for the relaxation of the penal laws against those of their communion in the present reign, which they hope will terminate in a total emancipation, they express their surprise and alarm, that under the pretence of securing the loyalty of their body, an intention has been manifested of compelling them, in direct opposition to the dictates of their consciences, on the event of catholic emancipation, to submit to the interference of persons of a different religious persuasion in the appointment of the principal ministers of their church. Such a measure, they affirm, would only substitute for one mode of servitude another still more galling and oppressive. This address was received by his royal highness in September. What will be the event of this and the intended applications to the other branches of the legislature, can only be known at the ensuing session of parliament. In the meantime, the court of Rome appears to be in considerable embarrassment on the subject; and the pope has declined giving an answer to the Irish catholics, till it shall be known whether parliament designs completely to emancipate the catholics in the next session. He has however observed, that the letter from Genoa was conditional, and by no means compulsory; whence it is much to be doubted whether he will think it expedient finally to sanction the veto.

The victory at Waterloo, as the most glorious in modern times to the British arms, was welcomed by every expression of national congratulation; and private mourning for the numerous losses in the field was scarcely noticed in the general triumph. A call was made by the Prince Regent upon the characteristic bounty of the nation, under the claims of humanity, by directing collections to be made in every parish for the benefit of the wounded soldiers, and the widows and orphans of the slain, which proved to be amply productive. Yet the still unsettled condition of Europe, and the financial embarrassments which pressed upon many of its states, in consequence of past disasters, impeded the return of the British commerce

to its usual channels, and promoted a spirit of vague speculation, which, after the American market was fully stocked, occasioned numerous failures; so that much distress was undergone in the latter part of the year by the trading portion of the community.—This source of private calamity was unfortunately coincident with an extraordinary decline in agricultural prosperity, immediately proceeding from the greatly reduced price of corn and other products, which bore no adequate proportion to the exorbitant rents and other heavy burdens pressing upon the farmer. It may be added, that seldom has there been a more general depression of spirits in any class of people, than was apparent about the close of the year 1815 among that most useful part of the community; and that the number of farms thrown up in consequence of the insolvency and despair of the occupiers was truly lamentable. There is no doubt that the evil will in time remedy itself; and, it may be hoped, without depriving the nation at large of the benefits of plenty, but rather by lightening the pressure upon the cultivators of the land.

CHAP. XXI.——1815.

Escape of Lavalette.—Co-operation of sir Robert Wilson, and Messrs. Hutchinson and Bruce.—Mode of escape.—Trial and sentence.—Decision of the Prince Regent respecting the conduct of the British officers.—State of France.—Conclusion.

Few events in the civil history of French affairs have excited an interest more deep and universal than the escape of Lavalette, the postmaster-general, from the prison of the Conciergerie, aided as he was by three Englishmen of undoubted talent, honour, and patriotism. The circumstances of Lavalette's previous trial are comparatively unimportant, except as they exhibit on what trivial grounds he was deprived of his liberty, and sentenced to an ignominious death.

On evidence fallacious in itself, and substantiated chiefly by retainers of the government, Lavalette was capitally convicted of the crime of high treason, by a decree of the court of assize for the department of the Seine, before which he was tried. Against this decree he appealed, on the ground of various informalities; but this appeal being rejected by the court, the sentence pronounced upon him was to be carried into effect on the 21st of December 1815.

The strictest orders had been given by the police that the condemned man should be guarded in the prison wherein he was confined, called the Conciergerie, with all the usual precautions; and after the rejection of the appeal, the prefect of police had ordered Jean Baptiste de Kerguisec, the registering keeper of the prison, to redouble his vigilance; adding, that if any one should ask to communicate with Lavalette, and should even bring an order for that purpose, signed with his (the prefect's) hand, still the keeper should pay no attention to it, as no person was to see the prisoner without the order of the attorney-general.

Lavalette, being informed by the keeper of these new orders, immediately wrote to the attorney-general, begging that he might be permitted to see his wife, and a few other persons, whose names he mentioned. The attorney-general felt unwilling to refuse this request; but, in giving his assent, he particularly directed that the persons indicated should only see Lavalette in succession—one after the other.

Nevertheless, on the 20th of December, the eve of the day fixed for carrying the sentence into effect, about half-past three in the afternoon, Lavalette's wife and daughter, accompanied by the widow Dutoit, who is seventy years old, and attached to the service of mademoiselle Lavalette, were introduced at the same time by the gaoler, Roquette, into Lavalette's chamber, though the name

of neither mademoiselle Lavalette, nor that of the widow Dutoit, was inserted in the list approved by the attorney-general.

Madame Lavalette was carried to the Conciergerie in a chair, borne by one Guerin, called Marengo, her ordinary chairman, and by one Brigaut, a man selected for that day's service by Guerin, in the room of one Laporte, who usually performed this service with him, but who happened at this time to be ill. The chairmen generally had conveyed madame Lavalette into the court-yard of the Conciergerie, but, on the 20th of December she got out in the court-yard of the palace, and walked on foot towards the grate of the Conciergerie; Benoit Bonneville, her valet, having told the chairman *to stop, and that madame found herself sufficiently strong to walk the rest of the way.* They accordingly turned the chair towards the palace of justice: but out of it was taken a cushion, covered with green taffety, and a pretty large package of an irregular form, which seemed to contain bottles of wine. This package, as well as the cushion, and a work-bag which madame Lavalette carried, were received into the prison, and taken into Lavalette's chamber, without undergoing the previous examination which the regulations of the police respecting prisons always require in similar cases.

Madame Lavalette, on arriving at the Conciergerie, was clothed in a furred riding-coat of red Merino, and had upon her head a black hat, with various coloured feathers.—She entered her husband's apartment with her daughter and the widow Dutoit. The valet-de-chambre, Benoit, remained in the first apartment called the avant-greffe. He was seen near the fire-place during more than two hours. The chairmen had been received into the corps de garde of gendarmerie.

At five o'clock, Jacques Eberle, one of the wicket-keepers of the Conciergerie, who had been specially appointed by the keeper of the prison to the guard and service of Lavalette, took his dinner to him, of which madame and mademoiselle Lavalette, and the widow Dutoit, partook.

After dinner, which lasted an hour, Eberle served up coffee, which he fetched from the coffee-house of the palace, and left Lavalette's apartment with orders not to return till he was rung for. Roquette, the son, maintains, on the contrary, that, on quitting the chamber of Lavalette, he said that he had received orders not to wait till he was summoned into the apartment.

However, Benoit, who was in the secret of what was intended, and who saw the hour of execution approach, had left the avant-greffe to assure himself of the chairmen. He found them at the corps de garde, and invited them to come and drink with him. Guerin immediately acceded, but Brigaut would not stir. 'Come along, comrade,' said Benoit to him; 'you need not take too much.'—Brigaut suffers himself to be persuaded. Benoit, by way of trying them, says, 'Comrade, there are five and twenty Louis to be gained: you will be a little heavily loaded, and it will be necessary to go a little quick; but you have only ten steps to make.' 'It is monsieur Lavalette himself, then, that we are going to take?' replies Brigaut. 'You have nothing to do with that: only do what you are asked.' Brigaut rejects the proposition, which Benoit urges, and repeats to him several times, 'You are but half a man.'—Guerin, the other chairman, joined his intreaties, and said to Brigaut, 'What does it signify to you, since monsieur assures you that there is nothing to fear?' Brigaut wished to know exactly whom he had to carry. Benoit and Guerin constantly repeat that it was indifferent to him, since he had nothing to fear, and that one ought to make a little money when one could. At length Bigaut, being hard pressed, and beginning to think of what advantage it would be to him and his family to yield, threw down the chair-staff, which Guerin had put into his hand, and, without entering the wine-shop, ran home as fast as he could to tell his wife what had happened.

Guerin, without losing a moment, cast his eyes upon a coalheaver, who happened to be drinking with two of his comrades at the same place. He proposed to him to take the staff of the chair. Benoit seconded him, and off they immediately went. It was now seven o'clock. Being arrived at the court of the palace, at the foot of the staircase which

leads to the Conciergerie, they found the chair, with the door open towards the gate of the prison. Chapy (that was the name of the coalheaver who had taken Brigaut's place) saw no one enter, the back part being assigned to him; and Guerin, taking the lead, turned towards the grate of the palace, and, after having passed it, took to the right, and followed the street of la Barillerie.

While Benoit and Guerin were employed as has been stated without, a scene of a different kind took place within the Conciergerie. A short time after coffee, and towards seven o'clock, the bell rang from Lavalette's chamber, intimating to the keeper that his prisoner wanted somebody. Roquette, the father, was at that moment near the fire-place with Eberle, to whom he immediately gave orders to go into Lavalette's chamber. He hears the keeper of the wicket open the door which leads to that chamber, and, as he advanced to know what Lavalette wanted, he sees three persons dressed in female attire, who were followed by Eberle, and who came in front of him in the avant-greffe. The person whom he took for madame Lavalette was dressed in a black petticoat, with a furred gown of red Merino: she had white gloves and a woman's neck handkerchief on, a black hat, with feathers of different colours: in a word, she was in exactly the same dress as that in which madame Lavalette was first introduced to the apartment of her husband. A white handkerchief covered the face of this person, who had the appearance of sobbing; and mademoiselle Lavalette, who walked by the side, uttered the most lamentable cries. Every thing in that romantic scene presented the spectacle of a family given up to the feelings of a last adieu. The keeper melted, and deceived by the disguise, and scanty light of two lamps, had not the power, as he says, to take away the handkerchief which concealed the features of the disguised person; and, having neglected to perform this painful but necessary duty, he presented his hand to the person (as he had been used to do to madame Lavalette), whom he conducted along with the two persons to the last wicket. Eberle then stepped forward, and ran to call Benoit, who arrived with the chairmen. Lavalette, under the habit of his wife, was already in the chair, which was immediately carried forward, followed by Benoit, by mademoiselle Lavalette, and the widow Dutoit. Eberle, having at this moment perceived another wicket keeper, took him away to drink, saying, at the same time, 'It is something singular that those three persons never spoke a word to me.'

The chair and its suite went, according to the direction of Benoit, of Guerin, and mademoiselle Lavalette, to the middle of the street la Barillerie; and, according to Chapy's account, whose evidence is not to be suspected, as far as the quay des Orfevres, three or four houses beyond the street of St. Anne, where the chairmen were stopped by order of Benoit. The chair was opened, Lavalette came out, and disappeared, and was immediately succeeded in his place by mademoiselle Lavalette. Benoit told the chairman to turn towards the Abbaye aux Bois. In the meantime, the keeper, Roquette, entered, for the first time, the chamber of Lavalette, where he saw no one, but heard somebody stirring behind the screen. He returns a second time, and calls: no one answers. He begins to fear some mischief, advances beyond the screen, and, there recognising madame Lavalette, cries out, "Ah! Madame, you have deceived me." He wishes to run out, in order to give the alarm. Madame Lavalette catches hold of him, and detains him by his coat sleeve—'Stay, monsieur Roquette, stay.' 'No, madame, this is not to be borne.' A struggle ensues; the coat is torn; Roquette rushes out, calling for help, and informs his son of the escape of the prisoner.

Roquette, the son, darts from the Conciergerie, where he meets, at the grate of the palace, Eberle, returning from drinking with Beaudiscar. He gives him orders to follow the chair by the street of la Barillerie, himself announcing that he will take that of Jerusalem, in order to get a-head of the chairmen and stop their advance, and that they should meet again at the street of Jerusalem. Roquette does in effect take the street of Jerusalem; at the bottom of which he overtakes the chair, and stops it; but, on only finding mademoiselle Lavalette in it, he returns with all speed to the Conciergerie.

Scarcely had he quitted the chair, when Benoit, who continued to follow the chairmen, said, 'It is very lucky that this has turned out so.' As for Eberle, instead of executing the order which he had received from the younger Roquette, of pursuing the chair by the street of Barillerie, he returned to the prison, and went to the chamber of Lavalette, under the pretence of assuring himself whether the prisoner really had escaped. In coming out, he said to his comrades, with an affectation of zeal truly laughable, 'There is still somebody shut up in the cell, and I'll take care that they sha'n't come out without proper orders.' On saying, afterwards, that it was very easy to have distinguished Lavalette from his wife, the latter being taller by half a head; and being asked why he had not made that observation sooner, he replied, 'It did not belong to me to make any observations when the head of the department was there.'

The charge states, that Eberle, being attached to Lavalette's service, as he had before been to that of Ney, had received from both prisoners divers sums of money, under the head of gratuity. Eberle pretends that what he had received of Lavalette only amounted to 100 francs; but on the day of the escape, a search having taken place in his house, there was found the sum of 1700 francs, which his wife had at first endeavoured to get away from the commissioner of police. It cannot be doubted but that the greater part of that sum came from the bounty of Lavalette.

Such is the substance of the report issued by the chamber of accusation. It then proceeds to attach various other circumstantial proofs of the guilt of these parties. Roquette, the father, it appears, endeavoured to shift off the guilt from himself to Eberle; and the charge does not attach to him any other criminality than that of negligence. Benoit and Guerin deny the facts, which are most clearly established by the interrogatory.—Madame Lavalette, and the widow Dutoit, were subjected to interrogations: the latter preserved the most invincible silence, or shewed, by the few answers she gave, that she was afraid of betraying her master. Madame Lavalette went farther; she justified all that had been done, imputing to herself the plan, conduct, and execution of the enterprise.

The friends of Lavalette had placed their hope in a young English gentleman, whose noble mind, his fortune, his independent spirit, and chivalrous character, presented him to them as alone capable of seconding the design they had formed of getting off Lavalette. On the 31st of December, between seven and eight in the morning, Mr. Bruce received an anonymous letter, in substance as follows:—

"Sir,—I have so much confidence in your honour, that I wish to communicate a secret, which I dare make known only to you.—Lavalette is still in Paris—I place his life in your hands—you alone can save him."

Bruce was still in bed; the letter excited in him the utmost astonishment. After a few moments of reflection, he said to the bearer of the note—"I cannot give an answer at this moment; but, if the person will meet me at such a house, in such a place, I will talk to him on the subject."

Agitated by various sentiments, he, about noon, attended at the place he had appointed. Bruce said to the messenger, already there—"I will do all in my power to save the count de Lavalette, but no person whatever must be compromised. I will not know the name of the person who addressed the letter to me, nor even the place of Lavalette's concealment; let me first reflect on the means of saving him." He alone would have saved him, but he found the task impossible.

He was in this state of perplexity when, on the 2d of January, sir R. Wilson called on him: it immediately struck him to communicate the project to him; but he reflected that he was intrusted with the secret of another, and contented himself with saying—"I should like to communicate something to you, but I must first ask the consent of a third person." Sir Robert asked whether the intelligence was good or bad? "Disagreeable," replied Bruce; "but we will talk of it to-morrow."

In the evening Bruce met the stranger, and easily obtained permission to disclose the secret to sir R. Wilson.

Sir Robert returned on the following

morning, and Mr. Bruce recounted all he knew of Lavalette. "He places himself in our hands," he added,—"how can we save him?" Sir Robert felt the same kind of inquietude as Mr. Bruce; not that he considered the action as evil in itself, he only regarded the salvation of Lavalette; but he feared to fail, and that it would be imputed to his imprudence and want of address.—However, he did not hesitate to consent to the proposal of his young friend; he informed him, he would turn it over seriously in his mind, and they would then talk of it.

For some time Bruce and Wilson had perceived that they were closely watched by the French police; this demanded more circumspection on their part, and made them feel the necessity of interesting a third person in the enterprise. Sir Robert proposed to one of his countrymen (whom we shall call Ellister, because the interpreter could not make out his real name,) to accompany Lavalette to the frontiers. This Englishman willingly would have undertaken the task, but he was an officer, and could not obtain leave of absence.

On Thursday the 4th, Wilson mentioned this difficulty to Bruce: "I foresee very well," said he, "that I must myself accomplish the plan; it will be more difficult, but I will undertake it." They therefore agreed that Bruce should ask of the stranger the measure of Lavalette, and Wilson was in the mean time to procure passports. Bruce, having got the measure of the count, gave it to sir Robert, who went to Hutchinson and informed him of the whole case, and asked his assistance. His words had all the weight which his rank of general gave him; and represented to him the friendship which had so long united him to his uncles. Sir Robert had no doubt that the excellent heart of Hutchinson would alone induce him to lend a ready hand; but he painted every circumstance in the strongest colours, and clearly showed him, that, if the act were punishable, all the blame would fall entirely upon himself. However that might be, Hutchinson consented to aid Wilson and Bruce in their project, and took the measure of Lavalette; and, that no French tailor might be compromised, he gave it to a German tailor, of whom he ordered the uniform of a quarter-master of the regiment of the guards. The honest German, the moment he saw the measure, exclaimed—"This was never taken by a tailor." Hutchinson could not avoid smiling at this remark; but, reflecting on the possible consequences of the circumstance, and to remove all suspicion from the mind of the tailor, said—"When the suit is made, you must pack it carefully up, for the quarter-master cannot wait for its being done; I must send it after him."

On the other hand, sir Robert Wilson procured the passports. Without entering into any detail on this subject, it will be only necessary to state that they were not deceitfully obtained from the French authorities, but delivered by the ambassador of a foreign power; and that, if they were delivered under other names than those of Wilson, &c. it will not be surprising, when it is considered that nothing is more common than for the English to travel under fictitious names. The only point of interest on this subject is, that fictitious names were selected of the same initials with their real ones: thus, general Wallis and colonel Laussac were adopted; as, in the case of their trunks being examined, the linen found marked L. and W. could give no clue, and rather disarm than create suspicion.

After some deliberation, they resolved on setting out in a carriage; but not a close one, nor even a cabriolet with a head to it, but in a buggie; which, having less the air of mystery, would the less excite suspicion: Lavalette should seat himself in it by the side of Wilson. Hutchinson and a servant were to follow on horseback, that, in case of necessity, Lavalette and Wilson might mount them, and set off at speed.

In the meantime, Ellister, provided with the passport, delivered under the name of colonel Laussac, it was agreed, should leave Paris in Wilson's carriage by a different barrier, and meet them at Compeigne.

There they were to change carriages; Ellister and Hutchinson were to bring back the buggie to Paris, and the two others would pursue their journey in sir Robert's berline. Compeigne was selected for exchanging carriages: first, because it was sufficiently dis-

tant from Paris for the exchange not to be remarked; secondly, because Bruce, having learnt that the brigade of his cousin, general ******, was at Compeigne, and that his aide-de-camp would leave Paris on the 7th of January for that town, with the horses and baggage of the general, who was then in England. Bruce requested the aide-de-camp to shew sir Robert Wilson every attention on his journey; which he obligingly promised, without asking any questions. On Saturday evening, Bruce informed the stranger that every thing was ready for their departure on the following Monday morning. They agreed to regulate their watches by the clock of the Thuilleries on Sunday, as it struck three. The same evening, at precisely half-past nine, Lavalette entered Hutchinson's house, No. 3, Rue du Helder.

The lodging of Hutchinson was selected as the point of departure; because the residences of Wilson and Bruce were watched by the spies of the police, and the Rue du Helder was nearer the barrier of Clichy; and, because Hutchinson was accustomed to rise early, sometimes to go a hunting, and sometimes to parade.

It is here to be observed, that Wilson, Bruce, and Hutchinson, were completely ignorant of the place of Lavalette's concealment. On Sunday, Bruce went to the Thuilleries to set his watch: at precisely half-past nine, Lavalette, and one of his friends, arrived at the Rue du Helder, No. 3. They knocked; Bruce himself was at the door, and, on receiving him, giving him a slap on the shoulder, said, "*Goddem*, why have you come so late; we have already drank our first bowl of punch." The French are accustomed to hear the favourite oath of the English, which they spell *Goddem;* and it was used by Bruce to deceive the persons in the porter's lodge. He took Lavalette by the arm, and led him into the apartment of Hutchinson.

Lavalette wore a blue uniform, with the regimental trimmings, pantaloons of the same colour, hessian boots and spurs, a crop wig, and round hat. There were only at Hutchinson's apartment, Bruce, Wilson, and Ellister, and the servant of Hutchinson. Lavalette, as may be supposed, was extremely agitated, and powerfully affected with gratitude, towards the foreigners who so cheerfully interested themselves in his fate. Two minutes had scarcely elapsed before the bell rang; a person entered the anti-chamber, and asked for colonel Laussac (the name under which Lavalette was to travel). Hutchinson's servant informed his master. He went out; the stranger repeated he wanted colonel Laussac: "Beg the colonel to come," said Hutchinson to his servant. The servant, not being in the secret, and having heard Ellister called Laussac, (it having been agreed that Ellister should personate colonel Laussac as far as Compeigne, when he should transfer it and the passports to Lavalette,) told him a gentleman wanted to speak to him. Ellister went out, and said to the stranger, "I do not know you." The stranger appeared surprised, because he thought Lavalette would present himself as colonel Laussac. In the meantime, Hutchinson, who did not know what to make of the stranger, took him towards the window, when he perceived under his great-coat a double-barrelled pistol, which he instantly seized. Instead of complaining of the violence, the stranger simply said, "I perceive you are one of our friends; you are a generous man." He bowed, and retired.

This incident was by no means of a consoling nature; Hutchinson returned into the apartment much alarmed, which soon became general; but when Lavalette recognised the pistol Hutchinson held in his hand to be one of his own, that he had left in the cabriolet, their fears were now dissipated.

This pistol, found in Hutchinson's possession, gave rise to several interrogatories.

Tranquillity restored, Lavallette dressed himself in the uniform prepared for him, and Ellister retired.

Wilson also left them, and went to a party, where he staid till midnight, in order to give no suspicion to those who might be inclined to watch him.

Bruce remained at Hutchinson's till twelve o'clock, when, affectionately embracing Lavalette, he bade him "good night," and wished him a successful journey. The want of repose was imperiously felt; Lavalette threw himself on Hutchinson's bed without

undressing, and Hutchinson did the same. They had scarcely laid down when a violent knocking at the door was heard. Lavalette leaped up, and cried, "We are lost."

Their fears soon passed, for Hutchinson discovered that the noise was occasioned by a drunken officer, who had mistaken the doors. At length this anxious night passed away, and the hour of departure arrived.

At seven o'clock Wilson's servant went to fetch Bruce's buggie, and returned to his master, Rue de la Paix. Wilson got into the buggie, and his servant followed on horseback. They arrived at the Rue du Helder. Wilson went up to Hutchinson's apartment, and said, "Come along, all is ready."

Lavalette seated himself on Wilson's left; Hutchinson mounted his horse and followed; as likewise Wilson's servant.

Hutchinson kept up by the side of the buggie, sometimes on one side, sometimes another, speaking English to them. Lavalette scarcely knew a word of English, but he feigned to understand it all; he spoke German fluently, and, in case of accident, he was to declare himself a German officer, attached to the English staff.

Wilson wore the uniform of an English general officer, with a blue great-coat, and round hat.

Lavalette also wore his quarter-master's uniform, under a grey great-coat, and regimental cap, covered with oil-skin; he held on his lap Wilson's military hat, the white plume of which seemed marvellously to attract the attention of those they passed.

They passed the barrier at an easy pace; the gendarmes looked stedfastly at them; but the motion of presenting arms (which they were always ordered to do whenever a general officer passed, whether French or of the allies,) facilitated to Lavalette the means of covering his profile in returning the salute.

It was thus that, on Monday the 8th of January, in broad day, Lavalette, with his face and person completely exposed, and without even having a passport about him, left Paris, without inspiring the slightest suspicion, or experiencing the least obstacle.

When they had nearly reached Chapelle, Hutchinson rode on before to clear the way, and see how matters stood. He found four gendarmes at the door of the inn where the first relay of horses was ordered.

One of the gendarmes came up to him, and asked if any troops were coming that way. "No," said Hutchinson, "not to-day, but they will in a few days, and the general is just coming up to choose cantonments for his division."

In the meantime the buggie arrived; and Hutchinson made a signal to Wilson to drive at once into the court-yard. In the twinkling of an eye they changed horses and departed.

They had not got far, when they perceived at a distance a carriage escorted by gendarmes. Hutchinson accosted them, and asked them so many questions, that they were entirely occupied in answering him, while the buggie gently passed them.

As they approached Compeigne, Hutchinson and Wilson's servant galloped on before to find out the place they were to stop at.

On entering the town, they found a serjeant, who had orders to conduct them to the quarters of the aide-de-camp. Delighted at this circumstance, Hutchinson waited for the buggie, which was delayed a little, for Wilson perceived that Lavalette's grey hairs came below his wig, and he stopped to clip them close.

A violent storm came on as they entered Compeigne; and they crossed the whole town before they arrived at the lodgings prepared for them.

Mr. Franel, the aide-de-camp, received them with the greatest politeness, and offered them a collation, which they accepted; and therefore waited the arrival of Ellister, who went on Sunday evening to lodge in the Rue de Hotel du Helder, where sir Robert Wilson had sent his carriage.

Ellister went himself, with his passport, as colonel Laussac, to the prefecture of police, to demand post-horses. While the order was making out, he observed laying about a great number of printed papers, of a description of Lavalette's person, which were distributed to all comers, and he immediately accepted one himself. He received an order for three horses for a berline, to contain him and his servant, whom he took with him, in

order that, on giving place to Lavalette and Wilson, the number of travellers might not appear augmented. These dispositions thus made, Ellister (as we have already observed), having passed part of Sunday evening at Hutchinson's, prepared to start on Monday morning at ten.

A gendarme, who was present, demanded his passport to examine it, and did not return it until he had carefully compared the description with his person. After this verification, Ellister got into the berline, and ordered the postillion to drive on the road to Compeigne, by the barrier of St. Denis.—The gendarme, however, resolved to see all was right, followed the voiture as far as Bourget; where he was replaced by another agent of police, who did not think it worth while to follow them far. At Louvres, Ellister got out of the carriage, a gendarme having demanded his passport; and, after looking at him, said to his comrades, "The devil take me if that is an English officer!" Very confident of the contrary, Ellister checked his impertinence, and in a firm tone told him he was mistaken; and there the matter dropped.

Ellister arrived without any farther accident at Compeigne, at five o'clock precisely. The moment he arrived fresh horses were ordered. The aide-de-camp wished them to stay dinner, but Wilson pressed their departure. Ellister, under the name of colonel Laussac, demanded three horses, and a courier to ride on before. Four horses would have shewn too much impatience and dispatch; and, with three only, they avoided a second postillion, which was, therefore, one Argus the less.

It was night, and darkness afforded protection to the travellers; but, to give less suspicion, Wilson ordered the three lamps to be lighted. All was ready; and a French courier rode on before to order relays. Wilson's servant mounted the box of the berline. Lavalette was provided with the passport of colonel Laussac, given him by Ellister.—Wilson had provided himself with a brace of pistols; Lavalette had only one, the other had been left at Hutchinson's. They had neither of them a sword; and, although resolved to defend themselves in the case of an attack, the truth was, they calculated more on their presence of mind than resistance by open force. Hutchinson and Ellister wished them a prosperous journey, and the postillion started, cracking his whip.

Wilson's servant did not speak French: it was sir Robert himself who paid at every post; and, on every question asked, he never failed to reply "an English general." His language, the form of his carriage, and physiognomy of his domestic, all confirmed the idea that the travellers were actually English.

It was now four o'clock in the morning, and they were only two leagues from Cambray. But the post-master informed them that they could not pass through at night, because the gates were shut; and that the *preposé*, stationed at the advanced posts, would not be at the trouble of going to inform the keeper. Such a delay naturally created uneasiness: perhaps they were pursued, and, if so, might be overtaken. It was, however, necessary to wait. To pass the time, Wilson left the carriage; and, while Lavalette feigned to be asleep, went into the stable, talked to the postilions, and thus the time passed till the hour of departure. At six o'clock they started, and reached the gates of Cambray half an hour before day-light.

The postillion cracked his whip to announce their arrival; no one answered. The English centinel, however, called the officer on guard, but he would not get up; and they were obliged to wait. At length day-light came, and the gate-keepers arrived, and excused themselves, throwing the blame on the laziness of the *preposé*. The berline passed four or five carriages, delayed at the same time, and on the like account. Arrived at the inn, the host, who perceived that it was an English general officer, complained of the indolence of the *preposé*, that he had caused the travellers to sleep out of the city, instead of coming to his house. Sir Robert replied, that he then had no time to speak to the commandant of the place, but he certainly would on his return.

The horses being changed, at half-past nine they arrived at Valenciennes; at the gates, a French agent presented himself, and pronounced the accustomed formula—"Un-

doubtedly, gentlemen, you have your passports?" Wilson put his head out of the window, and said, "I am an English general:" his dress and his accent were sufficient, and the carriage entered the city. When they had arrived at the post-house, a little boy demanded their passports anew. Wilson (who, as we may readily conceive, was spokesman on all occasions) replied as usual, "I am an English general;" but the little fellow insisted that he must have the passports, that they might be examined by the colonel of gendarmerie: they were given to him with an injunction to make haste, which he did not fail to do. This was not all; he begged the general to write his name and that of his companion on a piece of paper, saying it was for the inn. Sir Robert then wrote the two names of Wallis and Laussac on a dirty piece of paper, which was afterwards produced against him on his interrogatories.

At ten they set off again: their passports were again examined, and kept a long time. Wilson was impatient to depart, and did not fail to use the English term by which the French know the English to express their displeasure. At length they were permitted to pass. Sir Robert asked at what distance was the frontier; the postilion replied, at the distance of a league and a half! This distance would soon be run;—but a few moments more, and all their fears would be dissipated! But on the line of frontier they found a last guard of gendarmerie, who also demanded their passports; happily, for this once, the usual answer, "An English general," was satisfactory. On the point of arriving, sir Robert's terror had become extreme; he trembled for Lavalette; and each minute of delay inspired the utmost horror. He had hoped to pass the frontiers before day-break, for fear of the telegraphs; but at length the formidable line was passed!

Sir Robert's first words to Lavalette were, "Thank God, you are saved!" Lavalette, who had uniformly preserved the utmost taciturnity, affectionately embraced him, and, shedding tears of gratitude and tenderness, said, with a great effusion of heart, "I render my sincerest thanks to the Deity for having permitted the generous efforts of my wife to be crowned with success; she would have died of grief if we had not succeeded: but yet I am unhappy," he added, "to see so many worthy men compromised on my account. I know that the keepers have been arrested; but I declare, before God, and to you, my generous friend! that these men were not bribed, and were not in our secret: the project would have failed if they had had the slightest suspicion of it. I owe the whole to my wife, and to her alone."

No continued conversation was kept up during the journey; they were both too powerfully affected by the dangers they had run, and their miraculous triumph over them; and, if occasionally sir Robert resumed it, it was to draw Lavalette from the reverie in which he was plunged, and by indifferent subjects divert his attention. They conversed on the campaign in Egypt, in which Lavalette first began to serve under Buonaparte, and Wilson to distinguish himself against him. But, when they had passed the frontier, they did not fear to talk even on the affair of Lavalette.

The latter recounted how his wife had succeeded in saving him; that his disguise was made in the twinkling of an eye, while the gaoler went out of the room on an errand; his fear of breaking the feathers of the hat against the top of the wickets as he passed through; the risk he run of being retaken by the fault of the chairmen, who were absent; that, having found on the quay the cabriolet of one of his friends, the friend quitted it, and observed to him, "Madam, pray accept my cabriolet—you will go quicker;" that, after having got into it, he said, "Take off your *douilette*, and hat and feather, and put on this great-coat, wig, &c.;" and that, after having driven about Paris for two hours, to prevent all traces by the police, they stopped at the house which served him for an asylum till the evening of their departure. He then asked sir Robert if they really intended to put him to death. He was unbounded in his expressions of gratitude to his *generous friends*,—what other name could he give them!

These conversations brought them to Mons. Passports were no longer demanded; and they remained together four or five hours.

Before they parted, sir Robert, whose solicitude was inexhaustible, foreseeing the possibility of Lavalette's being stopped on his journey, gave him a letter to the king of Prussia, to whom he had the honour to be personally known, in which he interested that monarch in favour of Lavalette. This letter bore the envelope and countersign of general Wilson: so that, if Lavalette had been arrested, he would have demanded to be taken to the king, to deliver his dispatches. Sir Robert also gave him a similar letter to the English ambassador at Munich. Lavalette once more embraced Wilson, and vowed eternal gratitude.

Sir Robert returned by Maubeuge and Laon, and arrived at Paris by the barrier of St. Martin, on Wednesday evening, the 10th of January, after an absence of sixty hours; and immediately wrote an account of his journey to his friend earl Grey.

"In all his letters," says the French report, "sir Robert Wilson professes principles the most opposite to all social order, and to the tranquillity of Europe. According to him, affairs have taken a wholly revolutionary course, under the sanction of the courts of Austria and Russia. The dethronement of the king is irrevocable. Sir Robert gives the epithet of legitimate maniac to a courageous friend who had refused to listen to his dangerous inspirations; and he thus closes a letter, dated the 28th of December:—'*You will soon* hear of extraordinary events in Germany.'

"The third article of this correspondence is a letter from Edward Wilson to R. T. Wilson, which shews the conformity of principles and unity of sentiments which exist between the two brothers. Edward writes to Robert Wilson, 'that if it is proposed to overturn the existing order of things, the fire must be constantly kept up, and always visible, like a beacon of alarm, in France and in foreign parts: that matters become daily more favourable for the recovery of sovereignty and independence for the French people; but that it is to be feared that they should cool, and that efforts be neglected, which, well employed, would necessarily lead to a general emancipation.'

"Passing to the means which might weaken the attachment of the majority to the cause of the Bourbons, and insisting on the employment of means, Edward Wilson recommends, above all, the insinuation of a persecution, real or imaginary, against the protestants—'An idea,' he says, 'which spreads like wildfire, diffuses itself like a contagion among the people in general, and engenders a spirit of mortal hatred and contempt for the new dynasty. May this new arm be that of the liberty of all nations! If, however, our friends shew too much weakness, it would be better to attempt nothing; for, unless the great mass of the people put themselves in motion, no result will be obtained.'

"The fourth document proceeds from R. T. Wilson. We there find the prognostics of this gentleman as to the revolution which is preparing in France. 'There will be bloody scenes before the revolution can be consummated, but the point is fixed, and the impulse given. Revolutionary movements are also preparing in Prussia.'

"Finally, the fifth document is the letter from which is extracted the relation of Lavalette's escape. Wilson does not there dissemble the motives which led him to protect that individual.

"Sir Robert Thomas Wilson, after having in his interrogatories protested against his arrest, against the form of French criminal inquiry, against the seizure of his correspondence, and against what he calls the inquisitorial system of interrogations, had, however, acknowledged that, according to the principles of the law of nations, he was subject to the empire of the French laws for the prosecution and repression of an offence committed in France; but he closed the interrogatory with these words:—'It would appear to be forgotten that I am an Englishman, or that the right of Englishmen is not known. I have given my last answer; let me be brought to trial; when before the tribunals, I shall know how to defend myself as I ought, and to defend my rights.'

In consequence of all these facts, Jacques Eberle, turnkey of the Conciergerie; Jean Baptiste Roquette de Kerguidec, keeper of the Conciergerie; Benoit Bonneville, valet-de-chambre of Lavalette; Joseph Guerin

alias Marengo, Robert Thomas Wilson, John Hely Hutchinson, and Michael Bruce, were accused—*videlicet*, Jacques Eberle, of having, on the 20th of December last, *in connivance* with Marie Chamons de Lavalette, condemned to capital punishment, whose keeper he was appointed, favoured the escape of that prisoner; J. B. Roquette de Kerguidec, of having facilitated it by *negligence;* Benoit Bonneville, and Joseph Guerin, of having facilitated the said escape, by procuring to the convict the means of escaping; and Wilson, Hutchinson, and Bruce, of having, in January 1816, been accomplices in concealing the said Lavalette, knowing that he was condemned to capital punishment, and of having thus facilitated and consummated his escape—crimes and complicated offences provided against by articles 59, 61, 240, and 248, of the penal code.

The chamber of accusation dismissed from prosecution the widow Dutoit and Lavalette the wife.

Early in January, the information that sir Robert Wilson had been imprisoned by order of the French government reached this country as a report; which, about the 17th of that month, was confirmed by an official note which passed between sir Charles Stuart, our ambassador at Paris, and the duke de Richlieu.

The inquiry being terminated, and the proceedings being annexed to it in due order, the tribunal of first instance in Paris, by an ordonnance that issued from it on the second of the month, decided on the whole of the procedure.

It charged Wilson, 1st, with a plot directed generally against the political system of Europe, and having for its particular object to destroy or change the French government, to excite the inhabitants to take up arms against the king's authority. 2d, With having endeavoured to attain the execution of this plot by seeking to snatch from the pursuit of justice, by address or by violence, individuals comprehended in the 1st article of the ordonnance of the 24th of July 1815, and principally by concerting, settling, and consummating the escape and concealment of Lavalette, condemned for the crime of high treason. Hutchinson and Bruce were charged with being the accomplices of Wilson, by knowingly aiding and assisting the latter in the acts which prepared, facilitated, and consummated the same plot, and with having co-operated in its execution—*videlicet*, Bruce, by concerting with Wilson the flight of Lavalette, and furnishing him with the means; and Hutchinson by concealing Lavalette, and accompanying him as far as Compeigne.

With regard to the individuals charged with having facilitated the escape of Lavalette from the prison of the Conciergerie, the same ordonnance charged Eberle with having, by connivance with Lavalette, of whom he was the keeper, facilitated the escape of that convict; Roquette de Kerguidec the keeper, the widow Dutoit, Bonneville, and Guerin, with having facilitated the escape of Lavalette, the first by his negligence, and the others by their voluntary co-operation.

With regard to Lavalette the wife, considering that there did not exist against her sufficient proofs of a criminal co-operation in the escape of her husband, it was declared that there was no ground for prosecution against her at present.

The court, after having deliberated as to what respects Wilson, Hutchinson, and Bruce, considering that there do not result from the documents and preliminary investigation sufficient charges against them of having, towards the close of 1815, and in January 1816, formed or executed a plot, having for its object to destroy or alter the French government, or to excite the citizens to take up arms against the royal authority, nor of having been accomplices in the said crimes, declares that there is no ground for accusation against the said Wilson, Hutchinson, and Bruce, in respect of the said facts of attempt and plot.

As far as respects Jacques Eberle, considering that, from the preliminary investigation, the charge results against him of having, on the 20th of December 1815, in connivance with Lavalette, condemned to capital punishment, and to the keeping of whom he was specially appointed, facilitated the escape from prison of the said Lavalette.

As far as respects Jean Baptiste Roquette de Kerguidec the elder, considering that

there results from the enquiry a sufficient charge against him of having, on the 20th of December 1815, through negligence, facilitated the escape of Lavalette, condemned to a capital punishment, and who was committed to his care in quality of chief gaoler of the prison.

As far as respects Benoit Bonneville, and Joseph Guerin, *alias* Marengo, considering that there results from the documents a sufficient charge against them of having, on the 20th of December 1815, facilitated the escape of Lavalette, condemned to a capital punishment, by procuring for the condemned the means of effecting his escape; and also as far as respects Wilson, Hutchinson, and Bruce, considering that there results from the documents a sufficient charge against them of being, in the month of January 1816, accessory to the concealment of Lavalette, knowing that he was condemned to a capital punishment, and of having facilitated the completion of his escape.

These crimes and offences being provided against by the articles 59, 61, 240, and 241, of the penal code, the court orders the indictment of Jacques Merle, and commits him to the court of assize of the department of the Seine, to be tried conformably to law; and considering their connection, and the third article of the civil code, which obliges all those who reside in France to conform, in matters of police and public safety, to the laws of the kingdom, commits to the same court of assize the aforesaid Roquette the elder, Bonneville, Guerin, Wilson, Hutchinson, and Bruce, in a state of arrest, to be tried for the offences imputed to them by one and the same process. As far as respects Emilie Louise Beauharnois, the wife of Lavalette, and Anne Marguerite Boyeldieu, the widow of Dutoit, considering that there does not result from the documents and the inquiry a sufficient charge against them of having lent criminal assistance to the escape of Lavalette, or of having facilitated the said escape, and that the passive obedience to which they were reduced by their quality and their situation, with respect to Lavalette, cannot be considered as a voluntary and active participation in the escape of the condemned. Decreeing that there is no ground for prosecuting the wife of Lavalette and the widow Dutoit, it makes absolute the liberty granted conditionally to the said wife of Lavalette in the course of the proceedings, and orders that Marguerite shall be immediately set at liberty, if she be not confined for any other cause.

The characters of those British individuals who had conspired to facilitate the prisoner's escape from Paris, were well calculated to excite the respect of the French and the gratitude of the Bourbons. Mr. Bruce was descended from the Scottish hero; Mr. Hutchinson was the nephew of the saviour of Egypt; and sir Robert, by his prowess in the peninsular and Russian campaigns, had materially conduced to the restoration of the government.

The verdict was at length pronounced.—All the Frenchmen were acquitted except the turnkey Eberle, who, as well as sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Bruce, and Mr. Hutchinson, was found guilty. The president, M. de Sele, then proceeded to read the heads of the penal code, as it applied to the convicted persons. Eberle was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. The article applicable to our countrymen was number 373, which prescribes imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, nor less than three months, at the discretion of the judge. The president, without hesitation, pronounced for the shortest admissible period. He announced at the same time, that they had three days to appeal to a tribunal of cassation, and the court broke up. The delinquents were immediately removed to the prison of La Force, in pursuance of their sentence.

The following was the determination of the Prince Regent respecting sir Robert Wilson and captain Hutchinson. Though his royal highness indulges in some severity of expression, it must be admitted that the retention of these gallant and generous officers in the army was an act of lenity equally creditable to the sovereign power, and unexpected by the offending parties. In the following paragraph of his letter to lord Grey, sir Robert Wilson contemplated a more serious mark of his sovereign's displeasure.—"He does not (says he) dissemble the unpleasant consequences of his enterprise—he

was not ambitious to be imprisoned, or to lose his commission, but he was resigned on both points."

GENERAL ORDERS.

Horse Guards, May 10, 1816.

So long as major-general sir Robert Wilson, and captain J. H. Hutchinson of the 1st or grenadier regiment of foot guards, were under trial, the commander in chief abstained from making any observation on their conduct.

The proceedings having now terminated, the commander in chief has received the Prince Regent's commands to declare his royal highness's sentiments on the transactions which have led to the trial and conviction of those officers.

In the instance of major-general sir Robert Wilson, the Prince Regent thinks it necessary to express his high displeasure, that an officer of his standing in his majesty's service, holding the commission and receiving the pay of a major-general, should have been so unmindful of what was due to his profession, as well as to the government under whose protection he had voluntarily placed himself, as to have engaged in a measure, the declared object of which was to counteract the laws and defeat the public justice of that country. Nor does his royal highness consider the means by which this measure was accomplished as less reprehensible than the act itself. For his royal highness cannot admit that any circumstance could justify a British officer in having obtained, under false pretences, passports in feigned names from the representative of his own sovereign, and in having made use of such passports for himself and a subject of his most Christian majesty, under sentence for high treason, disguised in a British uniform, not only to elude the vigilance of the French government, but to carry him in such disguise through the British lines. While the Prince Regent cannot but consider it as a material aggravation of sir R. Wilson's offence, that holding so high a rank in the army, he should have countenanced and encouraged an inferior officer to commit a serious and decided breach of military duty, his royal highness nevertheless thinks it equally necessary to express his high displeasure at the conduct of captain J. H. Hutchinson, for having been himself an active instrument in a transaction of so culpable a nature, more especially in a country in amity with his majesty, where the regiment with which he was serving, in the course of his military duty, formed part of an army which had been placed by the allied sovereigns under the command of the duke of Wellington, under circumstances which made it peculiarly incumbent upon every officer of that army to abstain from any conduct which might obstruct the execution of the laws.

His royal highness the Prince Regent being unwilling to visit these officers with the full weight of his displeasure, which the complexion of their offence might have warranted, and also taking into consideration the degree of punishment to which they have subjected themselves, by violating the laws of the country in which this transaction took place, has signified to the commander in chief these his sentiments, that they should be published to the army at large, in order to record in the most public manner the strong sense which his royal highness entertains of the flagrant misconduct of these officers, and of the danger which would accrue to the reputation and discipline of the British army, if such an offence were to pass without a decided expression of his royal highness's most severe reprehension.

By order of his royal highness,

THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF.

The foreign troops having, for the most part, been withdrawn from the interior of France, she was left to her own management of domestic affairs; but the terms on which she was to be re-admitted into the European community were still under determination by the congress of Vienna; and it was not till after a long and anxious state of suspense, that she was apprised of its final award.—The London Gazette, of November the 23d, informed the public of the signature at Paris, on the 20th, of the several treaties and conventions for the restoration and maintenance of peace between the allied powers on the one part, and his most Christian majesty on the other, but without any mention of the articles. These, however, were soon after

communicated to both chambers by the duke of Richelieu, and it may easily be conceived that the scene would be equally trying to the feelings of the speaker and the audience. The basis laid down by the allied powers was, that the indemnity due to the powers for their exertions, occasioned by the late enterprise of Buonaparte, cannot consist wholly either in cessions of territory, or in pecuniary payments, without greatly injuring the essential interests of France; and therefore that it is better to unite them; and also, that it is necessary for a certain time to keep the frontier provinces of France occupied by a certain number of the allied troops. Of the articles which follow, the first declares, that the frontiers of France remain as they were in 1790, with the exception of the modifications subsequently described. The principal cessions of territory are on the borders of Belgium and the Upper Rhine, and in the vicinity of Geneva, the whole not considerable in extent, but important in point of situation. The indemnity in money to the allied powers was fixed at seven hundred millions of francs, the mode and periods of payment being regulated by a separate convention. The frontier towns to be occupied by the allies, for a term not exceeding five years, and which circumstances might reduce to three, were seventeen in number, along the frontiers of French Flanders, Champagne, Lorrain, and Alsace: the establishment of troops not to be greater than 150,000 men, to be maintained by France, and under a commander in chief nominated by the allied powers. Particular conventions were made for liquidating the claims of different powers on the French government. Such was the bitter cup of humiliation which France was doomed to drain, after so many triumphs over her neighbours, enjoyed with so little moderation. As she had risen higher under her late ruler than at any former period, so she was called upon to submit to a greater abasement. The terms imposed were however a proof of the dread still entertained of her power.

With respect to her internal condition, the past experience of the rapid changes it has undergone, the known restlessness and impetuosity of the national character, and the present superintendence exercised by foreign armies, render wholly vague all conjectures on this head for the future; and even throw much uncertainty on the actual state of things. The press is no medium of information to be depended upon, since journals and periodical works are under a supervision, not less strict on account of its being privately exercised. In the published debates of the two chambers, we see an intemperate and almost incontrolable ardour for speaking, and much violence of language and manner, an apparent ardour of loyalty, breaking out in mobbish shouts of *Vive le Roi*, and a preponderance of what is termed *ultra-royalism*, which opposes the moderation of the court and ministers respecting political criminals, and inclines to carry retrospective punishment to the greatest practicable severity.—This spirit has been particularly displayed in the debates on the proposed *law of amnesty*, with which the year 1815 concluded, and seems to forebode a stormy season to come, unless government shall have acquired the strength and the wisdom to hold the helm with a temperate but steady hand.

FINIS.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

BARBARY STATES

IN GENERAL.

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Preliminary Observations.—Geography of Barbary.—Its History, from the earliest period to the decline of the Saracenic empire.—Classification of the inhabitants.—Character and manners of the Turks, Moors, Arabs, Berebbers, and Jews.—Mode of travelling adopted by the Arabs.

IT has been justly observed by Mr. Matra, formerly the English consul at Morocco, that there have been more books written on Barbary than on any other country, and yet there is no country with which we are less acquainted. So little is understood by the majority of mankind respecting the geography, the manners, the natural history, and the policy of Morocco and its dependencies, that military and political details, unless accompanied by a copious reference to the former subjects, would be equally destitute of interest and utility. It becomes therefore our object, at the commencement of our undertaking, to present an authentic portrait of the African character, and a faithful sketch of the Barbarian empire. The reader will thus become familiar with the people whose actions we record; and, while they reprobate their crimes, will participate with tenfold interest in their exploits and vicissitudes.

Concerning the origin of the word *Barbary*, there are many conjectures. According to some, the Romans, after they had conquered the country, gave it that name out of contempt, according to their usual custom of calling all other people but themselves *Barbarians*. Marmol, on the contrary, derives the word from *Berber*, a name given by the Greeks and Arabs to the ancient inhabitants, which Bruce says signified *shepherd*. Tending sheep was the original occupation of the natives, particularly in the interior, and near the mountains of Atlas. Others, however, derive it from the Arabic word *bar*, signifying a desert, twice repeated; which was given by one Africus, a king of Arabia, from whom the whole continent of Africa is said by some to have taken its name. According to them, this king being driven out of his own dominions, and closely pursued by his enemies, his retinue called out to him, *Bar, bar;* that is, 'To the desert, To the desert;' from which the country was afterwards called *Barbary*.

Barbary is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean sea, which divides it from Europe; on the east by Egypt; on the south by Zara, or the desert; and on the west by the Atlantic ocean. Its utmost extent from east to west, or from Cape Non, on the most western coast of Morocco, to the confines of Egypt, is almost thirty-seven degrees, or about 2,200 geographical miles. It commences on the west by the famous Mount Atlas, called by the Arabs Ayduacal, and incloses the ancient kingdoms of Suez and Dela, now provinces of Morocco, and extends north-eastward along the Atlantic coast, through the straits of Gibraltar, and so on by an eastern course, along the Mediterranean coast, to the city of Alexandria, which is the southern boundary of Egypt, where it joins to this of Barbary. The principal kingdoms into which it is now divided are those of Morocco, Fez, Algiers,

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Tunis, and Tripoli—the kingdom of Telensin, or Tremesin, having been incorporated with that of Algiers; and that of Borca having been reduced to a dependence on that of Tripoli. Both the coasts of Barbary, whether watered by the Atlantic ocean or by the Mediterranean, are fertile in corn and pasturage; the former being watered by a multitude of small and large rivers, which descend from Atlas and empty themselves into the ocean: and the former extending along the declivity of a vast ridge of mountains, some of which are considerably high, and spread above forty leagues inland, supplying a number of rivers, which, after many windings through pleasant and fertile vallies, discharge themselves into the Mediterranean.

The coast of Barbary was probably first planted by the Egyptians. The Phenicians afterwards sent colonies thither, and built Utica and Carthage. The Carthaginians soon became powerful and wealthy by trade, and finding the country divided into many little kingdoms and states, either subdued the princes on their coasts or made them tributaries. Weary of their yoke, they availed themselves of the opportunity presented by the invasion of the Romans to assist them in the subjugation of Carthage. The Romans remained sovereigns of the coast of Barbary, which indeed was almost the whole of their possession, Egypt excepted, on the continent of Africa. Beneath their sway the territory was divided into the provinces of Mauritania, Africa Propria, &c. and they continued absolute masters of it from the reign of Julius Cæsar till the year of Christ 428. At that time Bonifacius, the Roman governor of these provinces, having, through the treachery of Aëtius, been forced to revolt, called to his assistance Genseric, king of the Vandals, who had been some time settled in Spain. The terms offered, according to Procopius, were, that Genseric should have two-thirds, and Bonifacius one-third, of Africa, provided they could maintain themselves against the Roman power: to accomplish which, they were to assist each other to the utmost. This proposal was instantly complied with; and Genseric set sail from Spain in May 428, with an army of 80,000 men, according to some, or only 24,000 according to others, with their wives, children, and all their effects. In the meantime the empress Placidia, having discovered the cause of Bonifacius' revolt, wrote a kind and obliging letter to him, in which she assured him of her favour and protection, exhorting him to return to his duty, and exert his usual zeal for the welfare of the empire, by driving out the Barbarians, whom the malice of his enemies had obliged him to call in for his own safety and preservation. Bonifacius complied with this request, and offered the Vandals considerable sums if they would return to Spain. But Genseric, already master of the greatest part of the country, first returned an evasive answer, and then, falling unexpectedly on him, cut most of his men in pieces, and obliged Bonifacius to fly to Hippo, which place he invested in May 430. The siege lasted till July the following year; when the Vandals were forced, by a famine that began to rage in their camp, to drop the enterprise and retire. Soon after, Bonifacius having received two reinforcements, one from Rome, and the other, under the conduct of the celebrated Asper, from Constantinople, it was resolved by the Roman generals to offer the enemy battle. The Vandals readily accepted the challenge: a bloody engagement ensued, in which the Romans were utterly defeated, a prodigious number of them taken, and the rest obliged to shelter themselves among the rocks and mountains. Asper, who commanded the eastern troops, escaped with difficulty to Constantinople, and Bonifacius was recalled to Italy. Upon their departure, the Vandals over-ran all Africa, committing everywhere the most terrible ravages; which struck the inhabitants of Hippo with such terror that they abandoned their city, which was plundered and burnt by the victorious enemy, so that Cirtha and Carthage were now the only strong places possessed by the Romans.

In 435, Genseric, probably being afraid of an attack by the united forces of the eastern and western empires, concluded a peace with the Romans, who yielded to him a part of Numidia, the province of Proconsularis, and Byzacene; for which, according to Prosper, he was to pay a yearly tribute to the em-

peror of the east. Genseric delivered up his son Hunneric by way of hostage; but so great was the confidence which the Romans placed in this barbarian, that they sent back his son. Of this they had soon reason to repent; for in 439, the Romans being engaged in a war with the Goths, Genseric embraced the opportunity to seize upon the city of Carthage; by which he considerably enlarged his African dominions. Genseric now made Carthage the seat of his empire; and in 440 he attacked the island of Sicily, where he ravaged the open country, and laid siege to Palermo. But, not being able to reduce that place, he returned to Africa with an immense booty, and a vast number of captives. Being now become formidable to both empires, Theodosius, emperor of the East, resolved to assist Valentinian, emperor of Rome, against so powerful an enemy. Accordingly, he fitted out a large fleet of ships; and putting on board the flower of his army, under the conduct of Arcovindas, Ansilus, and Germanus, he ordered them to land in Africa, and, joining the western forces there, to drive Genseric out of the countries he had seized. But Genseric in the meantime pretending a desire to be reconciled with both empires, he amused the Roman general with proposals of peace, till the season for action was over; and, next year, Theodosius being obliged to recal his forces to oppose the Huns, Valentinian was obliged to conclude a peace with the Vandals; and this he could obtain on no other terms than yielding to them the quiet possession of the countries they had seized.

So powerful was Genseric now become, or rather so reduced was the Roman empire, that in 455 he took and plundered the city of Rome; and, after his return to Africa, he made himself master of the remaining countries held by the Romans in that part of the world Afterwards Avitus, who had succeeded Valentinian, dispatched ambassadors to Genseric, putting him in mind of the treaty he had concluded with the Roman empire in 442; and threatening, if he did not observe the articles at that time agreed upon, to make war upon him not only with his own forces, but with those of his allies the Visigoths, who were ready to pass over into Africa. To this Genseric was so far from paying any regard, that he immediately put to sea with a fleet of sixty ships; but, being attacked by the Roman fleet under Ricimer, he was utterly defeated, and forced to fly back into Africa; he returned, however, soon after, with a more powerful fleet, committing great ravages on the coast of Italy: but in a second expedition he was not attended with so much success; the Romans falling unexpectedly upon his men, while busied in plundering the country, put great numbers of them to the sword, and among the rest the brother-in-law of Genseric. Majorianus, at that time emperor, now resolved to pass over into Africa, and attempt the recovery of that country. For this purpose he made preparations; but his fleet being surprised and defeated by the Vandals, through the treachery, it is said, of some of his commanders, the enterprise miscarried. Majorianus, however, persisted in his resolution; and would probably have succeeded, had he not been murdered by Ricimer. After his death, Genseric committed what ravages he pleased, and even made descents on Peloponnesus and the islands belonging to the emperor of Constantinople. To revenge this affront, Leo made vast preparations for the invasion of Barbary, insomuch that, according to Procopius, he laid laid out 130,000 pounds weight of gold in the equipment of his army and navy. The forces employed were sufficient for expelling the Vandals, had they been much more powerful than they were; but the command being given to Basiliscus, a covetous and ambitious man, the fleet was utterly defeated through his treachery, and all these vast preparations came to nothing. By this defeat the power of the Vandals in Africa became fully established, and Genseric made himself master of Sicily, and of all the other islands between Italy and Africa, without opposition from the western emperors, whose power was entirely abolished in the year 476. Thus was the Vandalic monarchy in Barbary founded by Genseric, between the years 428 and 468. If we contemplate that prince's government in his new dominions, it presents no very agreeable aspect. Being himself an absolute barbarian, and an utter stranger to every useful art, he did not fail to destroy all the monuments of Roman greatness which were so

numerous in the country he had conquered. Whatever noble structure the Romans had been at such an immense expence to erect, in order to eternize their glory in this country, the Vandals were now at no less pains to reduce into heaps of ruins. Besides this devastation, Genseric made his dominions a scene of blood and slaughter, by persecuting the orthodox Christians; being himself a zealous Arian. He died in 477, after a reign of sixty years; and was succeeded by his son Hunneric.

The new king proved a greater tyrant than his father, persecuting the orthodox Christians with the utmost fury; and, during his short reign of seven years and an half, destroyed more than Geneseric had done in all his life-time. He is said to have died in the same manner as the heresiarch ARIUS; prior to which his flesh had been rotting upon his bones, and crawling with worms, so that he looked more like a dead carcase than a living man. Concerning his successors, Gutamund, Thrasimund, and Hilderic, we find nothing remarkable, except that they sometimes persecuted, and sometimes were favourable to, the orthodox; and by his favour for them the last king was deposed. For, having published, in the beginning of his reign, a manifesto, wherein he repealed all the acts of his predecessors against the orthodox, a rebellion was the consequence. At the head of the malcontents was Gilimer, or Gildemar, a prince of the blood-royal, who became so powerful as to depose Hilderic in the seventh year of his reign; after which he caused the unhappy monarch with all his family to be closely confined, and was himself crowned king of the Vandals at Carthage.

Gilimer proved a greater tyrant than any that had gone before him; insomuch that he was held in universal abhorrence, when the Greek emperor Justinian projected an invasion of Barbary. Notwithstanding he was at that time engaged in a war with Persia, he sent a powerful fleet and army to Africa, under the command of the celebrated general Belisarius,, who was for that reason recalled from Persia. So much was Gilimer taken up with his own pleasures, that he knew little or nothing of the formidable preparations that were making against him. On the arrival of Belisarius, however, he was constrained to put himself in a posture of defence. The management of his army he committed to his two brothers Gundimer and Gelamund, who attacked the Romans at the head of a numerous army. The engagement was long and bloody; but the Vandals were defeated, and the two princes slain. Gilimer grown desperate at this news, sallied out at the head of his corps de reserve, resolving to renew the attack with the utmost vigour; but by his own indiscretion he lost a fair opportunity of defeating the Romans. For no sooner did they perceive Gilimer hastening after them at the head of a fresh army, than they betook themselves to flight; and the greatest part were dispersed in such a manner, that had the king pursued them, they must have been totally cut off. Instead of this, however, meeting with the body of one of his slain brothers, he spent his time in idle lamentations, and in burying the corpse with pomp and dignity. By this means Belisarius had an opportunity of rallying his men, which he did so effectually, that, coming unexpectedly upon Gilimer, he gained a new and complete victory over him. This defeat was followed by the loss of Carthage, which the barbarians had been at no pains to put into a state of defence. Gilimer having in vain endeavoured to obtain assistance from the Moors and Goths, was now obliged to recal his brother Tzason from Sardinia. The meeting between them was very mournful; but they soon came to a resolution of making one desperate attempt to regain the lost kingdom. This brought on another engagement, in which Tzason was killed with 800 of his choicest men, while the Romans lost no more than fifty; after which Belisarius moving suddenly forward at the head of his army, fell upon the camp of the Vandals. Gilimer, without staying to give any orders to his army, fled towards Numidia in the utmost consternation. His flight was not immediately known among his troops; but, when it was, they abandoned their camp to the Romans, who plundered it, and massacred all they found in it, except the women, whom they carried away captives.

Thus a total end was put to the power

of the Vandals in Barbary, and the Romans once more became masters of this country. The Vandal inhabitants were permitted to remain, on condition of exchanging the heresy of Arius for the orthodox faith. As for Gilimer, he took shelter at Medamus, a town situated on the top of the Pappuan mountain, and almost inaccessible by reason of its height and ruggedness. The siege of this place was committed to one Pharas, an officer of great experience, who having shut up all avenues to the town, the unhappy Gilimer was reduced to the greatest distress. Pharas being apprised of the state he was in, wrote him a friendly and pathetic letter, earnestly exhorting him to surrender. This Gilimer positively declined; and concluded his answer with a request, that Pharas would send him a loaf of bread, a sponge, and a lute. This strange request surprised Pharas; but it was explained by the messenger, who told him that the king had not tasted bread since his arrival on that mountain, and earnestly longed to eat a morsel before he died; the sponge he wanted to allay a tumour on one of his eyes; and the lute, on which he had learned to play, was to assist him in setting some elegiac verses he had composed on the subject of his misfortunes, to a suitable tune. Pharas could not refrain from tears, and immediately dispatched the messenger with the things he wanted. Gilimer had spent near three winter months on the summit of this inhospitable mountain, his misery hardening him still more against the thoughts of surrendering, when a melancholy scene in his own family at once resolved him to it. This was a violent struggle between two boys, one of them his sister's son, about a piece of dough laid on the coals; which the one seized upon, burning hot as it was, and clapped it into his mouth; but the other by dint of blows forced it out and ate it from him. This quarrel, which would have ended fatally had not Gilimer interposed, made so deep an impression upon him, that he dispatched a messenger to Pharas, acquainting him that he was willing to surrender with all his effects, upon the conditions offered, as soon as he was assured that they were accepted by Belisarius. Pharas lost no time to get them ratified and sent back to him; after which Gilimer was conducted to Belisarius, who gave him a very kind reception. Gilimer was afterwards brought before Justinian in golden chains, whom he besought in the most submissive manner to spare his life.—This was generously granted by the emperor; who also allowed him a pension to live upon as a private gentleman. But his spirits and heart were too much broken to enjoy the sweets of private life; insomuch that he died in the year 534, the first of his captivity, and five years after he had been raised to the throne.

Barbary being thus reduced by the arms of Justinian, it continued a province of the eastern Roman empire, and received its laws from Constantinople, until it was taken by the Saracen army, in the khalifat of Omar. It continued subject to the khalifs of Arabia and Bagdad till the reign of Harun al Rashid, who having appointed Ibrahim Ebn Aglab governor of the western parts of his empire, that prefect took the opportunity, first of assuming greater powers to himself than had been granted by the khalif, and then erecting a principality altogether independent of him. The race of Aglab continued to enjoy this new principality peaceably, till the year of the Hegira 297, during which time they made several descents on the island of Sicily, and conquered part of it. About this time Obeidallah rebelled against the house of Aglab, and assumed the title of khalif of Kairwan (the ancient Cyrene, and residence of the Aglabite princes). To give the greater weight to his pretensions, he took the surname of Al Mondi, or Al Mahedi, the director. According to some, also, he pretended to be descended from Ali Ebn Abu Taleb, and Fatema the daughter of Mahomet: for which reason, say they, the Arabs called him and his descendants *Fatemites*.—He likewise encouraged himself and his followers by a traditional prophecy of Mahomet, that at the end of three hundred years the sun should rise out of the west. Having at length driven the Aglabites into Egypt, where they became known by the name of *Magrebians*, he extended his dominions in Africa and Sicily, making Kairwan the place of his residence.

In the three hundredth year of the Hegira,

Habbasah, one of Al Mohdi's generals, overthrew the khalif Al Mokhtader's forces in the neighbourhood of Barca, and made himself master of that city. After which he reduced Alexandria, and was making great progress in the conquest of the whole country, when Al Mokhtader dispatched against him his two generals Takin and Al Kasem, with an army of 100,000 men. Habbasah, being informed that the khalif's troops were in motion, advanced at the head of his army to give them battle, and at last came up with them in an island called by the Arabs *Ard al Kamsin*. Here he attacked them with incredible bravery, notwithstanding their forces were much superior to his own, but the approach of night obliged both generals to retreat. The action was by no means decisive, though extremely bloody, the khalif's generals having lost 20,000 men, and Habbasah 10,000. The latter, however, durst not renew the fight, but stole off in the night, so that Al Mokhtader in effect gained a victory. In the 302d year of the Hegira, Habbasah returned, possessed himself of Alexandria a second time, defeated a body of the khalif's forces, and killed 7000 of them upon the spot. What farther progress he made at that time we are not certainly told; but in the 307th year of the Hegira, Abul Kasem, son to the Fatemite khaliff Al Mohdi, again entered Egypt with an army of 100,000 men. At first he met with extraordinary success, and over-ran a considerable part of that fine country. He made himself master of Alexandria, Al Tayum, Al Banasa, and the isle of Al Ashmaryin, penetrating even to Al Jizah, where the khalif's army, under the command of Munes, was posted to oppose him. In this country he found means to maintain himself till the 308th year of the Hegira, when he was entirely defeated by Munes, who became master of all his baggage, as well as of the plunder he had acquired; and this obliged him to fly to Kairwan with the shattered remains of his army, where he remained without making any farther attempt on Egypt.

Al Mohdi reigned twenty-four years, and was succeeded by his son Abul Casem abovementioned, who then took the surname of *Al Kayem Mohdi*. During his reign we read of nothing remarkable, except the revolt of Yezid Ebn Condat, a man of mean extraction, but who, having been elevated to the dignity of chancellor, found means to raise such a strong party, that the khalif was obliged to shut himself up in the castle of Mohedia. Yezid, at the head of a powerful army, soon reduced the capital of Kairwan, the cities of Al Rakkada and Tunis, and several other fortresses. He was no less successful in defeating a considerable number of troops which Al Kayem had sent against him; after which he closely besieged the khaliff in the castle where he had shut himself up. The siege continued seven months; during which time the place was reduced to such straits, that the khalif must either have surrendered or been starved, when death put an end to his anxiety, in the 12th year of his reign, and 334th of the Hegira.

Al Kayem was succeeded by his son Ishmael, who took the title of *Al Mansur*.—This khalif thought proper to conceal the death of his father, till he had made the preparations necessary for reducing the rebels. In this he was so successful, that he obliged Yezid to raise the siege of Mohedia the same year; and in the following gave him two signal overthrows, obliging him to shut himself up in the fortress of Kothama, or Cutama, where he besieged him in his turn. Yezid defended the place with desperate bravery; but, finding the garrison at last obliged to capitulate, he escaped privately. Al Mansur dispatched a body of forces in pursuit of him; who overtook, and brought him back in fetters; but not till after a vigorous defence, in which Yezid received several wounds, of which he died in prison. After his death, Al Mansur caused his body to be flayed, and his skin stuffed and exposed to public view. Al Mansur died after a reign of seven years and sixteen days, in the 341st of the Hegira.

Al Mansur was succeeded by his son Abu Zammin Moad, who assumed the surname of *Al Moaz Ledinillah*. He was a warlike prince, and maintained a bloody contest with Abdalrahman, khalif of Andalusia. In the 347th year of the Hegira, beginning March 25th, 958, Al Moaz sent a powerful army to

the western extremity of Africa, under the command of Abul Hasan Jawhar, one of his slaves, whom he had advanced to the dignity of vizier. Jawhar first advanced to Tahart, which he besieged ineffectually. From thence he marched to Fez, and made the proper disposition for attacking that city.—But finding that Ahmed Ebn Beer, the emir of the place, was resolved to defend it to the last, he thought proper to abandon the enterprise. However, having traversed all the tract between that capital and the Atlantic ocean, he again sat down before Fez, and took it by storm the following year. But the greatest achievement of this khalif was his conquest of Egypt, and the removal of the khalifat to that country.—This conquest, though long projected, he did not attempt till the year of the Hegira 358. Having then made all necessary preparations, he committed the care of that expedition to a faithful and experienced general, called *Giafar*, or *Jaafar;* but, in the meantime, this enterprise did not divert Al Moez from the care of his other conquests, particularly those of Sicily and Sardinia: to the last of which he sailed in the year of the Hegira 361, continuing a whole year in it, and leaving the care of his African dominions to an experienced officer named Yusef Ben Zeiri. He sailed the following year for Tripoli, where he received the agreeable news that his general had made himself master of Alexandria. He immediately embarked for that city, leaving the government of his African dominions in the hands of his trusty servant Yusef above-mentioned, and arriving safely at that port, was received with every demonstration of joy. Here he began to lay the foundation of his new Egyptian dynasty, which was to put a final end to the old one of Kairwan, after it had continued about sixty-five years.

From the era of the departure of Al Moez, we may date the commencement of the present abject and degenerated policy in the government of Barbary. Al Moez, indeed, for a time, preserved his dominions of Kairwain, or Africa Proper: but the ambition or avarice of the governors he appointed suffered them to run quickly to decay. And these governors in a short time shaking off all controul, they soon began to set up for themselves, licensing and abetting every kind of lawless depredation, until the desert became filled with banditti, and the whole maritime coast, from the Egyptian confines to the pillars of Hercules, now named Gibraltar, swarmed with pirates, insomuch that they have since been distinguished by the title of the *Piratical States.*

The ancestors of the Saracens made a conquest of the greater part of Spain; but after the loss of Grenada, about the year 1492, they were dispossessed of that country, and compelled, by Ferdinand and Isabella, to renounce their religion, or transport themselves to the coast of Africa. The exiles confederated with the Mahometan princes on the coast of Barbary, and fitted out little fleets of cruizers, which made depredations on Spain, which we shall record hereafter, brought away many of its inhabitants, and made slaves of them. The Spaniards assembled a fleet of men of war, invaded Barbary, took Oran and other places on the coast of Algiers, and were proceeding to make an entire conquest of the country. In this distress, the African prince besought the assistance of the famous Turkish rover Barbarossa, whose singular talents, exploits, and vicissitudes of fortune, we shall enumerate at large in a future chapter. When he had repulsed their enemies he assumed the government of Algiers, and treated the people who called him to their succour as slaves. His brother, Hayradin, pursued the same measures with regard to the people of Tunis; and a third, by similar means, obtained the government of Tripoli. In these usurpations they were supported by the Grand Seignor, who claimed the sovereignty of the whole coast, and for some time the people were considered as the subjects of Turkey, and governed by Turkish bashaws and viceroys: but each of these states, under the auspices of military men, at length erected a sovereign out of their own body, and rendered themselves independent of the Turkish empire. The Grand Seignor has not at the present time a single bashaw, or officer, at Algiers. The dey acts as an absolute prince, and is only liable to be deposed by the soldiery that advanced him. At Tunis and Tripoli he has still bashaws,

who are some check upon the beys, and receive a small tribute. All of them, however, in cases of emergency, claim the protection of the Ottoman court; and they still continue to prey upon the Spaniards, having never been at peace with them since the loss of Grenada. They make prize also of all other christian ships that have Spanish goods and passengers aboard. The Turks of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, are an abandoned race; consisting of pirates, banditti, and the refuse of Turkey, who have been forced to leave their respective countries to avoid the punishnent of their crimes. They are, of all the inhabitants of Barbary, the fewest in number, and in all respects worse than the two other classes of the population, the Moors and Arabs; over whom they exercise their tyranny with the most wanton and savage rigour. They make ostentatious professions of Mahometanism, but, in practice, they neglect and violate its precepts in the most licentious degree, and are so notorious for the dissoluteness of their manners, that they are abhorred by all true Mahometans.

These states, under the Roman empire, were justly denominated the *garden of the world;* and to have a residence there was considered as the highest state of luxury. The produce of their soil formed those magazines, which furnished all Italy, and great part of the Roman empire, with corn, wine, and oil. Though the lands are now uncultivated, through the oppression and barbarity of their constitution, yet they are still fertile, not only in the above commodities, but in the dates, figs, raisins, almonds, apples, pears, cherries, plums, citrons, lemons, oranges, pomegranates, &c. Excellent hemp and flax grow on their plains; and, by the report of Europeans who have lived there for some time, the country abounds with all that can add to the pleasures of life. Neither the elephant nor the rhinoceros are to be found in the states of Barbary; but their deserts abound with lions, tigers, leopards, hyænas, and monstrous serpents. The Barbary horses were formerly very valuable, and thought equal to the Arabian; and, though their breed is now said to be decayed, yet some very fine ones are occasionally imported into England. Dromedaries, asses, mules, and kumrahs, a most serviceable creature, begot by an ass upon a cow, are their beasts of burden: but from the service of the camel they derive the greatest advantages. This useful quadruped enables the African to perform his long and toilsome journies across that continent. The camel is, therefore (says Mr. Bruce), emphatically called the *ship of the desert.* Their cows are but small, and barren of milk; their sheep yield but indifferent fleeces, but are very large, as are their goats. Bears, porcupines, foxes, apes, hares, rabbits, ferrets, weasels, moles, camelions, and all kinds of reptiles, are found here. "Besides vermin," says Dr. Shaw, in his Travels through Barbary, "the apprehensions we were under of being bitten or stung by the scorpion, the viper, or the venomous spider, rarely failed to interrupt our repose—a refreshment so very grateful and so highly necessary to a weary traveller." Partridges and quails, eagles, kawks, and all kinds of wild-fowl, are found on this coast; and of the smaller birds, the caspa-sparrow is remarkable for its beauty, and the sweetness of its note, which is thought to excced that of any other bird; but it cannot live out of its own climate. The seas and bays of Barbary abound with the finest and most delicious fish of every kind, and were preferred by the ancients to those of Europe.

The whole of Barbary is situated under the temperate zone. All the coast and mountains on the side of the Mediterranean, from the straits of Gibraltar to Egypt, are rather cold than hot, and snow falls at certain times of the year: the rainy season commences about the middle of October throughout all the country; the months of December and January are more severe, nevertheless the cold is not so great as to render a fire necessary: the cold diminishes from January, and the season is then so inconstant, that it often changes three or four times a day; the west and north winds blow with violence during the month of March: In April all the trees begin to bloom, and at the end of the same month they gather ripe cherries in Fez, Algiers, and Tunis, and in some parts of Morocco. The inhabitants consist of three different races of men:

the Africans, natives; [illegible] seek their fortunes; and A[illegible] dwell in the deserts. The [illegible] again, are divided into whites and blacks: the former of which are those who inhabit the sea-ports and country along the coast; and the latter those who reside in the interior parts. In this country all foreigners are allowed the open profession of their religion, but the inhabitants of the states are Mahometans; and many subjects of Morocco follow the tenets of Hamed, a modern sectary, and an enemy to the ancient doctrine of the khalifs. All of them have much respect for idiots; whose protection in some cases screens offenders from punishment for the most notorious crimes. In the main, however, the Moors of Barbary, as the inhabitants of these states are now promiscuously called (because the Saracens first entered Europe from Mauritania, the country of the Moors), have adopted the very worst parts of the Mahometan religion, and seem to have retained as much of it as countenances their vices. Adultery in women is punished with death; but, though the men are indulged with a plurality of wives and concubines, they commit the most unnatural crimes with impunity. As the states of Barbary possess those countries that formerly went by the name of Mauritania and Numidia, the ancient African language is still spoken in some of the inland countries, and even by some inhabitants of the city of Morocco. In the sea-port towns and maritime countries a bastard kind of Arabic is spoken; and seafaring people are no strangers to that medley of living and dead languages—Italian, French, Latin, &c. that is so well known in all the ports of the Mediterranean, by the name of *Lingua Françа.*

These states, which formerly contained Carthage, and the pride of the Phœnician, Greek, and Roman works, are replete with the most curious remains of antiquity. Some memorials of the Mauritanian and Numidian greatness are still to be met with, and many ruins of cities, which bear evidences of their ancient grandeur and populousness. These point out the old Julia Cæsaria of the Romans, which was little inferior in magnificence to Carthage itself. A few of the [illegible]ueducts of Carthage are still remaining, but no vestige of its walls. The same is the fate of Utica, famous for the retreat and and death of Cato; and so over-run is the country with barbarism, that their very scites are not known, except by their ruins, amphitheatres, and other public buildings, which remain still in tolerable preservation. Besides those of classical antiquity, many Saracen monuments, of the most stupendous magnificence, are likewise found in this vast tract; these were erected under the khalifs of Bagdad and the ancient kings of the country, before it was subdued by the Turks, or reduced to its present form of government. Their walls form the principal fortifications in the country, both inland and maritime. We know of few or no natural curiosities belonging to this country, except its salt-pits, which in some places take up an area of six miles. Dr. Shaw mentions springs found here that are so hot as to boil a large piece of mutton very tender in a quarter of an hour.

The lower subjects of these states know very few imaginary wants, and depend partly upon their piracies to be supplied with necessary utensils and manufactures; so that their exports consist chiefly of leather, fine mats, embroidered handkerchiefs, sword-knots, and carpets, which are cheaper and softer than those in Turkey, though not so good in other respects. As they leave almost all their commercial affairs to the Jews and Christians settled among them, the latter have established silk and linen works, which supply the higher ranks of their own subjects. They have no ships that, properly speaking, are employed in commerce; so that the French and English carry on the greatest part of their trade. Their exports, besides those already mentioned, consist of ostrich feathers, copper, tin, wool, hides, honey, wax, dates, raisins, olives, almonds, gum-arabic, and sandarac. The inhabitants of Morocco at present likewise carry on a considerable trade by caravans, to Mecca, Medina, and some inland parts of Africa, from whence they bring back vast numbers of negroes, who serve in their armies, and are slaves in their houses and fields. In return for their exports, the Eu-

ropeans furnish them with timber, artillery of all kinds, gunpowder, and whatever they want, either in their public or private capacities. The duties paid by the English in the ports of Morocco are but half those paid by other Europeans. It is a general observation, that no nation is fond of trading with these states, not only on account of their capricious despotism, but the villany of their individuals, both natives and Jews, many of whom take all opportunities of cheating, and when detected are seldom punished.

In this country, no regular form of government can be said to exist. The emperors have for some ages been parties, judges, and even executioners with their own hands, in all criminal matters; nor is their brutality more incredible than the submission with which their subjects bear it. In the absence of the emperor, every military officer has the power of life and death, and it is seldom that they mind the form of a judicial proceeding. Some vestiges, however, of the khalifate government still continue; for in places where no military officer resides, the mufti, or high-priest, is the fountain of all justice, and under him the cadis, or civil officers, act as our justices of the peace. Though the emperors are not immediately subject to the Porte, yet they acknowledge the Grand Seignor to be their superior, and pay him a distinct allegiance, as the chief representative of Mahomet.

The Moors are the original natives; the Arabs have over-run the country; the Turks have since made themselves masters of some of the best provinces, and the several kingdoms of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, under a kind of tribute or mark of dependence to the Ottoman Porte. The Moors, or natives, are for the most part Mahometans. They are more scrupulous observers of the Mahometan law than the Turks themselves; and as they are generally even more ignorant, they have adopted every absurdity of superstition.—Among the corsairs of Barbary, no charm or magic spell, no expedient, however senseless, monstrous, and diabolical, can be invented, to which they will not have recourse in fights and storms, or other emergencies attending their hazardous profession. Their condition is as abject and miserable in the extreme. They are bowed down by taxes, and treated with the utmost cruelty by their insulting masters, or exposed to the continual inroads of the plundering Arabs. Such is the state of those who live at large in the country, upon their agriculture and cattle. The people who inhabit the sea-ports along the coast are allowed to follow a variety of handicraft trades and manufactures, and to carry on a trifling commerce by land and sea; but they are no less oppressed by the weight of taxes and numerous exactions.

The Arabs of Barbary are like those of other parts of Africa; they follow the same mode of living, are governed by their own despotic shaiks; and all of them, except those of the wandering kind, and such as live under the dominion of the emperors of Morocco and Fez, are in some degree tributary to the Turks. They are often obliged, by the oppression they suffer, to abandon their habitations, and to seek refuge among the most rocky and inaccessible mountains, whether the Turkish forces cannot pursue them. Such is the condition of those who live in the country, and along the ridge of Mount Atlas; but there is a more civilised class, who are, like the Moors, settled in some of the towns and villages, applying themselves to agricultural pursuits, and to the breeding of those valuable and favourite horses, Arabian Barbs. The wild or wandering Arabs who range along the great Atlas, and other parts of Barbary, are warlike, bold, and even desperate, in all their plundering excursions, especially in their attempts on the large and rich caravans which go from Morocco into Egypt. The Arabs of each class are addicted to the study of astronomy and astrology, to which they are disposed by their pastoral life, which affords much leisure, by their clear sky and natural superstition. They neither sow, reap, plant, travel, nor undertake any expedition, without previously consulting the starry heavens.

Impatient of restraint, and fondly attached to independence, few Arabs are found in any of the towns: but they bring their produce to market, pitching their tents on the nearest spot where grass and water are met with.—When they march, the women sit in a groupe, perhaps of three, on the back of the camel

The younger animals, such as children, lambs, and kids, are allotted their places in the panniers on each side. The fowls, whose forecast and vigilance predict the approaching movement of the camels, in due time flock to secure themselves a settlement, wherever a projecting point of the lean frame of the quadruped affords them a promise of security. Thus, guarded by a few men on horseback, with their muskets rested on their pummels, and the rest driving their herds, they are met in their migrations. They move from place to place as the land becomes exhausted. As they increase, and their flocks and herds become too numerous for the food which the country affords, they separate, like Abraham and Lot, one proceeding to the right and the other to the left.

The encampments of the Arabs are at a considerable distance from the towns. They consist of broad tents, constructed of the leaves of the palmetto, or of camel's hair, are supported by canes, and others are fixed by pegs. The form of an Arab tent is in some degree similar to a tomb, or the keel of a ship reversed. They are dyed black, are broad, and very low. The tent of the Shaik, or governor, is considerably larger than any of the others, and is placed in a conspicuous part of the camp. These camps are named by the Arabs *douhars*, and the number of tents in them vary according to the proportion of people in the tribe or family. Some of the *douhars* contain only four or five, while others consist of near a hundred. The camp forms either a complete circle or an oblong square, but the first is more common. The cattle, which are left to graze at large in the day, are carefully secured within the boundaries at night.

In all the camps the tents are closed on the north side, and are quite open on the south, by which means they escape the cold northerly winds, so prevalent in this country during the winter season.

The Arabs who inhabit these encampments are in many respects a very different race of people from the Moors who inhabit the towns. The latter, from being in general more affluent, from their intercourse with Europeans, and from their different education, have introduced luxuries, and imbibed ideas, of which the others are entirely ignorant. From their strong family attachments, indeed, as well as from their inveterate prejudices in favour of ancient customs, these tribes of Arabs appear to be at a vast distance from a state of civilisation. As this singular people associate continually in tribes, their marriages are confined to their own family; and so strict are they in the observance of this attachment, that they will not permit a person who is not in some degree related to them to inhabit the same camp with themselves.

The husband, wife, and children, all sleep in the same tent, commonly on a pallet of sheep-skins, but sometimes on the bare ground. The children remain with their parents till they marry, when the friends of each party are obliged to provide them with a tent, a stone hand-mill to grind their corn, a basket, a wooden bowl, and two earthen dishes, which constitute the whole of their furniture. Besides these they have, however, a marriage portion, which consists of a certain number of camels, horses, cows, sheep, and goats, with a proportionable quantity of wheat and barley: and by grazing and cultivating the neighbouring ground they gradually increase their stock. The Arabs have seldom more than one wife. Their women, who are in general the very opposite to every idea of beauty, do not, like those who inhabit the towns, conceal their faces in the presence of strangers.

Each camp is under the direction of a shaik, to whom the rest apply for redress whenever they feel themselves aggrieved.—This governor is invested with the power of inflicting any punishment which he may think proper, short of death. He is appointed by the emperor, and is in general the Arab who possesses the greatest property.

As they are generally at a distance from any mosque where they can exercise their religion, an empty tent is allotted for the purposes of worship, which is placed in the centre of the camp, and which at the same time serves for the nightly abode of any traveller who may pass that way; and those who take shelter in it are provided with a good supper, at the expence of the whole

association. Within this tent all the children assemble every morning an hour before day-break, before a large wood fire, which is made on the outside, and learn their prayers, which are written in Arabic characters on boards, and are always hanging up in the tent. The learning to read the few prayers which are on these boards, and to commit them to memory, is the only education to which the Arabs in general ever attain.

In the empire of Morocco all landed property, except what is immediately connected with towns, belongs to the emperor. The Arabs, therefore, when they wish to change their situation, are obliged to procure a licence from him, or at least from the bashaw of the province, allowing them to take possession of any particular spot of ground; and in consideration of this indulgence they pay the emperor a proportion of its produce.

The dress of the men consists of a long coarse frock, made of undyed wool, which is girt about the waist, and is called a *cashove*. In addition to this they wear the *haick*, which is a piece of stuff several yards in length, made either of wool, or wool and cotton. This, when they go abroad, they use as a cloak, throwing it over the whole of the under-dress in a careless manner, the upper part serving to cover their head. They wear their hair cut quite close, use no turban, cap, nor stockings, and seldom even wear slippers.

The dress of the women is nearly the same, differing only in the mode of putting on the *cashove*, which is so contrived as to form a bag on their backs, for the purpose of carrying their children; and this they are able to do, and perform all the drudgery of the family at the same time. Their hair, which is black, is worn in different plaits, and is covered with a handkerchief tied close to their head. They are very fond of gold and silver trinkets when they can obtain them, and none of them are without a number of bead necklaces. Their children go quite naked till the age of nine or ten, when they are initiated in the drudgery of their parents.

The ill effects of strong family prejudices, and of that narrow and exclusive disposition which accompanies them, is strongly marked in these little societies. Every camp beholds its neighbour with detestation or contempt. Perpetual feuds arise between the inhabitants of each, and too commonly are productive of bloodshed, and the most extravagant outrages. When one of these unfortunate contests proceeds to open acts of violence, it seldom terminates till the emperor has taken a share in the dispute. Whoever is the author, he at least generally derives advantages from these dissensions; for, independent of the corporal punishment which he inflicts, he also imposes heavy fines upon the contending tribes, which proves the most effectual mode of pacifying the combatants.

Besides what the emperor gains in this way, which is frequently considerable, he likewise receives annually the tenth of every article of consumption which is the produce of the country; he also sometimes exacts an extraordinary impost, answering in value to about the fortieth part of every article they possess, which is levied for the purpose of supporting his troops. Besides these levies, these unfortunate people are liable to any other exaction which his caprice may direct him to impose upon them, from a plea of pretended or real necessity, The first tax (the tenth) is paid either in corn and cattle, or in money. The other is always paid in corn and cattle.

The mode practised by the emperor for extorting money from his subjects is very simple and expeditious. He sends orders to the bashaw or governor of the province to pay him the sum he wants within a limited time. The bashaw immediately collects it, and sometimes double the sum, as a reward to his own industry, from the alcaides of the towns and shaiks of the encampments in the province which he commands. The example of the bashaw is not lost upon these officers, who take care to compensate their own trouble with equal liberality from the pockets of the subjects: so that, by means of this chain of despotism, which descends from the emperor to the meanest officer, the wretched people generally pay about four times the taxes which the emperor receives—so little gainers are arbitrary monarchs by the oppression of the public! The exactions indeed have been sometimes so severe, that the

Arabs have positively refused to satisfy the emperor's demands, and have obliged him to send a party of soldiers to enforce them. Whenever he is forced to this extremity, the soldiers never fail to give full scope to their love of plunder.

When a stranger sleeps in one of these camps, he rests in the most perfect safety; for if he loses the least article, or is in any respect injured, all the Arabs of the camp become answerable for it. So that a foreigner travels with much greater security under the protection of government in this empire, than among the nations of Europe which are more civilized.

The lakes in this part of the world furnish great plenty of water-fowl and eels. The manner of catching the latter is in some degree curious. A sort of skiff, about six feet long and two broad, is formed of bundles of reeds and rushes, rudely joined together, leaving only sufficient room to contain one man. The skiff gradually narrows off towards the head, where it terminates in a point, which is bent upwards in a manner similar to the turn of a scate. It is guided and managed entirely by one long pole, and from its lightness is capable of very quick motion. For the immediate purpose of taking the eels, a number of strong canes are fixed together, with a barbed iron in each, and with this instrument, as soon as the eels are observed in the water, the man immediately strikes at them with great dexterity, and generally with success.

Almost the whole employment of the Arabs consists in the tillage of the ground adjacent to their camps, and in the grazing of their cattle. The grounds at a distance from the lakes, by the burning of the stubble in the autumn, and a slight turning up of the earth with a wooden plough-share, produce good crops of barley and wheat; and by these means the Arabs procure not only sufficient for their consumption, but are even enabled to bring a part for sale to the neighbouring markets. Near the marshes and lakes their flocks and herds find a very rich pasture, which, from the number of every species, adds in no small degree to the beauty of the romantic scene.

With respect to their markets, they have spots of ground fixed upon for that purpose within a few hours' ride from their habitations, where once a week all the neighbouring Arabs transport their cattle, poultry, fruit and corn, to be disposed of, and sometimes meet with a good sale from the Moorish merchants, who come from the town to purchase cattle and grain.

Were the emperor to allow a free exportation of corn with moderate duties, and to permit the people to enjoy what they earn, exacting only the tax allowed him by the Koran, of a tenth on each article, his subjects would soon become very rich, and his own revenue would be trebly increased. The soil is so fertile, that every grain is computed to produce an hundred fold; but, owing to the want of a greater demand for this article, the Arabs sow little more than is necessary for their own use.

War may be said to be the wandering Arab's trade, and plundering his revenue. When they have quarrels neither among themselves nor their neighbours, they usually seek for hire among the deys, or bashaws, as auxiliary troops. One common sentiment of hatred towards christians seems to pervade the whole community. More violent than the Moor or Berebber, the Arab is, however, less treacherous, and seldom conceals his antipathy. The hospitality of the Arab is proverbial, but it extends itself no farther than the little circumference of the plain of which his encampment is the centre; beyond this, he feels no compunction in plundering or murdering the guest whom he had fed, lodged, and protected the preceding night. The following anecdote strongly characterises the savage hospitality of this warlike people. —A chief of the party of the bey of Tripoli's troops, pursued by the Arabs, lost his way, and was benighted near the enemy's camp. Passing the door of a tent that was open, he stopped his horse and implored assistance, being almost overcome and exhausted with fatigue and thirst. The warlike Arab bade his enemy enter his tent with confidence, and treated him with all the hospitality and respect for which this people are so famous. The highest among them, like the heroes of old, wait on their guest. A man of rank, when visited by

a stranger, quickly fetches a lamb from his flock and kills it, and his wife superintends her women in dressing it in the best manner. With some of the Arabs the primitive custom of washing the feet is still adopted, and this compliment is performed by the head of the family. Their supper was the best of the fatted lamb roasted, their desert dates and dried fruits; and the lady of the tent, to honour more particularly her husband's guest, set before him a dish of *bosseen* of her own making. It was flour and water kneaded into a paste, and left on a cloth to rise while the fire was lighted; then throwing it on the embers and turning it often, it was taken off half baked, broken into pieces, and kneaded again with new milk, oil, and salt, made into the shape of a pudding, and garnished with *madeed;* which is small bits of mutton, dried, and salted in the highest manner. Though these two chiefs were opposed in war, they talked with candour and friendship with each other, recounting the achievements of themselves and ancestors, when a sudden paleness overspread the countenance of the host. He started from his seat and retired, and in a few moments afterwards sent word to his guest that a bed was prepared and all things ready for his repose; that he was not well himself, and could not attend to finish his repast; that he had examined the Moor's horse and found him too much exhausted to bear him through a hard journey the next day; but that before sunrise an able horse, with every accommodation, would be ready at the door of his tent, where he would meet him and expect him to depart with all expedition. The stranger, not able to account further for the conduct of his host, retired to rest. An Arab waked him in time to take refreshment before his departure, which was ready prepared for him; but he saw none of the family till he perceived, on reaching the door of the tent, the master of it holding the bridle of his horse, and supporting the stirrups for him to mount, which is done among the Arabs as the last office of friendship. No sooner was the stranger mounted, than the host announced to him, that, through the whole of the enemy's camp, he had not so great an enemy to dread as himself. "Last night," said he, "in the exploits of your ancestors, you discovered to me the murderer of my father. There lie all the habits he was slain in," (which were at that moment brought to the door of the tent), "over which, in the presence of my family, I have many times sworn to revenge his death, and to seek the blood of his murderer, from sun-rise to sun-set. The sun has not yet risen; the sun will be no more than risen when I pursue you, after you have in safety quitted my tent, where, fortunately for you, it is against our religion to molest you, after you have sought my protection and found a refuge there. But all my obligations cease as soon as we part, and from that moment you must consider me as one determined on your destruction, in whatever part, or at whatever distance, we may meet again. You have not mounted a horse inferior to the one that stands ready for myself; on its swiftness surpassing that of mine, depends one of our lives, or both." After saying this, he shook his adversary by the hand and parted from him. The Moor profiting by the few moments he had in advance, reached the bey's army in time to escape his pursuer, who followed him closely as near the enemy's camp as he could with safety.—The character of the Arab is severely sincere, and so faithful, that a traveller once admitted into his tent may sleep in perfect security. The Arab women are relieved from the drudgery of tilling the land, but they grind the corn in the primitive mill, consisting of a moveable stone, with a handle turned round on a fixed one; and weave the coarse web with the simplest of all looms—two or three pieces of stick. They also prepare the *cooscosoo*, or granulated paste, in which is smothered any kind of animal food; a dish universally in use from Arabia to the shores of the Atlantic, and not unlike the pilaw of India, the granulated flour of wheat being substituted for rice. The women also milk the cattle, look after the poultry, and are generally employed in all the domestic concerns which fall to the lot of the weaker sex in the civilized countries of Europe.

Nature, ever provident, and seeing the difficulty of communication, from the immense tracts of desert country in Sahara,

has afforded the Saharawans a means, upon any emergency, of crossing the great African desert in a few days; mounted upon the (heirie) desert camel (which is a figure similar to the camel of burden, but more elegantly formed), the Arab, with his loins, breast, and ears bound round, to prevent the percussion of air proceeding from a quick motion, rapidly traverses, upon the back of this abstemious animal, the scorching desert, the fiery atmosphere of which parches, and impedes respiration so as almost to produce suffocation. The motion of the heirie is violent, and can be endured only by those patient, abstemious, and hardy Arabs who are accustomed to it. The most inferior kind of heirie are called talatayee, a term expressive of their going the distance of three days' journey in one: the next kind is called sebayee, a term appropriated to that which goes seven days' journey in one, and this is the general character; there is also one called tasayee, or the heirie of nine days; these are extremely rare. The Arabs affirm that the sebayee does not always produce another sebayee, but sometimes a talatayee, and sometimes a tasayee, and that its class is ascertained by the period which elapses before the young one takes the teat of the mother; thus, if it be three days, it is considered to be a talatayee; if seven days, a sebayee; and if nine days, it proves to be a heirie of nine days' journey. It it prove a tasayee, there are great rejoicings, it being an accession of wealth to the proprietor, as a tasayee is bartered for two hundred camels; the sebayee for one hundred; and the talatayee for thirty, or thereabout.

This valuable and useful animal has a ring put through its upper lip, to which is fixed a leathern strap which answers the purposes of a bridle; the saddle is similar to that used by the Moors, or what the mountaineers of Andalusia make use of. With a goat skin or (a bakull) a porous earthen pitcher filled with water, a few dates and some ground barley, the Arab travels with Timbuctoo to Tafilet, feeding his hierie but once, at the station of Azawad; for these camels on an emergency will abstain from drinking seven days.

A journey of thirty-five days caravan travelling will be performed by a sebayee in five days; they go from Timbuctoo to Tafielt in seven days. One of these animals once came from Fort St. Joseph on the Senegal river to the house of Messrs. Cabane and Depras at Mogodor, in seven days.

In the great desert of Africa, where cultivation is so rare that one may travel several days on an ordinary camel with baggage, without seeing any habitation, the use of the heirie must be evident, for it is more abstemious, and bears a longer continuation of fatigue than the (sh'rubah er'reeh) desert horse afterwards described.

The self-exiled Muley Abdrahaman, a prince of undaunted courage and great penetration, son of the old emperor Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah ben Ismael, of the Tafielt dynasty, whilst residing among the Arab clan of Howara in Suse, kept night and day, at the gate of his (keyma) tent, two heiries, ready caparisoned, one having a load of gold-dust and jewels, and the other for riding, in case of a sudden surprise, that he might pass into the desert out of the reach of his father's power, whose soldiers, by their master's order, having treated his highness's woman in a manner disgraceful to a mooselmin, he had retired to the confines of Sahara for more security.

The swiftness of the heirie is thus described by the Arabs in their figurative style: "When thou shalt meet a heirie, and say to the rider, Salem Alick, ere he shall have answered thee Alick Salem, he will be afar off, and nearly out of sight, for his swiftness is like the wind."

"Talking," says Mr. Jackson, "with an Arab of Suse, on the subject of these fleet camels, and the desert horse, he assured me that he knew a young man who was passionately fond of a lovely young girl, whom nothing would satisfy but some oranges: these were not to be procured at Mogodor, and as the lady wanted the best fruit, nothing less than Morocco oranges would satisfy her; the Arab mounted his heirie at the dawn of day, went to Morocco, which is about one hundred miles from Mogodor, purchased the oranges, and returned that night after the gates were shut, and sent the oranges to the lady by a guard of one of the batteries. I am aware, in relating this circumstance, that I shall incur

the imputation of credulity; but Mr. Bruce, who related many things very common in Africa, was lampooned by Munchausen; much, however, of what was doubted, has been confirmed by other travellers after him; and I am persuaded that in a short time, much more will be ascertained to be fact, which he has, by the ignorant and presuming, been censured for relating. If transactions and facts well known by the African be incompatible with the European's ideas of probability, and on that account rejected as fables, it is not the fault of the former, but of the latter, who has neglected to investigate a neighbouring quarter of the globe; for the nearest point of Africa is in sight of Europe."

The *sh'rubah er'rech*, or desert horse, is to the common horse what the desert camel is to the camel of burden; this animal does not however, answer the purpose so well for crossing the barren desert, as he requires a feed of camel's milk once every day, which is his only sustenance, so that there must necessarily be two she-camels wherever he goes to afford this supply; for he will touch neither barley or wheat (oats are never given to horses in Africa), hay, straw, nor indeed any other thing but camel's milk.

When the desert horses are brought to Morocco, as they sometimes are, they fall away; and if obliged ultimately from hunger to eat barley and straw, the Moorish provender, they recover, gradually fill up, and become handsome to the sight, but lose entirely their usual speed: they are employed chiefly to hunt the ostrich, at which sport they are very expert.

Alkaid Omar ben Daudy, an Arab of Rahammenah, when governor of Mogodor, had two Saharawan horses in his stables; but finding it inconvenient to feed them constantly on camel's milk, he resolved to try them on the usual food given to Barbary horses; he accordingly had their food gradually changed, and in a short time fed them altogether with barley, and occasionally wheat and straw: they grew fat, and looked better than before (for those of Sahara of this particular breed are by no means handsome; they have a small slender body, formed like that of the greyhound, a powerful broad chest, and small legs), but they lost their speed, and soon afterwards died, as if nature had designed them to be appropriated solely to that district, whose arid and extensive plains render their use essentially necessary.

A person unaccustomed to ride the sh'rubah er'rech, finds its motion uneasy at first; but the saddle forms a safe seat, and a man who never rode before acquires a facility in these saddles in a few days: the pummel rises perpendicularly in front, and the back part rises reclining a little from a perpendicular, and supports the back as high as the loins; the stirrups are placed far back, and give the rider a firm hold, inducing him to grasp the horse's sides with the knees, as, from the form and disposition of the stirrups and the seat, the legs and knees naturally incline inwards, and press the horse, so that the rider can, by this means, turn the animal whichever way he pleases, without using the reins; the stirrup is broad at the bottom, and receives the whole length of the foot; at the heel of the stirrup is hung loosely a spike, six inches long, which is the Moorish spur, a barbarous looking weapon, which a person unacquainted with the dexterous manner of using it would expect to rip open the horse's sides; but a good horseman seldom uses it in a way to hurt the horse; it is sufficient that he shake it against the stirrups to animate him. The whole art of riding is confined to the dexterous management of the spurs, and a good rider is distinguished from a novice by their position, as the points should never be nearer to the flank than about four inches; sometimes they are not within eight. I have seen one of the wild Arabs, of the warlike and powerful province of Shawiya, whilst mounted and the horse curveting, mark his name in Arabic characters, with the spur, on the horse's side: this is accounted the perfection of horsemanship among the Shawiyans, who are acknowledged to be the first horsemen in Morocco, and not inferior to the Bukarie cavalry of the emperor's life-guard, both of whom consider the Mamelukes as very inferior to them, in every thing but their superiority in the spur.

The Berebbers, Braebers, or Barbars, are unquestionably the descendants of the Car-

thaginian colonists, or of the people who preceded them. Having opposed but a feeble resistance to the Romans, they retired to the fastnesses of the mountains, from which they kept up a desultory warfare upon the successors of Mahomet. Thus secluded, they have preserved a language totally different from the Romans or the Arabic. They are an athletic, hardy, and enterprising people, very patient of hunger and fatigue; of regular and handsome features, but of a ferocious expression. One remarkable feature which characterizes all the Berebber tribes is a scantiness of beard, consisting of a few scanty hairs upon the upper lip, and a small tuft on the chin. Their whole dress consisted of a jacket without sleeves, leaving the arms naked and free; and a pair of trowsers. They are almost universally robbers, and commit all manner of excesses on the unhappy traveller who falls into their clutches, unrestrained by any feelings of religion or humanity. Tenacious of liberty, they are under no controul of the sovereign to whom they are nominally subject; and one or other of the tribes is generally at war with the troops sent to collect the taxes, or with the Arabs of the plains. But ferocious and faithless as they are, they are no less eminently distinguished for hospitality than the Arabs. A traveller furnished with their protection, which, however, must be purchased, may pass unmolested through every part of their country; but without such protection from some of their chiefs, he will be betrayed, plundered, and murdered, without the smallest scruple.

This extraordinary race of men is divided into a great number of petty tribes, or clans, distinguished by the names of their several patriarchs or founders, who are generally celebrated for some particular act of devotion, or some extraordinary exploit. For though the sword of the successors of Mahomet failed to conquer them, they made a pretence of submission to the precepts of the Koran, and to the commander of the faithful. They cultivate the ground and feed cattle; reside in mud huts, and sometimes, towards the upper parts of the mountains, in caverns, like the ancient Troglotydes: but lower down they build houses or hovels of stone and timber, which are generally situated on some rising ground, or the summits of hills difficult of access; sometimes surrounded by walls, in which are loop-holes for defending their habitations with musquetry. They make their own fire-arms, and are excellent marksmen.

The Shillah Berebbers are a branch of the others, and are represented as implacable in their enmities, and insatiable in their revenge. A Shillah having murdered another in a quarrel, fled to the Arabs to avoid the vengeance of the relations of the deceased; but not feeling himself secure even there, he performed a pilgrimage to Mecca: returning about nine years afterwards, with the sacred character of a hadgee, he immediately proposed a reconciliation with the friends of the deceased. They attempted to seize him, but the fleetness of his horse favoured his escape to Mogodore. To that place they pursued him; and notwithstanding the attempts of the governor to affect a reconciliation, the fugitive was put in prison. They then hastened to Morocco to demand justice of the emperor, who compassionated the situation of the prisoner, and offered a pecuniary consideration for the loss of their friend, which was peremptorily rejected. They returned to Mogodore with the emperor's order for the delivery of the prisoner into their hands: and they conveyed the unhappy man without the walls of the town, where one of the party loaded his musket in the face of his victim, placed the muzzle to his breast, and shot him through the body. Then drawing his dagger, he stabbed him to the heart. The calm intrepidity with which this unfortunate Shillah stood to meet his fate, could not be beheld without the highest admiration; and however much we must detest the blood-thirstiness of his executioners, we must still acknowledge that there is something closely allied to nobleness of sentiment in the inflexible perseverance with which they pursued the murderer of their friend to punishment, without being diverted from their purpose by the inducement of self-interest.

The intolerance and oppression which the Jews suffered in Spain and Portugal drove vast numbers of them to seek shelter among

the barbarians of Africa. No insult, indignity, or oppression, prevents the Israelite from domiciliating himself wherever he happens to fix his abode. He is a plant that seems to be suited to every soil, and generally thrives best where the pruning knife is most applied. Among the Moors he is made to suffer beyond what any nature but that of a Jew could bear; yet such is the ignorance of the ruling powers, and their Moorish subjects, that the affairs of state could hardly be carried on without him. Most of the trades and professsions are exercised by Jews: they farm the revenues; act as commissaries, and custom-house officers; as secretaries and interpreters; they coin money; furnish and fabricate all the jewellery, gold and silver ornaments and trappings, for the sultans, beys, and bashaws, and their respective harems;—and in return for all this, they are oppressed by the higher ranks, and reviled and insulted by the rabble. They live chiefly in the great towns, confined to a particular quarter, in miserable mud-built hovels, surrounded with filth; but this appearance of poverty does not save their purses: they are subject to arbitrary impositions, and pay a capitation tax from a certain age. If the period of payment be disputed, a string is put round the lad's neck, and afterwards doubled in length and put in his mouth; if then and thus it pass over his head, he is deemed an object of taxation;—each Jew appears in person to pay his quota; and this being done, a Moor touches him on the head with a switch, and says "jump;" whereupon the Jew goes his way.—Black being a hated colour among the Moors, is the only one permitted to the Jews. In walking the streets, they are subject to every kind of insult, even from children: should the Jew raise his hand in self-defence it is lopped off; but if a Jew be murdered by a Mussulman, the life of the latter is not in the least danger. A Moor had murdered a Jew merchant, and thrown him into the shafts or ventilators of the aqueduct. The Jews by a sedulous search discovered the murderer, who was seized and thrown into prison, where he was to undergo the bastinado; but the Jews being impatient, collected in crowds round the palace, and clamoured for justice. The sultan, thus assailed, ordered his guards to drive the infidels to their quarters; and imposed a heavy fine on them for their audacity.

A Moor may enter a Jew's house, disturb the family at unseasonable hours, and insult the women; yet the Israelite dares not insinuate to him the slightest hint that his walking out as soon as it suited his convenience would be any way acceptable. In passing a mosque they must pull off their slippers, and walk bare-footed: the task of burying executed criminals devolves on the Jews; the wild beasts in the menagerie are fed and cleaned by them. It is frequently necessary, in some of the western parts of Morocco, to carry Europeans wishing to land through the surf of the Atlantic; it would be degradation in a Moor to carry a Christian, and he is therefore hoisted on the shoulders of an Israelite. He can neither shift his place of residence without special permission, nor ride a horse, nor wear a sword. Yet under all these vexations and degrading circumstances, a Jew renegado is not known: they are allowed the free exercise of their religion, and it would seem as if this indulgence was considered as a compensation for all their sufferings. Some, however, possessing claims on our confidence, say that they do sometimes become converts to the Mahomedan faith, but meet with little encouragement on that account; and no respect.

Though the Jews must appear in black clothing in the streets, yet, in their own quarters, they dress in splendid but oddly assorted finery. Their friendly meetings are generally held on the house-top; where, on the sabbaths and holidays, the men appear in velvet, and laced like Spanish admirals, with a greasy night cap on the head just barely shewing that they had been white; surmounted by a great three-cocked hat, with a broad goldlace. The ladies too are loaded with jewels, and the daughters of Israel in this part of Africa possess the true characteristics of female beauty, which are not, however, much improved by the free use of paint. The young Jewess is not permitted to go out without her face muffled up in the manner of the Moors, but the matrons may appear in public unveiled; and though the elderly ladies are exceedingly

strict with regard to the conduct of the younger ones, they are said to be by no means averse to a little gallantry on their own account.

The Moors, so called by Europeans, are a mixture of all nations who have at any time settled in north Africa; but the predominant character, physical or moral, is that of the Arab or Saracen. The name is unknown to themselves, and if, as it would seem, it is a corruption from that of *Mauri*, by which the Romans designated the people of a particular province, it has long ceased to be applicable to the present inhabitants. If you ask a Moor what he calls himself, he will answer, that he is a *Mooslim*, or believer—his country, *Bled Mooslimin*, the land of believers. The Arabs distinguish them by the name of *Medainien*, or town's-people. Europeans, however, are in the habit of applying indiscriminately the term *Moor*, not only to the mass of population in northern Africa, but throughout all Asia, to the confines of China; it is in fact almost synonimous with Mussulman. The Moors of Africa are rigid disciples of Mahomet; they pray five times a-day with the face turned towards Mecca; perform their ablutions; circumcise their male children; believe that every man's destiny is pre-ordained, and written in the book of fate; hate and despise Christians and Jews; shut up their women; and eat cooscosoo. If they are generally found to be an indolent and inactive race, spending whole days in sitting cross-legged, with their backs against a wall, looking with invincible taciturnity at the passengers in the streets; if they are jealous, deceitful, and cruel, distrustful of their neighbours, and strangers to every social tie; if their hearts are so callous as to be incapable of one tender sentiment of love or friendship; if it be true that the father fears the son—the son the father, and that this lamentable want of confidence diffuses itself throughout the whole community, we are not disposed to ascribe those unfavourable treats of character to any particular defect of the organization in the mind of the Moor, but to moral and political causes; to the influence of a vile government, an absurd religion, and that gross ignorance which must prevail throughout all ranks of people among whom the discovery of a printed book would be deemed a crime. Let us only recollect what these very same people were in Spain; where their political condition was but a few degrees better than in Africa. All the knowledge which Spain possessed, all the liberal arts and sciences, all the trades and professions, flowed from the intelligent and industrious Moors, and by them were exercised. In vain should we now look for a glimmering of that light, whose rays, darting from the desert plains of Arabia, illumined the dark ages of Europe. In vain should we search from one extremity of Africa to the other for the least trace of knowledge in any one branch of the arts or abstract sciences, or general literature. The Moor never laughs, and seldom smiles; his grave and pensive appearance wears the external characteristic of a thinking animal, but it is the mere result of habit; there is no heart, no mind, no curiosity, no ambition of knowledge; he exists in a perpetual languor, which seems only excited into enjoyment when, in total vacuity of mind, he is seen to stroke his beard. We say nothing at present of his harem: his domestic amusements can only be known to himself: but of his pleasures in public, next to the abstraction from all ideas, that of the bath seems to preponderate: few of any rank or opulence are without this luxury; but every large town has its public baths, which are generally annexed to some caravansera, or coffee-house; here the Moor gets himself well rubbed down, and his joints stretched or shampooed; here he sips his coffee, and here he is amused with wild tales of genii or fairies. The refinement of eating or drinking constitutes no part of the Moor's happiness; they have plenty of good and wholesome food; but cooscosoo is the standing dish: the manner of eating it is this:—The Mussulman, with his left hand, tears the meat to pieces, gropes into and rolls up the grain, combs the offal from his mouth with his fingers, through his long beard, and, with a notable regard to economy, throws it back into the dish, for a plastic hand to mould anew into a modification for swallowing. While on this subject, our readers may, perhaps, be amused with the bill of fare of an imperial feast, sent to

the house of the English ambassador. It was brought by two men sweating under the load of a hand-barrow, the contents of which were an enormous China bowl, filled with the national dish, and pride of the kitchen, Cooscosoo. This being deposited, was followed by an entire sheep, skinned indeed, and bearing evidence of having undergone the process of the kitchen, but yet apparently possessing its intestines as in days of yore. The equivoque was, however, speedily solved; for, an incision being made, a bounteous discharge of contents extruded, ready dressed, in various fanciful forms of puddings, forced meats, minced meats, and indescribable *et-ceteras*, wherein it seemed as if this Arabesque taste had been trained to adhere to the modes of nature. The Moors are great observers of ill omens: what they most dread is the influence of an evil spirit, or an evil eye; to counteract which they wear charms round the neck, or carry in their stomach a portion of the Koran. The usual way of preparing this last preventive is to write down certain verses of the Koran, to burn them, and to mix the ashes with some liquid to be swallowed fasting; thus fortified, a Moor is proof against all the demons of Dom Daniel's cave. Among their superstitions may be reckoned their abhorrence of black; their mode of expressing the number *five* by four and one; their abstaining from mentioning the word *death*, which they avoid as cautiously as the courtly divine did the "mention of hell to ears polite."—Spirits being supposed to walk abroad at night, he must be a Moor of no ordinary cast of mind who, unfurnished with the sacred periapt just noticed, would venture abroad in the dark: if a person should die suddenly he is struck by some local demon. Thirteen in company is an unlucky omen; but this superstition, like some of the others, is not confined to the Moors. Many a good English lady would not sleep comfortably, if by any misfortune her company at table consisted of thirteen. Among other superstitions an opinion prevails, we believe in all the four states, that it is ordained the Moors shall lose their country on a Friday, during the hour of prayer, by the invasion of a people clothed in red; yet so inconsistent are they, that at this hour all the gates of their cities are carefully locked, as if bars and bolts could oppose the decrees of fate. They are not, however, mere theorists in predestination, but submit to every change of fortune with humble resignation, passing from a state of opulence to that of misery without a murmur; and when death approaches, the expiring man desires nothing more than that his face may be carefully turned towards Mecca, and, when assured of this position, he bears his sufferings with patience, and leaves the world in peace. When a person is thought to be dying, he is immediately surrounded by his friends, who begin to scream in the most hideous manner, to convince him that there is no more hope, and that he is already reckoned among the dead! The noise and horror of this scene cannot surely but serve to hurry the patient, worn down already by sickness, to his last state. If the person be in too much pain (perhaps in a fit) they put a spoonful of honey in his mouth, which in general puts him out of misery (that is to say, he is literally choaked); when, by being treated differently, or even left to himself, he might, perhaps, have recovered. Then, as according to their religion, they cannot think the departed happy, till they are under ground, they are washed instantly, while yet warm; and the greatest consolation the sick man's friends can have is to see him smile while this operation is performing, looking on that as a sign of approbation in the deceased of what is doing; not supposing such an appearance to be a convulsion occasioned by washing and exposing to the cold air the unfortunate person before life has taken its final departure.—This accounts for the frequent instances that happen here of people being buried alive: many of the Moors say a third of the people are lost in this manner. The moment a death happens in a family, the alarm is given by the shrill screaming of the words *woulliah woo*, repeated incessantly by the relations and every body in the house. These cries, heard at a great distance, bring every female acquainted with, or dependent on the family, to scream over the dead, and mourn with the nearest relations of the deceased: and it strikes one with the greatest horror to see

the afflicted widow or mother, [illegible] with grief for her loss, obliged (according to the custom of the country) to receive the visits of not less than a hundred different women, who come to condole with her. They each take her in their arms, they lay her head on their shoulder, and scream without intermission for several minutes, till the afflicted object, stunned with the constant howling, and a repetition of her misfortune, sinks senseless from their arms on the floor! They likewise hire a number of women, who make this horrid noise round the bier, placed in the middle of the court-yard of the mansion, over which these women scratch their faces to such a degree, that they appear to have been bled with a lancet at the temples; after the ceremony is over, they lay on a sort of white chalk to heal the wounds and stop the blood. The women are hired indifferently at burials, weddings, and feasts; at the two latter they sing the song—*loo, loo, loo,* and *ex tempore* verses. Their voices are heard at the distance of half a mile. It is the custom of those that can afford it, to give, on the evening of the day the corpse is buried, a quantity of hot dressed victuals to the poor, who come to fetch each their portion, and form sometimes immense crowds and confusion at the doors; this they call the supper of the grave. The dead are always dressed for interment; the ears, nostrils, and eyelids, are stuffed with a preparation of camphor and rich spices. An unmarried woman is ornamented as a bride, and bracelets are put on her arms and ancles. The body is wrapped in fine white linen, sanctified at Mecca, which is generally procured in their lifetime, and carefully preserved for their last dress. At the head of the coffin is placed a turban, if the deceased be a male, corresponding with his rank; if a female, a large bouquet of flowers—if a virgin, the *loo, loo, loo,* is sung by hired women, that she may not be laid in the ground without having had the benefit of the wedding song. On Fridays, the eve of the Mahommedan sabbath, the women visit the tombs of their deceased relations, under the idea that on that day the dead hover round to meet their friends, and to hold commerce with those that may be deposited near them; and on this account they conceive it to be the more necessary to dress the dead, that they may not, in such an assembly of ghosts, complain of the neglect of their relations. The tombs are neatly white-washed, and kept in constant repair; flowers are planted round them, and no weeds suffered to grow. Small chapels are generally built over the tombs of persons of rank, and decorated with flowers placed in large China vases. It is not surprising that a people so ignorant and superstitious should be alarmed at so awful a phenomenon as an eclipse of the sun—the effect of their terrors shews itself nearly in the same way as in China. When the eclipse is at its height, they run about distracted in companies, firing vollies of muskets at the sun, to frighten away the monster, or dragon, as they call it, which they suppose to be devouring it. At that moment the Moorish song of death, and *woulliah woo,* or the howl they make for their dead, not only resounds from the mountains and vallies of Tripoli, but is re-echoed throughout the continent of Africa. The women bring into the streets all the brass pans, kettles, and iron utensils they can collect, and striking on them with all their force, and screaming at the same time, occasion a horrid noise that is heard for miles.

CHAPTER II.

Geography of Morocco.—Its population.—Description of Sallee and Mogodore.—A visit to the seraglio and harem, by a medical gentleman.—A description of the interior of that mysterious structure, and of the manners of its inhabitants.—Characters and personal features of the women of Morocco.

THE empire of Morocco is situated between the 29th and 36th degrees of north latitude. It is, exclusive of the regency of Algiers, about five hundred and fifty miles in length, and about two hundred in breadth. It is bounded to the north by the straits of Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean sea; to the east by the kingdoms of Tremacea, and Sugelmusa; to the south by the river Suz, and the country to the south of Tafilet; and to the west, by the Atlantic ocean. The empire is formed of several provinces, and nominal kingdoms, which, as in almost every country before their union, were distinct and petty sovereignties.

Various and contradictory statements have been made by travellers of the population of this country. From all the accounts which we have been able to collect on the subject, and from authentic information, we think the following as correct a statement as can probably be made:

	Inhabitants.
The city of Morocco - -	270,000
Fez, old and new city	380,000
Mequinas - -	110,000
Muley Dris Zerone	12,000
Tetuan - -	16,000
Tangia - -	6,000
Arzilla - -	1,000
El Araiche - -	3,000
Mamora - -	300
Sallee - -	18,000
Rabat -	25,000
El Mensoria, Fedalla, and el Kasser Kabeer	1,000
Dar el Beida -	1,000
Azamor - -	1,000
Mazagan, Tet, and El Woladia -	3,000
Saffy or Asfee. -	12,000
Carried over,	859,300

	Inhabitants.
Brought over,	859,300
The city of Mogodor, or Suêrah	10,000
Santa Cruz, or Agadeer	300
Terodant - -	25,000
Messa - -	1,000
Total population of the towns	895,600
The province of Erreef	200,000
El Garb -	200,000
Benihassen -	200,000
Tedla, -	350,000
District of Fez, exclusive of the cities or towns	1,280,000
Duquella - -	966,000
Temsena, and Shawia	1,160,000
Abda - -	500,000
Shedma - -	550,000
Morocco - -	1,250,000
Haha - -	708,000
Draha - -	350,000
Suze, viz.	
Benitamer, - -	11,000
Idautenan - -	10,000
Msegina - -	87,000
Exiama - -	11,000
Howara - -	80,000
Kitawa - -	50,000
Shtuka - -	380,000
Ait Bamaran -	300,000
Wedinoon - -	200,000
Ras el Wed -	80,000
Elala - -	25,000
Seedi Hamed O Musa sanctuary and district	20,000
Akka and territory,	10,000
Tatta, and ditto -	10,000
Ufran, or Ifran -	10,000
Ilirgh - -	10,000
Messa, and territory	10,000
Carried over,	9,018,000

CHAPTER II

	Inhabitants.
Brought over,	9,018,000
Tesselerst - -	25,000
Agadeer, or Santa Cruz, and its district including Tildi, Taddert, and Tamaract	1,000
Woled Busebbah, the part of that Kabyle, which now inhabits Suse	1,000
Ait Atter - -	360,000
Idaultit - -	400,000
Inferior Kabyles, forming other parts of Suse not specified	336,000
	10,341,000

Total.	
The tribes of the Berebbers of North Atlas altogether	3,000000
District of Tafilet	650,000
Provinces of the Morocco empire west of Atlas	10,341,000
Inland cities, towns, and ports	895,600
Total population of the whole empire, including Tafilet	14,886,600

Persons who have travelled through the country, unacquainted with the mode of living of the inhabitants, may probably consider the above as an exaggerated statement; but it should be understood, that a stranger, in such cases, sees little of the population, as the various *douars* of Arabs are at a considerable distance from the roads, from which they always retire, to avoid the visits of travellers, whom they are compelled by the laws of hospitality to furnish with necessary provisions for three days, without receiving any pecuniary remuneration; of this fact travellers in general have not been apprised, and have, in consequence, formed calculations which represent the population very inferior to what it actually is.

Among the celebrated towns of Morocco, the capital itself, Sallee, and Rabat, have a distinguished pre-eminence. Travelling to the south, we arrive at Mehedumа; and 16 miles further we reach Sallee. The name of Sallee is famous in history, and has decorated many a well-told tale. Those piratical vessels which were fitted out from this port, and which were known by the name of Sallee rovers, were long the terror of the mercantile world. Equally dreaded for their valour and their cruelty, the adventurers who navigated these swift and formidable vessels depopulated the ocean, and even dared sometimes to extend their devastations to the Christian coasts. As plunder was their sole aim, in the acquisition of it nothing impeded their career. Human life was of no value in their estimation; or if it was sometimes spared, it was not through any sentiment of justice or compassion, but only that it might be protracted in the most wretched of situations—as the hopeless slave to the luxury and caprice of a fellow mortal. The town of Sallee in its present state, though large, presents nothing worthy the observation of the traveller, except a battery of twenty-four pieces of cannon fronting the sea, and a redoubt at the entrance of the river, which is about a quarter of a mile broad, and penetrates several miles into the interior country.

On the side opposite to Sallee is situated the town of Rabat, which formerly partook equally with Sallee in its piratical depredations, and was generally confounded with it. While Sallee and Rabat were thus formidable, they were what might be termed independent states, paying only a very small tribute to the emperor, and barely acknowledging him for their sovereign. This state of independence undoubtedly gave uncommon vigour to their piratical exertions. Few will take much pains, or encounter great risks for the acquisition of wealth, without the certainty of enjoying it it unmolested. Sidi Mahomet, however, when prince, subdued these towns and annexed them to the empire. This was a mortal blow to their piracies; for when those desperate mariners felt the uncertainty of possessing any length of time their captures, they no longer became solicitous to acquire them; and at length, when the man who had deprived them of their privileges became emperor, he put a total stop to their depredations, by

declaring himself at peace with all Europe. Since that period the entrance of the river has been so gradually filling up with sand washed in by the sea, that was it possible for these people to recover their independence, it would incapacitate them for carrying on their piracies to their former extent.

In perusing the manuscripts of a gentleman lately deceased, who formerly resided a number of years in this empire, it appears that Sallee was, so far back as the year 1648, eminent for its piracies and independence, and that it became an object of conquest to the monarch of that time. He expresses himself in these words:—

"Sallee is a city in the province of Fez, and derives its name from the river Sala, on which it is situated, near its influx into the Atlantic ocean. It was a place of good commerce, till addicting itself entirely to piracy, and revolting from its allegiance to its sovereign Muley Zidan, that prince, in the year 1648, dispatched an embassy to king Charles I. of England, requesting him to send a squadron of men of war, to lie before the town, while he attacked it by land. This request being consented to, the city was soon reduced, the fortifications demolished, and the leaders of the rebellion put to death. The year following the emperor sent another ambassador to England, with a present of Barbary horses, and three hundred Christian slaves, accompanied with the following letter. I insert it as a specimen of the loftiness of the Moorish style, and because it leads me to think, that Muley Zidan was a more enlightened prince than most of his predecessors. Neither the address, signature, nor reception it met with at our court, is expressed in the manuscript. It appears to be a modern translation, and is as follows:

"*The King of Morocco's Letter to King Charles the First of England,* 1649. *Muley Zidan.*

"When these our letters shall be so happy as to come to your majesty's sight, I wish the spirit of the righteous God may so direct your mind, that you may joyfully embrace the message I send. The regal power allotted to us makes us common servants to our Creator; then of those people whom we govern; so observing the duties we owe to God, we deliver blessings to our world in providing for the public good of our states; we magnify the honour of God, like the celestial bodies, which, though they have much veneration, yet serve only to the benefit of the world. It is the excellency of our office to be instruments, whereby happiness is delivered unto the nations. Pardon me, sir! This is not to instruct, for I know I speak to one of a more clear and quick sight than myself; but I speak this, because God hath pleased to grant me a happy victory over some part of those rebellious pirates, that so long have molested the peaceable trade of Europe; and hath presented further occasion to root out the generation of those who have been so pernicious to the good of our nations: I mean, since it hath pleased God to be so auspicious in our beginnings, in the conquest of Sallee, that we might join and proceed in hopes of like success in the war of Tunis, Algiers, and other places—dens and receptacles for the inhuman villanies of those who abhor rule and government. Herein, while we interrupt the corruptions of malignant spirits of the world, we shall glorify the great God, and perform a duty that will shine as glorious as the sun and moon, which all the earth may see and reverence: a work that shall ascend as sweet as the perfume of the most precious odours, in the nostrils of the Lord: a work whose memory shall be reverenced so long as there shall be any remaining among men: a work grateful and happy to men who love and honour the piety and virtue of noble minds. This action I here willingly present to you, whose piety and virtues equal the greatness of your power; that we, who are vicegerents to the great and mighty God, may hand in hand triumph in the glory which the action presents unto us.—Now, because the islands which you govern have been ever famous for the unconquered strength of their shipping, I have sent this my trusty servant and ambassador, to know whether, in your princely wisdom, you shall think fit to assist me with such forces by sea as shall be answerable to those I provide by land, which if you please to grant, I doubt not but the Lord of Hosts will protect and assist those that fight in so glorious a cause.

Nor ought you to think this strange, that I, who so much reverenced the peace and accord of nations, should exhort to war. Your great prophet, Christ Jesus, was the lion of the tribe of Judah, as well as the Lord and giver of peace; which may signify unto you, that he who is a lover and maintainer of peace, must always appear with the terror of his sword, and, wading through seas of blood, must arrive at tranquillity. This made James your father, of glorious memory, so happily renowned among nations. —It was the noble fame of your princely virtues, which resounds to the utmost corners of the earth, that persuaded me to invite you to partake of that blessing, wherein I boast myself most happy. I wish God may heap the riches of his blessings on you, increase your happiness with your days, and hereafter perpetuate the greatness of your name in all ages."

Though we occasionally meet with forests of small trees, such as the arga, the dwarf oak, and the palm-tree, yet the country produces no useful timber whatever. The Moors are therefore obliged to import that article from Europe; and it may be on this account that the emperor possesses so few vessels, and is obliged to send those to be repaired in foreign ports. As vegetation does not take place in this climate till some time after the heavy rains have fallen, few obtain an opportunity of observing in their journey what plants are peculiar to the climate. The variety which distinguishes the more improved countries of Europe, and particularly England, probably arises as much from the land being distributed into inclosures, as from local situation. This advantage the empire of Morocco does not enjoy; since, excepting in the immediate vicinity of towns, no divisions of land are to be observed; the Arabs indiscriminately choosing pieces of ground, without fences, for the purposes of agriculture, which, as I before noticed, they change as occasion requires. The sameness of scene which arises from this circumstance, is in some degree lessened by the numerous sanctuaries which are diffused over the whole country; but otherways these chapels prove troublesome to an European traveller, since the Moors, upon passing them, always stop a considerable time to pay their devotions to the remains of the saints who are buried there. There is likewise a custom in this country, which is also prevalent in Portugal, of consecrating the spot on which any person has been murdered, by heaping a large proportion of stones on the place, where it is usual for those who pass that way to add another stone to the number, and to recite a short prayer adapted to the occasion.

Many of the towns are surrounded with high walls of *tabby*, flanked with square forts, generally without any artillery, and having castles, which seemed to be in a very ruinous state, situated upon the most eminent spot, for their defence or attack. The houses, from having no windows and but very few doors, have more the appearance of dead walls than inhabited places; and their streets are universally narrow, filthy to a degree, irregular and badly paved. With all these inconveniences, the inhabitants enjoy an advantage of which many of the more civilized capitals of Europe cannot boast—that of a good police. The streets are so well watched at night, that robberies, or even housebreaking, are but seldom heard of; and the general quietness which reigns through their towns after the gates are shut, is a convincing proof of the attention of their patroles to their duty. Their detection, and speedy bringing to justice the criminals, likewise deserves our attention. From having no public houses, or other places to harbour thieves, and from no person being permitted to quit the country without leave, it is utterly impossible for a culprit to escape the hand of justice, except by taking refuge in a sanctuary, by which he banishes himself for ever from society. On the other hand, the vigilance of the governors and other officers of justice is so great, and conducted with so much address, that unless the means of safety which his religion points out are quickly adopted, the criminal in a very short time is detected, and as quickly punished.

According to the opinion of some travellers, much danger is to be apprehended in traversing this country from the attacks of wild beasts; but it is only justice to observe that a circumstance of the kind was very rarely known to have happened. The fact

is, the wild animals confine themselves principally to the interior parts of the country, and to those retreats in the mountains which are beyond the track of men.

Mogodore, so named by Europeans, and Suera by the Moors, is a large, uniform, and well-built town, situated about three hundred and fifty miles from Tangier, on the Atlantic ocean, and surrounded on the land side by deep and heavy sands. It was raised under the auspices of Sidi Mahomet, who, upon his accession to the throne, ordered all the European merchants who were settled in his dominions to reside at Mogodore, where, by lowering the duties, he promised to afford every encouragement to commerce. The Europeans, thus obliged to desert their former establishments, considering this first step of the emperor to be a mark of his attachment to trade and commerce, and having resided long in the country without any better views at home, universally settled at Mogodore, where they erected houses, and other conveniences for the purposes of trade. The hopes, however, with which they had changed their situation, were considerably frustrated by the perfidy of the emperor, who indeed fulfilled his promise, till he observed the merchants so fixed as not to be likely to remove; but he then began to increase the duties, and by that means to damp the spirit of commerce which he had promised to promote. His caprice, however, or, what had still more influence, valuable presents, induced him at times to relax these severities. In consequence of this circumstance the duties have been so frequently varied, that it is utterly impossible for me to state, with any degree of certainty, the usual burthens laid upon articles of commerce in this port.

The factory at Mogodore consists of about a dozen mercantile houses of different nations, whose owners, from the protection granted them by the emperor, live in full security from the Moors, whom indeed they keep at a rigid distance. They export to America, mules. To Europe, Morocco leather, hides, gum arabic, gum sandaric, ostrich feathers, copper, wax, wool, elephants' teeth, fine mats, beautiful carpeting, dates, figs, raisins, olives, almonds, oils, &c. In return they import timber, artillery of all kinds, gunpowder, woollen cloths, linens, lead, iron in bars, all kinds of hardware and trinkets, such as looking-glasses, snuff-boxes, watches, small knives, &c.; tea, sugar, spices, and most of the useful articles which are not otherwise to be procured in this empire.

Besides the commerce carried on between this empire and Europe, the Moors have also a trade with Guinea, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Grand Cairo, and Mecca, by means of their caravans, of which I soon shall have occasion to speak more particularly.

Mogodore is regularly fortified on the sea side; and on the land, batteries are so placed as to prevent any incursion from the southern Arabs, who are of a turbulent disposition, and who, from the great wealth which is known to be always in Mogodore, would gladly avail themselves of any opportunity that offered to pillage the town. The entrance, both by sea and land, consists of elegant stone arch-ways, with double gates. The market-place is handsomely built, with piazzas of the same materials, and at the water-port there is a custom-house and powder magazine, both of which are neat stone buildings. Beside these public edifices, the emperor has a small but handsome palace for his occasional residence. The streets of the town, though very narrow, are all in straight lines, and the houses, contrary to what we meet with in the other towns of the empire, are lofty and regular. The bay, which is little better than a road, and is very much exposed when the wind is at north-west, is formed by a curve in the land, and a small island about a quarter of a mile from the shore. Its entrance is defended by a fort well mounted with guns.

If the works of Mogodore were all completely mounted, and well manned, it would require six or seven large frigates to capture, or rather destroy the place. When commodore Crosby, in his majesty's ship Trusty, accompanied by three small frigates, came down to Mogodore, he anchored off the Long Battery, at about a mile and a half distant; at this time the town was so little prepared for defence, that the guns were not mounted, and when they began to do this, they were half an hour in mounting one! It was understood that the commodore's orders were

indefinite; he was to act according to circumstances; but the governor was apprised by the emperor of the probability of a visit from the English, and had received orders at the same time to treat them in a friendly manner; cattle and other provisions were accordingly sent off to the ships, and all hostile operations were thus prevented; the commodore departed on the third day after his arrival; and the two nations continued on friendly terms with each other.

If Mogodore were entered by storm, a dreadful slaughter would be made among the assailants by the inhabitants from the tops of the houses, every house being a battery from whence the most destructive fire might be kept up with small arms. This was the case when the Arabs of Shedma, headed by their sheiks, entered the town one Friday afternoon after prayers. The cause was this; some persons in the town being dissatisfied with the governor, who was a Bukarie black, or slave, and not a (horreh) freeman, engaged the bashaw of Shedma to enter the town with the chiefs of his province, assuring him the people were well disposed towards him, and would, in the event of his forcing an entrance, give up the government to him, thereby securing to the town the necessary supplies of provisions, with which it had of late been but ill supplied, owing to the enmity between the alkaid of the town, and the bashaw of the neighbouring province.—Things being ripe for execution, the army of Arabs secreted themselves behind the loose sand hills in the hollows, about a mile from the town, whilst the bashaw and chiefs rode in, and reached the entrance gate, just as it was opened after prayers, and secured the gate-keepers, until about seventeen or eighteen of the chief Arabs of the province had passed into the town; by this time the inhabitants made a desperate push, and got the gate closed again, and the chiefs running about the streets, were fired upon by the armed populace from the tops of the houses, until the whole were killed. The bashaw took refuge in an old house near the Haha gate, and offered a large sum of money if they would spare his life, but to no purpose; he was shot by the rabble. In the meantime the scouts from the army, secreted in the bottoms, seeing no signal from the town for their approach, were dismayed, and too soon found it necessary to return to their homes, with the loss of the flower of the province, the most undaunted warriors, who had so often signalised themselves against their neighbours, the Abda and Haha clans. The Arabs entered the town one by one, with fixed bayonets, a very unusual thing in that country, and the whole was conducted in so private a manner, that whilst some English travellers were walking round the town, they met the bashaw, who saluted them (for he was attached to the English), and said they had nothing to fear; that all would terminate to their satisfaction before the morning. As the balls were flying in all directions, they went to the battery at the landing-place, and there remained till the tumult was over: and when they returned again into the town, were received by the governor with compliments of congratulation on their escape.

The houses at Mogodore are built as in other towns of the empire; but those of the foreign merchants are more spacious, having from eight to twelve rooms on a floor, which are square or long, and open into a gallery which goes round the house on the inside, forming an opening in the centre, which is appropriated to the transacting of business, and warehousing of goods. The roofs are flat, and beat down with terrace, a composition of lime and small stones, and when this is properly done, it will remain several years without admitting the rain, provided it be washed over once every autumn with lime white-wash: these terraces serve to walk on to take the air, and are preferable to the walks out of the town, where there is nothing but barren sands drifting with the wind. When, however, the trade-wind does not blow strong, which is but seldom the case during the summer months, one may walk without being annoyed with the sand.

Mogodore has a very beautiful appearance at a distance, and particularly from the sea, the houses being all of stone, and white: but on entering the streets, which cross each other at right angles, we are greatly disappointed; for they are narrow, and the houses having few windows towards the street, they have a sombre aspect.

In case of an attack, Mogodore would find some difficulty in procuring water, which is brought from the river; there is a very spacious cistern under the battery, at the water-port gate, which is never used but on emergency; it is filled by the rain water, which falls into it from the various communicating terraces.

The emperor Sidi Mohammed, to impress on the minds of his subjects his desire to make Mogodore the principal commercial port on the ocean, ordered the bashaw Ben Amaran, and others of the great officers about his person, to bring him mortar and stones, whilst he with his own hands began to build a wall, which is still to be seen on the rocks west of the town; and, in order to encourage the merchants to erect substantial houses, gave them ground to build on, and allowed them to ship produce free of duty, by way of remuneration for their expences. This is the only port which maintains a regular and uninterrupted commercial intercourse with Europe.

The emperor's harem at Mogodore is an interesting object of European curiosity, and is thus described by a medical gentleman:—

"The public and usual entrance to the harem is through a very large arched doorway, guarded on the outside by ten body guards, which leads to a lofty hall, where the captain, or alcaide, with a guard of seventeen eunuchs, are posted. No person is admitted into this hall but those who are known to have business in the harem.

"The emperor's order being delivered on the outside of the door to the alcaide, I was immediately, with my interpreter, conducted into the harem, by one of the negro eunuchs. Upon entering the court into which the women's apartments open, I discovered a motley groupe of concubines, domestics, and negro slaves, who were variously employed. Those of the first description had formed themselves into circles, seated on the ground in the open court, and were apparently engaged in conversation. The domestics and slaves were partly employed in needle-work, and partly in preparing their cooscosoo. My appearance in the court, however, soon attracted their attention, and a considerable number of them, upon observing me, unacquainted with the means by which I had been admitted into the harem, retreated with the utmost precipitancy into their apartments; while others, more courageous, approached, and enquired of my black attendant who I was, and by whose orders he had brought me thither.

"The moment it was known that I was of the medical profession, parties of them were detached to inform those who had fled that I was sent in by order of the emperor, to attend Lalla Zara, my intended patient's name, and requesting of them to come back and look at the Christian. *Seranio Tibib!* Christian Doctor! resounded from one end of the Harem to the other; and in the course of a few minutes I was so completely surrounded by women and children, that I was unable to move a single step.

"Every one of them appeared solicitous to find out some complaint on which she might consult me; and those who had not ingenuity enough to invent one, obliged me to feel their pulse, and were highly displeased if I did not evince my excellence in my profession by the discovery of some ailment or other. All of them seemed so urgent to be attended to at the same time, that while I was feeling the pulse of one, others were behind, pulling my coat, and intreating me to examine their complaints, while a third party were upbraiding me for not paying them the same attention. Their ideas of delicacy did not at all correspond with those of our European ladies, for they exhibited the beauties of their limbs and form with a degree of freedom that in any other country would have been thought indecent; and their conversation was equally unrestrained.

"This apparent laxity of conduct in the Moorish ladies does not proceed from a depravity in principle. As the female sex in this country are not entrusted with the guardianship of their own honour, there is no virtue in reserve. A depraved education even serves to corrupt instead of to restrain them. They are not regarded as rational or moral agents; they are only considered as beings created entirely to be subservient to the pleasure of man. To excite the passions, and to do and say every thing which may inflame a licentious imagination, become

therefore necessary accomplishments in the female sex, and their manners and conduct naturally assume a cast totally different from those of women in a more refined and more liberal state of society. In those instances to which I refer, they were not conscious of trespassing the limits of decency; and in others they manifested a singular attention to what they conceived to be decorum.—When I requested to see the tongues of some patients who complained of feverish symptoms, they refused to comply, considering it as inconsistent with their modesty and virtue; some of them indeed laughed at the singularity of the request, and attributed it either to an impertinent curiosity, or an inclination to impose on their understandings.

"Upon my entrance I found the lady sitting cross-legged on a mattress placed upon the floor, and covered with fine linen, with twelve white and negro attendants, seated on the floor also, in different parts of the chamber. A round cushion was placed for me next to the lady, on which I was desired to be seated. I should have remarked, that, contrary to my expectations, I found that none of the emperor's women disguised their faces in the manner which I had experienced in the prince's harem, but I saw them all with the same familiarity as if I had been introduced into the house of an European.

"Lalla Zara, who was of Moorish parents, was about eight years ago remarkable for her beauty and accomplishments; on which account she was then in every respect the favourite wife of the emperor. So dangerous a pre-eminence could not be enjoyed, without exciting the jealousy of those females whose charms were less conspicuous; and who, besides the mortification of having a less share of beauty, experienced also the disgrace of being deserted by their lord.

"Determined to effect her ruin, they contrived to mix some poison (most probably arsenic) in her food, and conducted the detestable plot with so much art and address, that it was not perceived till the deleterious drug had began its baneful operations. She was seized with most violent spasms, and a continual vomiting; and had she not been possessed of an uncommonly strong constitution, she must immediately have fallen a victim to the machinations of her rivals.—After a severe struggle, however, between life and death, the effects of the poison in some degree abated; but it left the unhappy lady in a state of dreadful debility and irritation, and particularly in the stomach, from which it was not perhaps in the power of medicine to extricate her. Her beauty too, the fatal cause of her misfortune, was completely destroyed; and her enemies, though disappointed in their aim of destroying her life, yet enjoyed the malignant triumph of seeing those charms which had excited their uneasiness reduced below the standard of ordinary women.

"When I saw her, she had such a weakness of digestion, that every species of food which she took, after remaining a few hours on her stomach, was returned perfectly crude and undigested. As she did not receive proper nourishment, her body had wasted away to a shadow, and her frame was in so weak a state, as not to allow her to walk without assistance. Her complexion was entirely altered: her skin, from being naturally clear and fair, as I was informed, was changed to a sickly brown, which, joined to a ruined set of teeth, and a ghastly countenance, had effaced every trace of that beauty which she before might have possessed. Upon my first entering her apartment, though from my profession accustomed to behold objects of distress and misery, yet I was so forcibly struck with her unhappy situation and wretched appearance, that I was obliged to exert all the fortitude of which I was master, to avoid the discovery of my feelings.

"Lalla Zara was at this time about six-and-thirty years of age, and though in so weak a state, had two beautiful young children; the first was in its sixth year, and the youngest, which was then under the care of a wet-nurse, was very little more than a twelve-month old. I was quite astonished to observe such strong and apparently healthy children, the offspring of a mother whose constitution was so dreadfully impaired. It was certainly, however, a very fortunate circumstance for Lalla Zara that she had these children; since by the Mahometan law a man cannot divorce his wife provided she bear him children; so that though the em

peror took very little notice of this poor lady, yet he was, for the above reason, obliged to maintain both herself and her offspring.

"From the wretched situation in which I have described this unfortunate female, it is easy to conceive that her spirits must revive at the most distant prospect of procuring relief in her disagreeable complaint. Such, indeed, was the case. She received me with all that satisfaction which hope, united with some degree of confidence, must naturally inspire.

"Contrary to most other Moorish females, I found Lalla Zara in every respect affable and polite; though deprived of her health, she retained her natural vivacity, and with the ravages of her inveterate malady she still remained a pleasing and an interesting character.

"I was upon the point of taking my leave of Lalla Zara, when a female messenger appeared to request my attendance upon Lalla Batoom, who from the priority of her marriage, is called the first wife of the emperor, and is more properly entitled to the denomination of sultana than any of the others.

"As the emperor had given directions for my admission to Lalla Zara only, and as I soon perceived that the eunuch regarded me with the most jealous eye, I must confess that, however my curiosity might be excited, yet when solicited to visit the other ladies, I could not help feeling some apprehensions of the danger which I incurred by transgressing the emperor's order. On the other hand, I reflected, that both the eunuch and the women would be equally involved in the consequences of a discovery; the first for conducting me, and the other for admitting me into their apartments; and therefore that it was as much their interest as mine to be cautious, as well in preventing the circumstance from reaching the emperor's ears, as in not receiving me in their apartments at a time when he was likely to enter the harem. All these arguments, united to the desire which I felt to avail myself of so favourable an opportunity of seeing a place where no European had ever before been admitted, had so much weight that my objections were speedily removed.

"I found Lalla Batoom to be a perfect Moorish beauty; she was most immoderately fat, about forty years of age, with round and prominent cheeks, which were painted a deep red, small black eyes, and a visage completely guiltless of expression. She was sitting upon a mattress on the floor, which, as usual, was covered with fine white linen, and she was surrounded with a large party of concubines, whom, I was informed she had invited to be her visitors on the occasion. Her room bore a much greater appearance of grandeur than that of Lalla Zara, and she was indulged with a whole square to herself.

"As soon as I entered her apartment, Lalla Batoom requested of me to be seated close by her side, and to feel her pulse. Her complaint was a slight cold, of which an unconquerable desire of seeing me had most probably been the occasion. As soon as I had felt her pulse, and pronounced my opinion, I was employed in going through the same ceremony with all the other ladies in the room, who desired I would acquaint them with all their complaints, without any further enquiries. From the great experience which I had acquired in this kind of practice at Tarudant, and from the knowledge which I had attained of their complaints, which in general proceeded from too violent an attack upon that luxury the cooscosoo, I was enabled to make no despicable figure in this mysterious art, and was very successful in my opinions.

"From the subject of their own health, the conversation presently changed to criticisms on my dress. There was not a single part of it which was not examined, and commented on with their usual loquacity. My interpreter was then asked if I was a married man, and if so, whether I had brought my wife with me, with a variety of equally important questions. In the midst of this conversation, tea was introduced, though at eleven o'clock in the morning. A small tea-board, with four very short feet, supplied the place of a table, and held the tea equipage. The cups were about the size of large walnut shells, of the very best Indian china, and of which a very considerable number was drank.

"After I had concluded my visit to the queen of the harem, I was next conducted to Lalla Douyaw, the favourite wife of the emperor, whom I found to be what would be termed in Europe a very fine and beautiful woman. She is a native of Genoa, and was, with her mother, shipwrecked on the coast of Barbary, whence they became the emperor's captives. At that period, though but eight years of age, her personal charms were so very promising and attractive, that they induced the emperor to order her to be taken forcibly from her mother, and placed in his harem, where, though at so early a period of life, every means were in vain employed to entice her to change her religion, till at length the emperor threatened to pull up every hair of her head by the roots if she desisted any longer; and she then found herself obliged to submit to his inclinations.

"After remaining some time in the character of a concubine, the emperor married her; and from her great beauty, address, and superior mental accomplishments, she soon gained his best affections, which she ever after possessed. She had, indeed, so much influence over him, that though he was naturally of a very stubborn disposition, she was never known to fail in any favour she solicited, provided she persevered in her request.

"When I saw her she was about thirty years of age; in her person rather corpulent, and her face was distinguished by that expressive beauty which is almost peculiar to the Italian women. Her address was pleasing, and her behaviour polite and attentive. In the harem, from her accomplishments in reading and writing well the Arabic language, she was considered by the other females as a superior being.

"From the circumstance of being taken so young into the harem, she had nearly forgotten her native language, and could only converse fluently in Arabic, having but a distant recollection of the events which first brought her into her present situation. She, however, informed me that we were brother and sister (a common phrase used by the Moors to express the affinity which Christians bear to each other in a religious sense), and had discernment enough to observe that she was among a very uncouth and ignorant people. She added, that her mother, whom I had afterwards an opportunity of seeing at a Venetian merchant's house at Mamora, was still a Christian, though she herself was no longer such, and that she hoped I would visit her every time I came to the harem.

"Her complaint was a scorbutic affection of the gums, which threatened the loss of some of her front teeth. This circumstance gave her the greatest uneasiness, as she was fearful it might disfigure her other features, and by that means cause an abatement in the affection of the emperor. On this account she was extremely anxious to have my advice, though when I was in her apartment she always experienced the strongest apprehensions lest my attendance on her should come to the emperor's knowledge, which might be attended with the most serious consequences to us both.

"Lalla Zara, owing to her bad state of health, and the consequent ruin of her personal charms, had long been neglected by the emperor, who, most probably, admitted of my attendance on her more for the sake of exonerating himself from her constant importunities to see me (for it was a considerable time before she could gain his consent) than from any great anxiety on his part for her recovery. With respect to a person of such a description, it was perhaps a matter of indifference to the emperor by whom she was seen or known, and therefore there was no ground for that jealousy to which the Moors in general are so notoriously addicted.

"Lalla Douyaw was very differently situated. She was in the bloom of health and beauty, with all those exterior accomplishments which were likely to excite the most ardent passion; and indeed the emperor's attachment to her was unexampled. Under these circumstances, when we consider with what caution the Moors in general endeavour to prevent any foreign intercourse with their women, it could not be supposed that the emperor would relish the idea of an European in particular being admitted frequently, and almost

alone, to this first object of his dearest affections.

"Lalla Douyaw, however, to prevent the possibility of detection, enjoined her female slaves to be particularly assiduous to inform her when there was the smallest reason for an alarm; while, on the other hand, she was continually making presents to the eunuch who attended me, cautioning him at the same time not to intimate to any person out of the harem that I had been admitted into her apartment. She so far gained an ascendancy over him, that I have frequently remained with her for an hour at a time, conversing upon European customs; and though she knew but little of them, yet the subject always seemed to afford her the highest pleasure. As soon as she thought it would be imprudent for me to remain any longer, she requested of me to go, but with a promise to call upon her the next time I visited the harem. Her apprehension of a discovery was not confined to the chance of an alarm from the emperor, or from the perfidy of the eunuch; it was likewise extended to the jealousy of the other women in the harem, who might probably rejoice in an opportunity of effecting her ruin. It was, however, perhaps a fortunate circumstance for us both, that by most of them admitting me into their apartments, it was equally their interest to be silent, since a discovery of the one would inevitably lead to a detection of the others.

"The fourth wife, who is daughter to an English renegado, and mother to the reigning emperor, being at Fez at the time when I visited the harem, I had not an opportunity of seeing"

The apartments of the seraglio, which are all on the ground floor, are square and very lofty, and four of them enclose a spacious square court, into which they open by means of large folding-doors. These, as in other Moorish houses, which in general have no windows, serve the purpose of admitting light into the apartments. In the centre of these courts, which are floored with blue and white checquered tiling, is a fountain, supplied by pipes from a large reservoir on the outside of the palace, which serves for the frequent ablutions recommended by the Mahometan religion, as well as for other purposes.

The whole of the harem consists of about twelve of these square courts, communicating with each other by narrow passages, which afford a free access from one part of it to another, and of which all the women are allowed to avail themselves.

"The apartments are ornamented externally with beautiful carved wood, much superior to any ever seen in Europe, as well for the difficulty of the workmanship, as for the taste with which it is finished. In the inside most of the rooms are hung with rich damask of various colours; the floors are covered with beautiful carpets, and there are mattresses disposed at different distances for the purposes of sitting and sleeping.

Besides these, the apartments are furnished at each extremity with an elegant European mahogany bedstead, hung with damask, having on it several mattresses, placed one over the other, which are covered with various coloured silks; but these beds are merely placed there to ornament the room. In all the apartments, without exception, the ceiling is wood, carved and painted. The principal ornaments in some are large and valuable looking-glasses, hung on different parts of the walls. In others, clocks and watches of different sizes, in glass cases, are disposed in the same manner. In some of the apartments a projection issues from the wall, which reaches about half-way to the ceiling, on which are placed several mattresses over each other, and each covered with silks of different colours. Above and below this projection the wall is hung with pieces of satin, velvet, and damask, of different colours, ornamented on each edge with a broad stripe of black velvet, which is embroidered in its centre with gold.

The whole harem, in 1793, was under the management of the principal sultana, Lalla Batoom: that is, in general she was distinguished by the title of mistress of the harem, without having any particular controul over the women. This lady, and Lalla Douyaw, the favourite, were indulged with a whole square to themselves; but Lalla Zara, and all the concubines, were only allowed each a single room.

Each female has a separate daily allowance from the emperor, proportioned to the estimation in which they were held by him. Out of this they are expected to furnish themselves with every article of which they might be in want; the harem is therefore to be considered as a place where so many distinct lodgers have apartments without paying for them, and the principal sultana is the mistress of the whole.

The daily allowance which each woman receives from the emperor for her subsistence is very trifling indeed. Lalla Douyaw, the favourite sultana, had very little more than half-a-crown English *per diem*, and the others less in proportion. It must be allowed, that the emperor made them occasional presents of money, dress, and trinkets; but this could never be sufficient to support the number of domestics and other expences they must incur. Their greatest dependance, therefore, was on the presents they received from those Europeans and Moors who visited the court, and who employed their influence in obtaining some particular favour from the emperor. Nor had the monarch sufficient delicacy to discourage this mode of negociation. He well knew that if his women had not obtained supplies by other means, they must have had recourse to his purse; and as he had taken too good precaution to allow any mischief to arise from this custom, he was always well pleased to have business transacted through that channel. Ambassadors, consuls, and merchants indeed, who were acquainted with the nature of the court, perfectly knew that this was always the most successful mode that could be adopted. As an illustration of this assertion, a Jew, desirous of obtaining a very advantageous favour from the emperor, for which he had been a long time unsuccessfully soliciting, sent to all the principal ladies of the harem presents of pearls to a very considerable amount; the consequence was, that they all went in a body to the emperor, and immediately obtained the wished-for concession.

The ladies separately furnish their own rooms, hire their own domestics, and, in fact, do what they please in the harem, but are not permitted to go out without an express order from the emperor, who very seldom grants them that favour, except when they are to be removed from one palace to another. In that case a party of soldiers is dispatched a little distance before them, to disperse the male passengers in particular, and to prevent the possibility of their being seen. This previous step being taken, a piece of linen cloth is tied round the lower part of the face, and afterwards these miserable females cover themselves entirely with their haicks, and either mount mules, which they ride like men, or, what is more usual, are put into a square carriage, or litter, constructed for this purpose, which by its lattice-work allows them to see without being seen. In this manner they set off under the charge of a guard of black eunuchs. This journey, and sometimes a walk within the bounds of the palace, with which they are, however, seldom indulged, is the only exercise they are permitted to take.

The emperor's harem consists of between sixty and a hundred females, besides their domestics and slaves, which are very numerous. The four wives which we have already noted are by no means to be considered as the first set of which the emperor was possessed, since some died, and others were repudiated; so that it is a difficult matter to determine what was the precise number of Sidi Mahomet's wives.

Many of the concubines were Moorish women, who had been presented to the emperor, as the Moors consider it an honour to have their daughters in the harem; several were European slaves, who had been either made captives or purchased by the emperor, and some were negroes.

In this groupe the Europeans, or their descendants, had by far the greatest claim to the character of handsome. There was one in particular, who was a native of Spain, and taken into the harem at about the same age as Lalla Douyaw, who was indeed a perfect beauty. Nor was this lady quite singular in that respect, for many others were almost equally handsome.

The Moorish women have in general an inexpressive countenance, and a rustic simplicity of manners. Their persons are below the middle stature, of a remarkably fat and

square make, with very large hands and feet. Their complexions are either a clear brown, or, what is more usual, of a sallow cast.—Their faces are round, and their eyes in general black; the nose and mouth very small, and the latter is usually accompanied with a good set of teeth.

The dress of the ladies consists of a shirt, with remarkably full and loose sleeves, hanging almost to the ground, the neck and breast of which are left open, and their edges are neatly embroidered with gold. They wear linen drawers, and over the shirt a caftan, which is a dress something similar in form to a loose great coat without sleeves, hanging nearly to the feet, and is made either of silk and cotton or gold tissue. A sash of fine linen or cotton, folded, is tied gracefully round the waist, and its extremities fall below the knees. To this sash two broad straps are annexed, and passing under each arm over the shoulders form a cross on the breast, and to that part of it which passes between the breast and shoulder of each arm is fixed a gold tortoise, carelessly suspending in front a gold chain. Over the whole dress is extended a broad silk band of the Fez manufacture, which surrounds the waist, and completes the dress, except when they go abroad, and then they invest themselves in a careless manner with the haick.

The hair is plaited from the front of the head backwards in different folds, which hang loose behind, and at the bottom are all fixed together with twisted silk. Over their heads they wear a long piece of silk about half a yard wide, which they tie close to the head, and suffer the long ends, which are edged with twisted silk, to hang behind in an easy manner nearly to the ground. The remainder of the head-dress is completed by a common silk handkerchief, which surrounds the head like a woman's close cap, differing from it only by being fixed in a full bow behind instead of in front. At the upper part of each ear hangs a small gold ring, half open, which has at one end a cluster of precious stones, sufficient nearly to fill up the vacancy occasioned by the opening of the ring. At the tip, or lower part of the ear, is likewise suspended a broad and solid gold ring, which is so large that it reaches as low as the neck, and which, as well as the other, has a cluster of precious stones, in proportion to the size of the ring. The ladies wear on their fingers several small gold rings, set with diamonds or other precious stones, and on the wrists broad and solid gold bracelets, sometimes also set with precious stones.—Their necks are ornamented with a great variety of bead and pearl necklaces. Below these a gold chain surrounds the neck, and suspends in front a gold ornament.

Like the men, the Moorish women wear no stockings, but use red slippers, curiously embroidered with gold, which they take off when they enter their rooms. Immediately above the ancle each leg is surrounded with a large solid gold ring, which is narrow in front, but very broad behind.

The ladies paint their cheeks of a deep red, and stain their eye-lids and eye-brows with antimony. It is a branch of artificial beauty in this country, to produce a long black mark on the forehead, another on the tip of the nose, and several others on each cheek. The chin is stained of a deep red, and thence down to the throat runs a long black stripe. The inside of the hands, and the nails, are stained of a deep red, so deep indeed that in most lights it borders on black; and the back of the hands have several fancy marks of the same colour. The feet are painted in a similar manner with the hands.

The women have no employment but that of forming themselves into different circles for the purpose of conversation, sometimes in the open courts, at others in the different apartments. As they are not permitted to enter the mosques, they pray at the appointed times in their own chambers. The Moors, indeed, entertain the prejudice which is commonly attributed to the Mussulmans in general, that the female sex are altogether an inferior species of animals, merely formed to be slaves to the pleasures of men, whose salvation is consequently not of so much importance; and with this sentiment the conduct of the men towards them in every instance corresponds. The Moors likewise assign other reasons for not permitting their females to enter their places of worship: they assert, that it would be not only contrary to the custom which prevails in the

country, of not allowing the sexes to meet together in any particular spot, but it might also, by creating loose and improper ideas, draw off the attention from their devotion.

The women have their talbas as well as the men their talbs. These persons, who are either wives or concubines, just as it happens, and whose principal qualifications appear to be reading and writing, teach the younger part of the harem to repeat their prayers, and the older females they instruct in the laws and principles of their religion.

All the emperor's daughters, and the children of his concubines, as soon as they were of a proper age, were sent to Tafilet, where they finished their education, and, by intermarrying with the descendants of his ancestors, they served to people that extraordinary city—extraordinary on this account, that the inhabitants of it are all sharifs, or the supposed lineal descendants of Mahomet, and are most of them colaterally or otherwise related to the present royal family of Morocco. Muley Ishmael, who was grandfather to the emperor Ben Abdallah, had three hundred children at Tafilet, and their descendants are supposed to have amounted to nine thousand, who all live in the same place.

The sons of the emperor's wives are considered as princes, who have each an equal claim to the empire, and as such are always respected. If they have not disobliged their father, they are generally appointed to the government of some of the provinces, where, in the capacity of bashaws, their principal object is the accumulation of riches.

The Moorish women may be divided into two classes; the black or negro women, and the white.

The first are either slaves, or have been so formerly; and from their services, or through the favour of their proprietors, have obtained their freedom. These women have all the characters, both with respect to disposition, features, and complexion, peculiar to the country from which they are brought. Many of them are in the situation of concubines, and others in that of domestics. Their male children are all brought up to serve in the army of the emperor.

Those of the female sex who may be properly considered as natives of the country, are of a white, or rather a sallow complexion. From the very limited sphere in which they are allowed to act, and the contempt in which they are held as members of society, their characters admit of very little of that variety which distinguishes the European women. Happy, perhaps, it is for them, that the sun of knowledge has never beamed upon their gloomy prisons, since it could only serve to enlighten them to a sense of their own misery, disgrace, and servitude! Happy is that accommodating power, which providence has vouchsafed to human-kind, which adapts them to their several situation! and happy it is that the information of mankind is generally such as suits the sphere in which they are destined to act!

Educated with no other view than for the sensual purposes of their master, or husband, the chief object of the female sex of this country is to administer to his pleasure, and by the most abject submission to alleviate the rigours of that servitude to which they are doomed. When in the presence of their despot, both wives and concubines are obliged to manifest the same respect as his common slaves; and though all are not confined closely to their houses, as is customary in the emperor's harem, yet when they do go out they are obliged to be extremely circumspect in concealing their faces, and cautious in every part of their demeanour.—Women of distinction, however, are very seldom allowed to go abroad: it is only those of the lowest class which are usually seen in the streets, and even these are so disguised and wrapped up in their haicks, that they appear more like a bale of cloth put in motion than a human form.

If they happen to meet an European in the country, at a time when no Moor is in sight, they seldom miss the opportunity of displaying their features, by throwing the haick on one side, and even to laugh and converse with him, though always with the utmost risk, as the eye of jealousy, it is well known, never slumbers.

If an European or a Jew should be caught in a clandestine connection with a Moorish woman, he is obliged to become a convert to the Mahometan faith, or his life

would be forfeit; and the woman is punished either by burning or drowning. A man, indeed, must have uncommon address, and no small share of caution, to carry on an intrigue of that kind, though on the part of the women of this country he will seldom want for encouragement.

It must, however, be allowed, that the means which the Moors employ for the prevention of intrigues very often tend to the encouragement of them. By dressing themselves in the female habit, men may very easily pass the streets unobserved, as they may rest assured that they will not be addressed or even looked at by the Moors; and if they contrive to call at the house when the master is from home, they need be under no apprehensions of being detected when he returns. If he sees a strange woman's slippers at the door of his harem, he concludes it is a female neighbour, and never approaches the room till the slippers are removed.

The dress of the opulent females among the Moors is similar to that of the emperor's ladies, differing only in the value of the materials. Those of the inferior class wear linen drawers, and over them a coarse woollen frock, tied round the waist with a band. They plait the hair in two folds, from the upper part of the head all the way down behind, wearing over it a common handkerchief tied close to the head, and when they go out they wear the haick.

A second interview with the ladies of the seraglio is thus described by Mr. Lemprier: "Upon receiving a second time the prince's orders to attend his ladies, one of his friends was immediately dispatched with me to the gate of the harem; with directions to the alcaide of the eunuchs to admit myself and interpreter whenever I thought it necessary.

"The eunuchs, who have the entire charge of the women, and who in fact live always among them, are the children of negro slaves. They are generally either very short and fat; or else tall, deformed, and lame. Their voices have that particular tone which is observable in youths who are just arriving at manhood; and their persons altogether afford a disgusting image of weakness and effeminacy. From the trust reposed in them by their masters, and the consequence which it gives them, the eunuchs exceed in insolence and pride every other class of people in the country. They displayed, indeed, so much of it towards me, that I was obliged, in my own defence, to complain of them once or twice, and to have them punished. Attended by one of these people, after passing the gate of the harem, which is always locked, and under the care of a guard of eunuchs, we entered a narrow and dark passage, which soon brought us to the court, into which the women's chambers open. We here saw numbers of both black and white women and children; some concubines, some slaves, and others hired domestics.

"Upon their observing the unusual figure of an European, the whole multitude in a body surrounded me, and expressed the utmost astonishment at my dress and appearance. Some stood motionless, with their hands lifted up, their eyes fixed, and their mouths open, in the usual attitude of wonder and surprise. Some burst into immoderate fits of laughter; while others again came up, and, with uncommon attention, eyed me from head to foot. The parts of my dress which seemed most to attract their notice were my buckles, buttons, and stockings; for neither men nor women in this country wear any thing of the kind. With respect to the club of my hair, they seemed utterly at a loss in what view to consider it; but the powder which I wore they conceived to be employed for the purpose of destroying vermin. Most of the children, when they saw me, ran away in the most perfect consternation; and on the whole I appeared as singular an animal, and I dare say had the honour of exciting as much curiosity and attention, as a lion or a man-tiger just imported from abroad, and introduced into a country town in England on a market-day.

"Every time I visited the harem, I was surrounded and laughed at by this curious mob, who, on my entering the gate, followed me close to the very chamber to which I was proceeding, and on my return universally escorted me out.

"The greatest part of the women were

uncommonly fat and unweildy; had black and full eyes, round faces, with small noses. They were of different complexions; some very fair, some sallow, and others again perfect negroes.

"One of my new patients being ready to receive me, I was desired to walk into her room; where, to my great surprize, I saw nothing but a curtain drawn quite across the apartment, similar to that of a theatre which separates the stage from the audience. A female domestic brought a very low stool, placed it near the curtain, and told me I was to sit down there, and feel her mistress's pulse.

"The lady, who had by this time summoned up courage to speak, introduced her hand from the bottom of the curtain, and desired me to inform her of all her complaints, which she conceived I might perfectly perceive by merely feeling the pulse. It was in vain to ask her where her pain was seated, whether in her stomach, head, or back; the only answer I could procure was a request to feel the pulse of the other hand, and then point out the seat of the disease, and the nature of the pain.

"Having neither satisfied my curiosity by exhibiting her face, nor made me acquainted with the nature of her complaint, I was under the necessity of informing her in positive terms, that in order to understand the disease, it was absolutely necessary to see the tongue, as well as to feel the pulse; and that without it I could do nothing for her. My eloquence, or rather that of my Jewish interpreter, was, however, for a long time exerted in vain; and I am persuaded she would have dismissed me without any further inquiry, had not her invention supplied her with a happy expedient to remove her embarrassment. She contrived at last to cut a hole through the curtain, through which she extruded her tongue, and thus complied with my injunction as far as it was necessary in a medical view, but most effectually disappointed my curiosity.

"I was afterwards ordered to look at another of the prince's wives, who was affected with a scrophulous swelling in her neck. This lady was, in the same manner as the other, at first excluded from my sight; but as she was obliged to shew me her complaint, I had an opportunity of seeing her face, and observed it to be very handsome. I was informed that she had been at one period the favourite of the prince, but owing to this defect he had in a great measure deserted her; and this circumstance accounts for the extreme anxiety which she seemed to express to get rid of this disagreeable disease.

"As soon as I had examined her neck, she took off from her dress the whole of her gold trinkets which were very numerous, and of considerable value, put them into my hand, and desired me to cure her; promising a still greater reward if I succeeded. Conscious of the uncertainty of rendering her any material service, I immediately returned the present, and assured her that she might depend on my giving all proper remedies a fair trial, but that I could not be answerable for their success. There is nothing more unpleasant than the inability of giving reasonable ground for hope, when it promises to be productive of so much happiness to a fellow-creature. It was with pain I observed that this poor lady, though somewhat cheered, was yet dissatisfied with my reply; she could not refrain from shewing evident marks of disappointment, and even displeasure, at my hesitation, by saying, she always understood that a Christian physician could cure every disease.

"During the course of my attendance in the harem, I had an opportunity of seeing most of the prince's women, who, exclusive of the four wives allowed him by his religion, were about twenty in number, and who did not, like his wives, discover that invincible reluctance to the display of their beauty. They at first proved very troublesome patients; for upon my not telling them all their complaints immediately upon feeling the pulse, they considered me as an ignorant empiric, who knew nothing of my profession. Besides this, I found that each of them flattered themselves with almost an instantaneous cure. In short, after many fruitless efforts to teach those to reason who had hitherto never made the smallest use of their understandings, I was at last obliged to adapt my deportment to

the capacities of my patients, and soon acquired among them as much undeserved commendation as I had incurred unmerited reproach.

"Most of the women in the harem were under thirty years of age, of a corpulent habit, and of a very aukward gait. Their knowledge, of course, from having led a life of total seclusion from the world, was entirely confined to the occurrences in their harem; where, as they were allowed a free access to each other, they conversed upon such subjects as their uninformed understandings served to furnish them with. They are never suffered to go out, but by an express order from the prince; and then only when removing from one place of residence to another. I in general found them extremely ignorant, proud, and vain of their persons, even to a degree which bordered upon childishness. Among many ridiculous questions, they asked my interpreter if I could read and write; upon being answered in the affirmative, they expressed the utmost surprise and admiration at the abilities of the Christians. There was not one among them who could do either; these rudiments of learning are indeed only the lot of a few of their men, who on that account are named Talbs, or explainers of the Mahometan law.

"Among the concubines of the prince there were six female slaves of the age of fifteen, who were presented to him by a Moor of distinction. One of these was descended from an English renegado, another from a Spanish, and the other four were of Moorish extraction.

"Where the more solid and useful accomplishments are least cultivated, a taste is often found to prevail for those which are purely ornamental and frivolous. These devoted victims of libidinous pleasure received a daily lesson of music, by order of the prince, from a Moor who had passed some little time in London and Italy, where he had acquired a slight knowledge of that science. I had an opportunity of being present at one of these performances, but cannot say I received much amusement, in a musical view, from my visit. It was a concert, vocal and instrumental: the instruments used upon this occasion were the mandoline, a kind of violin with only two strings, and the tabor. The principal object in their performance seemed to be noise; it was without the least attention to melody, variety, or taste, and was merely drawing out a wild and melancholy strain.

"Conversation, however, forms the principal entertainment in these gloomy retirements. When I visited the harem, I never found the women engaged in any other employment than that of conversing on the ground in circles. In fact, as all their needle-work is performed by Jewesses, and their cookery, and the management of their chambers, by their slaves and domestics, of which they have a proportionable number, according to the favour they are in with the prince, it is not easy for them to find means of occupying their time, and particularly since none of them are able to read or write. It is impossible, indeed, to reflect on the situation of these unfortunate women without the most lively sentiments of compassion. Excluded from the enjoyment of fresh air and exercise, so necessary for the support of health and life; deprived of all society but that of their fellow-sufferers, a society to which most of them would prefer solitude itself; they are only to be considered as the most abject of slaves—slaves to the vices and caprice of a licentious tyrant, who exacts even from his wives themselves a degree of submission and respect which borders upon idolatry, and which God and nature never meant should be paid to a mortal."

CHAP. III.

Description of the city of Morocco.—Further remarks on the manners and customs of the Moors.—Marriage ceremonies.—Divorce.—Circumcision.—Ceremonies at births and burials.—Travels by the caravan to Mecca and Arabia.—Noxious animals—The scorpion, the locust, and snakes.—Saints and superstitions.—Character of Sidi Ali.—Modes of punishment.

The city of Morocco, which lies about one hundred and twenty miles to the north of Tarudant, ninety to the east of Mogodore, and three hundred and fifty to the south of Tangier, is situated in a beautiful valley, formed by a chain of mountains on the northern side, and those of the Atlas, from which it is distant about twenty miles, on the south and east. The country which immediately surrounds it is a fertile plain, beautifully diversified with clumps of palm-trees and shrubs, and watered by small and numerous streams, which descend from Mount Atlas. The emperor's out-gardens, which are situated at the distance of about five miles to the south of the city, and are large plantations of olives walled in, add considerably to the beauty of the scene.

Morocco, though one of the capitals of the empire—for there are three, Morocco, Mequinez, and Fez—has nothing to recommend it but its great extent, and the royal palace. It is enclosed by remarkably strong walls, built of tabby, the circumference of which is about eight miles. On these walls there are no guns mounted, but they are flanked with square towers, and surrounded by a wide and deep ditch. The city has a number of entrances, consisting of large double porches of tabby, in the Gothic stile, the gates of which are regularly shut every night at certain hours. As polygamy is allowed by the Mahometan religion, and is supposed in some degree to affect population, it would be difficult to form any computation near the truth with respect to the number of inhabitants which this city may contain.

The mosques, which are the only public buildings, except the palace, worth noticing at Morocco, are more numerous than magnificent; one of them is ornamented with a very high and square tower, built of cut stone, which is visible at a considerable distance from the city.

The streets are very narrow, dirty, and irregular, and many of the houses are uninhabited and falling to ruin. Those which are decent and respectable in their appearance are built of tabby, and enclosed in gardens. That of the effendi is among the best in Morocco. This house, which in 1812 consisted of two stories, had elegant apartments both above and below, furnished in a stile far superior to any thing seen in that country.—The court, into which the lower apartments opened, was very neatly paved with glazed blue and white tiling, and had in its centre a beautiful fountain. The upper apartments were connected together by a broad gallery, the ballusters of which were painted of different colours. The hot and cold baths were very large, and had every convenience which art could afford. Into the garden, which was laid out in a tolerably neat stile, opened a room adjoining to the house, which had a broad arched entrance, but no door, beautifully ornamented with checquered tiling; and at both ends of the apartment the walls were entirely covered with looking-glass.—The flooring of all the rooms was covered with beautiful carpeting, the walls ornamented with large and valuable looking-glasses, intermixed with watches and clocks in glass cases. The ceiling was carved woodwork, painted of different colours, and the whole was in a superior stile of Moorish grandeur. This and a few others are the only decent habitations in Morocco. The generality of them serve only to impress the traveller with the idea of a miserable and deserted city.

The Elcaisseria is a particular part of the town where stuffs and other valuable articles are exposed to sale. It consists of a number

of small shops, formed in the walls of the houses, about a yard from the ground, of such an height within as just to admit a man to sit in one of them cross-legged. The goods and drawers are so arranged round him, that when he serves his customers, who are standing all the time out in the street, he can reach down any article he wants, without being under the necessity of moving. These shops, which are found in all the other towns of the empire, are sufficient to afford a striking example of the indolence of the Moors.

There are three daily markets in different parts of the town at Morocco, where provisions are sold, and two weekly fairs or markets for the disposal of cattle, where the same custom is observed as at Tarudant.

The city is supplied with water by means of wooden pipes connected with the neighbouring streams, which empty themselves into reservoirs placed for the purpose in the suburbs, and some few in the centre of the town.

The castle is a large and ruinous building, the outer walls of which enclose a space of ground about three miles in circumference. It has a mosque built by Muley Abdallah, father to Sidi Mahomet, on the top of which are three large balls; these, the Moors allege, are formed of solid gold, but as no person is permitted to ascend to them, we must trust to their word for the truth of this assertion. The castle is almost a town of itself; it contains a number of inhabitants, who in some department or other are in the service of the emperor, and all under the direction of a particular Alcaide, who is quite independent of the governor of the town.

On the outside of the castle, between the Moorish town and the Jewdry, are several small, distinct pavilions, enclosed in gardens of orange-trees, which are intended as occasional places of residence for such of the emperor's sons or brothers as happen to be at Morocco. As they are covered with coloured tiling, they have at a small distance rather a neat appearance, but on approaching or entering them that effect in a great measure ceases.

It is a singular circumstance, that in the immediate vicinity of Morocco, and for some distance round the city, the ground is totally occupied by a great number of rats, of a species which burrow under ground, and, like rabbits, allow strangers to approach very near before they retire to their holes. They impress the idea of a rabbit warren in miniature. The Jews, who are at this place pretty numerous, have a separate town to themselves, walled, and under the charge of an alcaide appointed by the emperor. It has two large gates, which are regularly shut every evening, about nine o'clock, after which time no person whatever is permitted to enter or go out of the Jewdry, till they are opened again the following morning. The Jews have a market; and, as at Tarudant, when they enter the Moorish town, castle, or palace, they are always compelled to be barefooted.

The palace of Morocco is an ancient building, surrounded by a square wall, the height of which nearly excludes from the spectator the other buildings. Its principal gates are constructed with gothic arches, composed of cut stone, which conduct to several open and spacious courts, through which it is necessary to pass before we reach any of the buildings. These open courts were used by Sidi Mahomet for the purposes of transacting public business, and exercising his troops.

The habitable part of the palace consists of several irregular square pavilions, built of tabby, and whitened over; some of which communicate with each other, others are distinct, and most of them receive their names from the different towns of the empire. The principal pavilion is named by the Moors the douhar, and is more properly the palace, or seragho, than any of the others. It consists of the emperor's place of residence, and the harem, forming altogether a building of considerable extent. The other pavilions are merely for the purposes of pleasure or business, and are quite distinct from the douhar.

The Mogodore pavilion, so named from the emperor's partiality to that town, has by far the fairest claim to grandeur and munificence. This apartment was the work of Sidi Mahomet, and is lofty and square. It is built of cut stone, handsomely ornamented with windows, and covered with varnished tiles of various colours; and its elegance and

neatness, contrasted altogether with the simplicity and irregularity of the other buildings, produce a most striking effect. In the inside, besides several other apartments, we find in the pavilion a spacious room, floored with blue and white chequered tiling; its ceiling covered with curiously carved and painted wood, and its stuccoed walls variously ornamented with looking-glasses and watches, regularly disposed in glass cases. To this pavilion Sidi Mahomet manifested an exclusive preference, frequently retiring to it both for the purposes of business and of recreation.

The apartments of the emperor have in general a much smaller complement of furniture than those of the Moors in the inferior walks of life. Handsome carpetting, a mattress on the ground, covered with fine linen, a couch and a couple of European bedsteads, are the principal articles they contain. The gardens within the walls of the palace, of which he has several, are very neat: they contain orange and olive trees, variously disposed and arranged, and intersected with streams of water, fountains, and reservoirs. Those on the outside are nothing more than large tracts of ground, irregularly planted with olives, having four square walks, and surrounded by walls of which the architecture is neither distinguished by stability nor elegance.

The chief of this establishment bears the title of El Emkaddem, or ancient, like that of Mulei Edris at Fez; he is equally respected, and is almost looked upon as a saint. The two greatest saints of all the empire of Morocco are Sidi Ali Benhamét, who resides at Wazein, and Sidi Alarbi Benmate, who lives at Tedla.

These two saints decide almost on the fate of the whole empire, as it is supposed that they attract the blessings of heaven on the country. The departments which they inhabit have no Pasha, no kaid or governor of the sultan; the inhabitants of them pay no kind of tribute, and are entirely ruled by those two saints, under a kind of theocracy. The veneration which they enjoy is so great that upon occasions where they visit the provinces, the governors take their orders and advice. They preach submission to the sultan, domestic peace, and the practice of virtue. They receive considerable presents and alms, and there is not a woman in the empire that would not seek an occasion to consult them when they come within reach. Upon such religious excursions, they are followed by a crowd of poor, who sing the praises of Alla and of all holy personages. A number of armed men are continually in their retinue, and ready to defend the divine cause with their weapons.

"Holiness (says Ali Bey) is hereditary in some families: the father of Sidi Ali was a great saint; Sidi Ali is now as much venerated, and his son Sidi Bentzami begins already to become so. As the productive power is the gift of heaven, these saints enjoy it in a most distinguished manner; for Sidi Ali keeps a number of negro women, and has a great many children. Besides his lawful wives and his common concubines, Sidi Alarbi keeps eighteen young negro girls.

"I had once the honour of an interview with Sidi Ali when he came to Morocco; he quieted some scruples in my too delicate conscience. I made him a little present of about fifty pounds, and he returned me a lion's skin, on which he had been in the habit of saying his prayers for thirteen years. Besides this he gave me a quantity of sweetmeats, and a large bottle of lemon syrup, which he used to mix with his tea. I did not fail to praise it highly. This holy man, free from all worldly interest, employed the money which I had given him, and that which he had been raising by alms, in the purchase of guns and other weapons for the defenders of the faith who escorted him.

"Sidi Ali was about fifty years old. He had a round ruddy coloured face, lively eyes, and a small beard white as snow; he was of a low stature, full and well proportioned. His dress was always the same; it consisted of a kind of shirt or small white woollen caftan, a little turban and a sort of haik, or light woollen cloth, which covered his head, and hung down behind, and on the sides, like a small cloak. He spoke a little through the nose, but with much sweetness. The eldest son of this saint follows the footsteps of his

father, and notwithstanding his youth, begins to partake of his sanctity. He is only twenty-six years of age, but taller and larger than his father, and much redder in the face. The saint was accompanied by other sons, which he had by his negro women, and was on his journey placed on a litter, suspended between two mules, which was long enough for him to stretch on, after the fatigue of his fervent prayers, which he says in order to attract the blessings of heaven on the country. I did not see Sidi Alarbi, who was at Tedla, but I became acquainted with one of his nephews, who came in his name. He was so stout, red, and fat, that he could hardly breathe; and I was told that Sidi Alarbi is still taller and larger, a proof that fasting and mortification impairs neither the health nor the vigour of the saints. Notwithstanding his size, Sidi Alarbi is said to be easy on horseback, and a clever shot. There were unfortunately some difficulties existing between him and the sultan Muley Soliman on account of a mosque, which the latter had been building at Tedla, and which the former had changed into stables. The sultan, to appease the holy man, sent him a present of a thousand ducats, and the saint returned a thousand sheep to the sultan.

The emperor's title is—Emperor of Africa; emperor of Morocco; king of Fez, Suz, and Gago; lord of Dara, and Guinea; and great shariff of Mahomet.

Previous to a stranger, whether an European or Moor, obtaining an audience of his Moorish majesty, a present is always made to one of his ministers, as an inducement to him to acquaint his sovereign that a stranger solicited that honour. The first present, unless it is something very handsome, does not always succeed; and it is frequently necessary to apply to two or three ministers to procure a speedy audience, or even to send in a present to one of the sultanas, none of whom entertain any very uneasy sensations about accepting the compliment. The latter is indeed the most certain mode of succeeding.

After having so far accomplished his wishes, the stranger is next liable to be detained a longer or shorter time before the capricious monarch would fix on a day for receiving him. Even after this he would frequently send for him in a violent hurry to the palace, and when there, keep him standing in one of the open courts several hours; he would then send an excuse for not admitting him on that day; and this agreeable process was in many instances repeated three or four times. The tardiness, insolence, and irregularity of the court of Morocco is indeed beyond conception; and those who have business there ought to be possessed of all the philosophy and patience of a stoic, if they would avoid the deprivation of their senses.

No person whatever, whether Moor or Christian, was admitted into the presence of the sovereign, but when accompanied with an handsome present, more or less valuable, in proportion to the favour intended to be requested. Even the emperor's own sons were not exempted from this custom, upon paying their first visit after a previous absence. The generosity of the suitor must not even stop here; for when the audience is over, the master of the ceremonies with his servants, and the porters of all the gates in the palace, which are rather numerous, have a claim for their perquisites, and are not to be got rid of till they obtain something. Indeed, as they receive no pay from their royal master, these perquisites were the only means they had of gaining a subsistence.

The following is a list of expences at court:—

To the emperor,—A more or less valuable present, according to the favour which is expected.

To the master of the ceremonies for public audiences, who introduces strangers to the emperor.—The same in proportion.

	Ounces. silver,
To the man who attends the emperor at the Machoire - -	20
— who cleans his musquets -	20
— who has the care of his horses	20
— who makes tea for the emperor	10
— who has the care of his lance	10
— who has the care of his umbrella	5
— who has the care of the emperor's saddles - - -	10
To the emperor's coachman -	5

	Ounces.
To the man who has the care of the emperor's spurs - -	5
— who has the care of the emperor's tents	10
— who has the care of the emperor's slippers - - -	5
— who gives the emperor water to drink	5
— who takes care of the emperor's chair	5
— who takes the flies off the emperor's face - - -	5
— who takes care of the emperor's sword	5
— who takes care of the emperor's watch	5
— the porter of Machoire, for ten gates	40
— the emperor's gardeners - -	10
— calling for each audience -	10
Total	205

An ounce is a silver coin of nearly the same value as five pence English.

After having completed the business at court the obtaining of the final dispatches was commonly attended with the same difficulties as the obtaining of an audience. The emperor was not only naturally very forgetful, but sometimes, from political motives, intentionally so. He was very well aware that the longer strangers were detained at Morocco, the more his ministers would be enriched by them; and as the money came at last, though by a circuitous course, into his own pocket, he used frequently to forget that strangers were waiting for their dispatches. The ministers, on the other hand, unless stimulated by substantial presents, were generally extremely dilatory in reminding him of them; and there have been many instances of foreigners being detained at Morocco five or six weeks, entirely owing to this circumstance.

With respect to the court of Morocco, it latterly hardly deserved that appellation. When the emperor Sidi Mahomet was young, his faculties clear, and his abilities in their prime, he entrusted to his ministers a considerable share of the public business; but within the few last years of his life, when his strength of body as well as of mind were worn out by hard services and old age, either from suspicion or dotage, he took the reins of government entirely into his own hands. The ministers and secretaries not daring to notice the mistakes of the sovereign, were obliged to write out letters and send orders, which were contradicted almost every hour, and which occasioned the utmost confusion. The court of Morocco, indeed, under the most advantageous circumstances, was always notorious for its irregularity and contradiction; but a short time previous to the emperor's death, the government could scarcely be said to exist at all.

As an account of the officers employed about the court of the emperor has never been particularly detailed to the public, a short statement of them will probably not be uninteresting: we shall therefore, in as few words as possible, point out their respective employments.

The emperor's court consisted of—

1. A prime minister named the effendi, or friend, who was the responsible man; and during that period when the government was carried on in a more regular manner, all letters and orders were signed by him before they were dispatched.

2. A principal secretary to the treasury, united with the office of Effendi; who had the disbursement at large of the emperor's payments, with six Moorish and seven Jewish under secretaries.

3. A master of the horse, with one hundred and twenty assistants.

4. A grand chamberlain, a place commonly united with that of prime minister, with seventeen assistants; nine of whom were sons of Spanish renegadoes, three sons of negroes, and the others Moors.

5. A grand falconer, which is an hereditary place, and perhaps the only one in the country, with twenty assistants.

6. A keeper of the great seal.

7. Two grand stewards, with eight assistants.

8. Five inspectors generally of all the emperor's affairs, the principal of whom was the Effendi.

9. Three masters of ceremonies for public audiences, with forty assistants.

10. An interpreter-general for the German, Dutch, English, French, Spanish, and Latin languages; this man was a German renegado.

11. A secretary for the Spanish and Italian languages, who was a Genoese.

12. Two grand keepers of the jewels and plate.

13. A grand master of the baths.

14. Two grand keepers of the arsenal.

15. Two keepers of the emperor's goods and warehouses.

16. Three inspectors of mosques, &c.

17. Five keepers of the provisions.

18. Two keepers of the library.

19. Two astrologers.

20. Four masters of the carriages, with two assistants.

21. Twelve sons of renegadoes, who have never had beards, employed in drawing the small carriages.

22. Three principal assistants for prayers, with seventeen deputies, sons of the great people of the empire.

23. Three bearers of the umbrella, with nine assistants.

24. One bearer of the sabre.

25. Two bearers of the bason.

26. Two bearers of the lance.

27. One bearer of the watch.

28. Five bearers of the emperor's own firelocks, who are all alcaides, with fifteen inferior assistants.

29. A bearer of the colours and standard.

30. A physician and a surgeon, with several tradesmen, too numerous to mention.

Upon taking a retrospective view of the employments under the emperor of Morocco, we shall not find that they differ so much from those of other states as might have been imagined, from the ignorance of the European customs observable in this people in other respects. The places of effendi and principal secretary to the treasury being united in one person, bears considerable analogy to the union of the office of prime minister with those of chancellor of the exchequer and first lord of the treasury. The appointments of secretary of state, master of the horse, grand chamberlain, keeper of the great seal, and grand falconer, are all places which are well known in European courts; and many others have nearly the same correspondence.

The principal difference between the court of Morocco and those of Europe is, that the possessors of these appointments in European courts enjoy very lucrative incomes from their respective states, while those of Morocco receive none at all from the court.—They depend solely on the perquisites which are paid them by those who have business to transact with the court. Even this, however, sometimes forms a very considerable income, though always subject to defalcation from the rapacious hand of their sovereign, who seizes upon every thing with which he comes in contact.

The effendi to the emperor had a degree of address, and an elegance of manner, which would have done honour to an European courtier. He received a stranger with a pleasing smile, and a respectful bow; shook him warmly by the hand, enquired after his health, invited him to his house, and offered him his services. As he was rich, he was always extremely timid in the presence of the emperor, notwithstanding he annually made him a large present to keep him in temper. Some of the princes, and many others, followed his example in this respect, judiciously preferring the enjoyment of a little with a certainty, to the running a risk of the whole.

The emperor had no regular court days, but fixed upon them as inclination or convenience dictated. On those days all the princes who were at Morocco, and every person in the immediate service of the emperor, were obliged to attend at the Machoire, an open part of the palace so named, where they, with the soldiers, were arranged in the form of a crescent; the ministers and strangers in front, and the sovereign, either on horseback or in his carriage, in the centre. Upon these occasions the public business in general was transacted, foreigners were received, grievances were stated, complaints heard (every person being at liberty to apply to the emperor for redress), and malefactors were punished in the presence of the sovereign, and the whole court.

The revenues of the emperor of Morocco consist of a tenth on every article of consumption, being the natural production of the country, as allowed him by the koran; an annual tax upon the Jews; his custom-house and excise duties; and the tributes

which he exacts from his subjects, foreign states, and European merchants, in the form of presents. From the last articles he derives the most considerable part of his income.

The want of system, and the caprice of Sidi Mahomet, was such, that it is utterly impossible to say what was the annual amount of all these branches of revenue. The duties were frequently changed three or four times in the course of a year, and the tributes were subject to an equal degree of uncertainty.—After all, it has been a matter of great doubt and speculation whether Sidi Mahomet was wealthy. From the greater encouragement to commerce during his reign, the trifling expence of his court, every person engaged about it receiving little or no pay from the emperor, the uncommonly severe exactions he enforced, and the numerous voluntary presents he received, the natural conclusion was, that he must have been very rich. On the other hand, however, his expences at the sieges of Melilla and Mazagan are known to have been very considerable; and these, united to the valuable presents he annually transmitted to the grand seignor, and to the sharifs of Mecca, are to be placed in the opposite scale; and when this is done, it will perhaps appear that his wealth was far from considerable.

The land forces of the emperor of Morocco consist principally of black troops, the descendants of those negroes which Muley Ishmael imported from Guinea, and some few white, amounting altogether to an army of about thirty-six thousand men upon the establishment, two-thirds of which are cavalry. This establishment, however, upon occasion, admits of a considerable increase, as every man is supposed to be a soldier, and when called upon is obliged to act in that capacity. About six thousand of the standing forces form the emperor's body guard, and are always kept near his person; the remainder are quartered in the different towns of the empire, and are under the charge of the bashaws of the provinces. They are all clothed by the emperor, and receive a trifling pay; but their chief dependance is on plunder, which they have frequent opportunities of acquiring.

The soldiers have no distinction in dress from the other Moors, and are only marked by their accoutrements, which consist of a sabre, a very long musquet, a small red leather box to hold their balls, which is fixed in front by means of a belt, and a powder-horn slung over their shoulders.

The army is under the direction of a commander in chief, four principal bashaws, and alcaides, who command distinct divisions.—With respect to the alcaides it is proper to remark, that there are three descriptions of persons who bear this appellation: but those to whom I at present allude are military officers, who command soldiers from a thousand to five hundred, twenty-five, or even four men in a division.

The black troops which we have been describing are naturally of a very fiery disposition, capable of enduring great fatigue, hunger, thirst, and every difficulty to which a military life is exposed. They appear well calculated for skirmishing parties, or for the purpose of harassing an enemy; but were they obliged to undergo a regular attack, from their total want of discipline they would soon be routed. In all their manœuvres they have no notion whatever of order and regularity, but have altogether more the appearance of a rabble than of an army.

Though these troops are supposed to be the strongest support of despotism, yet from their avarice and love of variety they frequently prove the most dangerous enemies to their monarchs; they are often known to excite sedition and rebellion; and their insolence has sometimes proceeded to such excesses as nearly to overturn the government. Their conduct is governed only by their passions. Those who pay them best, and treat them with the greatest attention, they will always be most ready to support. This circumstance, independent of every other, makes it the interest of the monarch to keep his subjects in as complete a state of poverty as possible. The Moors are indeed remarkable for insincerity in their attachments, and for their love of variety; a military force, in this kingdom especially, is therefore the only means which a despotic monarch can employ for securing himself in the possession of the throne. Ignorant of every principle of ra-

tional liberty, whatever contests this devoted people may engage in with their tyrants are merely contests for the succession; and the sole object for which they spend their lives and their property, is to exchange one merciless despot for another.

The emperor's navy consists of about twenty-two small frigates, a few xebecks, and between twenty and thirty row-gallies. The whole is commanded by one admiral, but as these vessels are principally used for the purposes of piracy, they seldom unite in a fleet. The number of seamen in the service are computed at nine thousand.

There cannot exist a more absolute government than that of Morocco; the lives and properties of the subjects depending entirely on the will or caprice of the monarch. The forms of order and justice are, however, still preserved, though but very little of the substance remains.

An officer is appointed by the emperor for the government of every province, who is named a bashaw; he is generally a Moor of some distinction, and frequently one of the emperor's sons. This officer, who is appointed or removed at the will of the sovereign, has almost an unlimited power throughout the province which he commands; he can inflict every punishment but death, can levy taxes, impose fines, and in short can plunder any individual he pleases; and indeed, if the reader will not smile at the abuse of words, the plundering of the public, and of individuals, may be considered as a part of the duties of his office. When, by every species of rapacity, he has amassed a large property, it then becomes the business of the emperor to divert this treasure into his own coffers. Some frivolous plea is therefore invented for the imprisoning of the bashaw, which is immediately put into execution.—The emperor then seizes upon all his property, and afterwards reinstates him in his government, in order that the same game may be played over again. So perfectly acquainted with mankind in every state and situation was our inimitable Shakspeare:—

"*Rosencrantz.*—Take you me for a spunge, my lord?

"*Hamlet.*—Aye, sir; that soaks up the king's countenance, his rewards, his authorities. But such officers do the king best service in the end; he keeps them, like an ape, in the corner of his jaw; first mouthed, to be at last swallowed. When he needs what you have gleaned, it is but squeezing you, and, spunge, you shall be dry again."

Subordinate to the bashaw, the emperor appoints governors to each town, named alcaides, and officers with a similar authority in every douhar or encampment, who are called shaiks. These officers have the same power invested in them over their several districts as the bashaws have in their provinces. But in other respects their situation is worse, as they are not only subject to the tyranny and caprice of the emperor, but also of the bashaw.

The alcaide, or governor, is invested with both the military and civil authority in the town where he resides. As a military officer he commands a certain number of soldiers, whom he employs for the public defence and tranquillity, and also for enforcing the payment of taxes, for the punishing of delinquents, and to convey his orders and messages to court, or into the country. As a civil officer, he has the entire cognizance of all criminal matters, for which he discretionally inflicts any punishment short of death.

If we only reflect on the dangerous extent of this almost unlimited power, it is easy to anticipate the abuses of it in a country where so little attention is paid to justice or honour. For the most trifling offences the alcaide condemns the delinquent not only to be bastinadoed very severely, and imprisoned, but also to pay him a sum of money, or present him with some other article equal in value, which probably the prisoner has been half his life in acquiring. It frequently happens, indeed, that false accusations are invented purposely against individuals to plunder them of their property. This is not the only inconvenience arising from an abuse of power;—for let a person commit the most notorious crime, if he can carry up a present to the governor of greater value than what was presented by his accuser, he is not only forgiven, but if he has the least ingenuity he will find very little difficulty in even throwing the whole of the crime upon his antagonist. Indeed, in this country, justice, or

rather judgment, is most easily procured by purchasing it.

Under the alcaide is an officer named ellhackum, or deputy-governor, whose office bears some analogy to our principal bailiff or constable.

Besides these officers, there is in every town a cadi, who is both a civil judge and the chief priest; for it is well known that the civil and religious institutions are united in the Koran. When any dispute happens between individuals, respecting matters of right or property, debts, insults, &c. the person who supposes himself injured may apply for redress to the cadi, who is to determine the matter agreeably to the principles of the Koran. In the absence of the cadi, any of the talbs, who are common priests, are equally authorised to act for him. If the parties chuse to employ lawyers, the pleadings must be carried on in writing, otherwise they plead orally their own causes. Upon these occasions the cadi or talbs cannot openly receive any payment, but it is well known that they are too frequently influenced by private presents.

The chief of the cadis is the mufti, who is also the supreme head of the church.

When any party in a suit conceives that he has reason to complain of the jurisdiction of these officers, he has a right to appeal to the emperor, who gives public audiences for the purpose of administering justice. This custom would be a great alleviation to the evils of despotism, were the emperor always to administer justice impartially; but valuable presents have sometimes too powerful an influence even over the sovereign himself. On this account, as well as on that of the great distance of many of the provinces from the seat of government, the people seldom embrace this last resource in applying for justice.

The mode of punishing criminals in this country depends entirely upon the will of the sovereign. Trifling offences are usually punished by imprisonment and the bastinado, which is inflicting a certain number of stripes on the back and legs by leather straps, and which is sometimes executed with great severity. For crimes of a more serious nature, in some cases the hands are cut off, particularly for stealing, in others a leg and a hand. When I was at Morocco four men who had committed murder had both their hands and legs cut off, and were afterwards shot. Other criminals are run through with swords, knocked down with clubs, or are beheaded. Another mode of punishment is tossing, which is so contrived that the victim falls immediately upon his head. There were several persons about Sidi Mahomet, who from practice had acquired an habit of throwing persons up, so as at pleasure either to break the head, dislocate the neck, fracture an arm, leg, or both, or to let them fall without receiving any material injury. When I was at Morocco a man received the latter punishment in the morning, and in the afternoon the emperor made him a handsome present, as a recompence for what he had suffered.

To sum up all in a few words, there is no mode of cruelty known which has not been practised at Morocco. In the present uncivilised state of the people, severe and exemplary punishments may be necessary to keep them in any degree of subjection; but it must be at least allowed, that such severities should never be inflicted but when there is a full proof of guilt. The contrary of this is too often the case at Morocco. The accused is seldom permitted to make his defence, but is sent out of the world very frequently without knowing for what he suffers.

These punishments were always inflicted in the presence of the emperor. The former monarchs of this country were their own executioners, and Sidi Mahomet acted in the same capacity when prince; but upon his accession to the throne he resigned that respectable office to his negro soldiers. Legs and arms are taken off by a common knife and saw, and the stump is afterwards dipped in boiling pitch, which is the only mode of stopping the hæmorrhage with which they are acquainted.

To evince in what a cool light all these things are considered by the Moors, one of the emperor's sons had undertaken to put a memorial from me into his father's hands, praying [illegible] sent home. Upon a christian calling upon him to ask if he had complied wi[illegible]

he last saw his father an opportunity had not offered, as he was then very *busy in putting some persons to death.*

The manner of salutation among the Moors is, when two equals meet, by a quick motion they shake hands, and afterwards kiss each other's hand. When an inferior meets a superior, such as an officer of rank, a judge, or a governor, he kisses that part of his haick which covers the arm, and sometimes as a higher mark of respect, he will kiss his feet. But the compliment due to the emperor, or any of the princes of the blood, is to take off the cap or turban, and to prostrate the head to the ground. When two particular friends or relations meet, they anxiously embrace and kiss each other's faces and beards for a few minutes, make a number of enquiries about the health of each party, as well as that of their families, but seldom allow time for a reply.

The common topics for conversation among these people are the occurrences of the place, religion, their women, and their horses. As curiosity is a quality which naturally attaches to all indolent people, it may easily be conjectured that the Moors are not deficient in this respect. It is incredible with what avidity they lay hold of any trifling circumstance which may occur in the neighbourhood; what pleasure and what pride they seem to take in communicating it; nor are they deficient in the arts of magnifying or adorning the tale with every addition which may serve to render it more palatable, or give it a greater appearance of plausibility.

Religion is also a favourite topic; but this subject is confined principally to those societies which are frequented by their talbs, or men of letters. As these gentlemen, however, are not a little proud of their acquirements in reading and writing, they do not fail to embrace every opportunity of manifesting their superiority over those who are not so happy as to be distinguished by those accomplishments.

Decency of manners and delicacy in conversation are among the most certain marks of refinement and civilization, and the contrary vices are equally universal characteristics of ignorance and barbarism. The conversation of the Moors concerning their women is of the most trifling and disgusting description, and consists of absurd and vulgar observations, equally repugnant to decency and common sense.

The subject, however, on which, like our young men of fashion in England, they appear most calculated to shine, is their horses. It would indeed be truly disgraceful not to be accomplished upon this topic, since it appears to occupy, both day and night, by far the greatest portion of their attention. I have formerly intimated that these animals are seldom kept in stables in Morocco. They are watered and fed only once a day, the former at one o'clock at noon, and the latter at sun-set; and the only mode which they use to clean them is by washing them all over in a river two or three times a week, and suffering them to dry themselves.

Notwithstanding the attachment which the Moors manifest to their horses, they most certainly use them with great cruelty. Their highest pleasure, and one of their first accomplishments, is, by means of long and sharp spurs to make the horse go full speed, and then stop him instantaneously: and in this they certainly manifest uncommon dexterity. The iron-work of their bridles is so constructed, that by its pressure on the horse's tongue and lower jaw, with the least exertion of the rider, it fills his mouth full of blood, and if not used with the utmost caution throws him inevitably on his back. The bridle has only a single rein, which is so very long that it serves the purpose of both whip and bridle. The Moorish saddle is in some degree similar to the Spanish, but the pummel is still higher and more peaked. Their stirrups, in which they ride very short, are so formed as to cover the whole of the foot. They either plate or gild them, according to the dignity, opulence, or fancy of the possessor. Their saddles, which are covered with red woollen cloth, or, if belonging to a person of consequence, with red satin or damask, are fastened with one strong girth round the body, in the European style, and another round the shoulders.

The Moors frequently amuse themselves by riding with the utmost apparent violence against a wall; and a stranger would conceive it impossible for them to avoid being

dashed to pieces, when just as the horse's head touches the wall, they stop him with the utmost accuracy. To strangers on horseback or on foot it is also a common species of compliment to ride violently up to them, as if intending to trample them to pieces, and then to stop their horses short, and fire a musquet in their faces. Upon these occasions, they are very proud in discovering their dexterity in horsemanship, by making the animal rear up, so as almost to throw him on his back, putting him immediately after on the full speed for a few yards, then stopping him instantaneously; and all this is accompanied by loud and hollow cries.

There is another favourite amusement, which displays perhaps superior agility:— A number of persons on horseback start at the same moment, and accompanied with loud shouts, gallop at full speed to an appointed spot, when they stand up strait in the stirrups, put the rein, which is very long, in their mouths, level their pieces and fire them off; throw their firelocks immediately over their right shoulders, and stop their horses nearly at the same instant. This we are told is their manner of engaging in an action.

Though willing to allow the Moors the merit of sitting a horse well, and, as far as is necessary for the above mentioned exercise, of having a great command over him, yet their horses are ill bred, and they entirely neglect to teach them those paces which in Europe are considered as the most agreeable for the common purposes of riding. As none of these animals in Morocco are geldings, and as the Moors are unacquainted with the use of the ring, they are obliged to break them in when very young by taking them long and fatiguing journeys, particularly over the mountainous and rocky part of the country, where they soon reduce their spirit; they then take the opportunity of teaching them to rear up, stand fire, gallop, and stop short, in the manner already related, and having accomplished this, they are satisfied without any further qualification. For this reason a Barbary horse seldom can perform any other pace than a full gallop or a walk; and from being broken in and worked hard before they have acquired their full strength, these horses in a very few years become unfit for service. The Moors seldom ride the mares, but keep them in the country for breeding; and, contrary to the general opinion in Europe, they consider them so much more valuable than horses, that they are never permitted to be exported.

Like all barbarous nations, the Moors are passionately fond of music, and some few have a taste for poetry. Their slow airs, for want of that variety which is introduced when the science has attained a degree of perfection, have a very melancholy sameness; but some of their quick tunes are beautiful and simple, and partake in some degree of the characteristic melody of the Scotch airs. The poetry of their songs, the constant subject of which is love, though there are few nations perhaps who are less sensible of that passion, has certainly less merit than the music.

Their instruments are, a kind of hautboy, which differs from ours only in having no keys; the mandoline, which they have learnt to play upon from their neighbours the Spaniards; another instrument, bearing some resemblance to a violin, and played upon in a similar manner, but with only two strings; the large drum, the common pipe, and the tabor. These united, and accompanied with a certain number of voices, upon many occasions form a band; though solo music is more common in this unsocial country.

Upon all days of rejoicing, this kind of music, repeated vollies of musquetry, either by men on horseback or on foot, and in the evening a grand attack upon the cooscosoo, constitutes the principal part of the public entertainments. Mountebanks and jugglers also, of every description, meet with great encouragement from the Moors.

There are no other places of reception for the accommodation of travellers in this country, except in their fondaks, which are only to be met with in large towns. These consist of a certain number of dirty apartments, with no other accommodation whatever, but the walls and roof, to protect the stranger from the inclemency of the weather; and he must furnish himself with every article of which he may be in want, both in respect to provisions and bedding. There is at the

same time an open court, where the horses of all travellers are intermixed.

In most of the towns there are regular schools, where those children, whose parents have the means of doing it, and have sense enough to send them (which indeed are but few in proportion to the whole), are instructed by the talbs in reading and writing, and sometimes in the first rules of arithmetic.—The greater part of the people, however, learn very little more than to read a few prayers selected from the Koran, which are in common use, and are written in Arabic characters, on paper which is pasted on a board.

To speak particularly on the religion of the Moors would require a volume, and such a volume as would certainly be more extensive than entertaining. It is well known they profess the Mahometan faith, and we may add, that they attend very rigidly to all the bigotry and superstition which is peculiar to that religion.

Since every stranger who enters a mosque is either put to death, or is obliged to conform to their religion, a very exact account of their places of worship is not to be expected from an European.

The mosque is usually a large square building, composed of the same materials as the houses, consisting of broad and lofty piazzas, opening into a square court, in a manner in some degree similar to the Royal Exchange London. In the centre of the court is a large fountain, and a small stream surrounds the piazzas, where the Moors perform the ceremony of ablution. The court and piazzas are floored with blue and white checquered tiling, and the latter are covered with matting, upon which the Moors kneel while repeating their prayers. In the most conspicuous part of the mosque, fronting the east, stands a kind of pulpit, where the talb or priest occasionally preaches. The Moors always enter this place of worship barefooted, leaving their slippers at the door. On the top of the mosque is a square steeple with a flag-staff, whither at stated hours the talb ascends, hoists a white flag (for they have no bells), and calls the people to prayers, repeating in Arabic three times, and addressing himself each time to a different part of the town, *How great is God! Mahomet is his prophet! Come all ye faithful; come to prayer.* From this high situation the voice is heard at a considerable distance, and the talbs have a monotonous mode of enunciation, the voice sinking at the end of every short sentence, which in some measure resembles the sound of a bell.

The moment the flag is displayed, every person forsakes his employment, and goes to prayers. If they are near a mosque, they perform their devotions within it, otherwise immediately on the spot where they happen to be, and always with their faces towards the east, in honour of the prophet Mahomet, who it is well known was buried at Medina. The prayer which is generally repeated on these occasions is a chapter from the koran, acknowledging the goodness of God and Mahomet; and it is accompanied with various gestures, such as lifting the hands above the head, bowing twice, performing two genuflexions, bowing again twice, and kissing the ground. The whole of this ceremony they repeat three times.

Their sabbath is on our Friday, and commences from six o'clock the preceding evening. On this day they use a blue flag instead of the white one. As it has been prophesied that they are to be conquered by the Christians on the sabbath-day, the gates of all the towns, and of the emperor's palaces, are shut when at divine service on that day, in order to avoid being surprised during that period. Their talbs are not distinguished by any particular dress.

The Moors have three solemn devotional periods in the course of the year. The first, which is named Aid de Cabier, is held in commemoration of the birth of Mahomet.—It continues seven days, during which period every person who can afford the expence kills a sheep as a sacrifice, and divides it among his friends. The second is the Ramadam. This is a rigorous fast or lent, held at the season when Mahomet disappeared in his flight from Mecca to Medina; and is conducted by the Moors with so much superstition, that for thirty days, from sun-rise to sun-set, they lay aside all worldly acts, and devote their whole attention to exercises of piety; carefully abstaining from eating,

drinking, smoking, washing their mouths, or even swallowing their saliva; and they are indulged with their usual custom of bathing only, upon condition that they avoid suffering the water to approach their heads, lest any of it should enter the mouth or ears. To make amends for this strict observance of their lent during the day, they appropriate the whole night to the indulgence of every gratification, and at the expiration of the fast a general festival takes place, named the Beyran, which continues seven days. The third is named Llashore, and is a day set apart by Mahomet for every person to compute the value of his property, in order for the payment of zakat, that is, one-tenth of their income to the poor, and other pious uses. Although this feast only lasts a single day, yet it is celebrated with far greater magnificence than either of the others.

There is also a superstitious custom among the Moors, when any thing of moment is to be undertaken, such as going on a dangerous journey or voyage, the disposal of their children in marriage, &c. for some grave person to make an harangue to the multitude, upon which his auditors call for the key of direction. By this is meant the performance of joining the hands, looking steadfastly on the palms during the admonition, then by a joint concurrence calling on God and the prophet, and concluding the ceremony by stroking their faces with both hands, and joining in chorus, saying *salem, salem* (peace be with you), with much devotion. The due performance of this ceremony, they conceive, will ensure them certain success in all their undertakings.

The Moors compute time by lunar months, and count the days of the week by the first, second, third, &c. beginning from our Sunday. They use a common reed for writing, and begin their manuscripts from right to left.

The Moors marry very young, many of their females not being more than twelve years of age at their nuptials. As Mahometans, it is well known that their religion admits of polygamy to the extent of four wives, and as many concubines as they please; but if we except the very opulent, the people seldom avail themselves of this indulgence, since it entails on them a vast additional expence in house-keeping, and in providing for a large family. Whatever institution is contrary to truth and sound morality will in practice refute itself; nor is any further argument than this single observation wanting to answer all the absurdities which have been advanced in favour of a plurality of wives. In contracting marriage, the parents of both parties are the only agents, and the intended bride and bridegroom never see each other till the ceremony is performed. The marriage settlements are made before the cadi, and then the friends of the bride produce her portion, or if not, the husband agrees to settle a certain sum upon her, in case he should die, or divorce her on account of barrenness, or any other cause. The children of the wives have all an equal claim to the effects of the father and mother, but those of the concubines can each only claim half a share.

When the marriage is finally agreed upon, the bride is kept at home eight days, to receive her female friends, who pay congratulatory visits every day. At the same time a talb attends upon her, to converse with her relative to the solemn engagement on which she is about to enter; on these occasions he commonly accompanies his admonitions with singing a pious hymn, which is adapted to the solemnity. The bride also, with her near relations, go through the ceremony of being painted afresh.

During this process the bridegroom on the other hand receives visits from his male friends in the morning, and in the evening rides through the town accompanied by them, some playing on hautboys and drums, while others are employed in firing vollies of musquetry. In all their festivals the discharge of musquetry indeed forms a principal part of the entertainment. Contrary to the European mode, which particularly aims at firing with exactness, the Moors discharge their pieces as irregularly as possible, so as to have a continual succession of reports for a few minutes.

On the day of marriage, the bride in the evening is put into a square or octagonal cage, about twelve feet in circumference, which is covered with fine white linen, and

sometimes with gauzes and silks of various colours. In this vehicle, which is placed on a mule, she is paraded round the streets, accompanied by her relations and friends, some carrying lighted torches, others playing on hautboys, and a third party again firing vollies of musquetry.

In this manner she is carried to the house of her intended husband, who returns about the same time from performing similar ceremonies. On her arrival she is placed in an apartment by herself, and her husband is introduced to her alone for the first time, who finds her sitting on a silk or velvet cushion, supposing her to be a person of consequence, with a small table before her, upon which are two wax candles lighted. Her shift, or more properly shirt, hangs down like a train behind her, and over it is a silk or velvet robe with close sleeves, which at the breast and wrists is embroidered with gold; this dress reaches something lower than the calf of the leg. Round her head is tied a black silk scarf, which hangs behind as low as the ground. Thus attired, the bride sits with her hands over her eyes, when her husband appears and receives her as his wife, without any further ceremony: for the agreement made by the friends before the cadi is the only specific contract which is thought necessary.

If the husband should have any reason to suspect that his wife has not been strictly virtuous, he is at liberty to divorce her and take another. For some time after marriage the family and friends are engaged in much feasting and a variety of amusements, which last a longer or shorter time, according to the circumstances of the parties. It is usually customary for the man to remain at home eight days, and the woman eight months, after they are first married; and the woman is at liberty to divorce herself from her husband if she can prove that he does not provide her with a proper subsistence. If he curses her, the law obliges him to pay her, for the first offence, eight ducats; for the second, a rich dress of still greater value; and the third time she may leave him entirely. He is then at liberty to marry again in two months.

A plurality of wives is allowed in all Mahometan countries; the lawful number is limited by the koran to four, in addition to which, they are allowed as many concubines as they can support; in this latitude of luxury, however, they seldom indulge. The emperor, the princes, and some of the bashaws, have often four wives, but *even with them* this number encreases *gradually*; thus, the first wife, after having had a child, or when her bloom has passed, or the marks of age appear, makes way for a young one, who is taught to respect the former, who still remains mistress of the household; when the second lady loses her bloom, she is supplanted by a third, and the third by a fourth; so that the rich and independant Musselman, however old he be himself, has generally a young wife, or a young concubine, to cherish him; and this, they say, enables them to enjoy life longer than the Christians; for, they maintain, that as an old woman destroys the vigour of a man, a young woman encreases it; but these luxurious debauchees, these devotees to the pleasures of the fair sex, from their irregular excesses, are often, about the age of fifty, and sometimes before, totally incapable of performing the duties of the matrimonial contract; under these circumstances, stimulating drugs, and aromatic compositions, are in vain resorted to, and the wretched man becomes at once the victim of inflamed desire and impotency.

It must not, however, be imagined, that this insatiable desire for young females pervades the mass of the people; Musselmans, in general, are satisfied with one wife, and, in a tract of country possessing a population of one hundred thousand souls, a hundred men will scarcely be found who keep four. Such is the state of polygamy in this country.

With regard to the (kadeem) concubines, they are generally black women, purchased originally at Timbuctoo; they reside in the house with the wives, performing the menial offices of the domestic establishment. The children of these concubines, when not the master's offspring, are born slaves, and inherited by him, who either keeps them for the purpose of marrying them to some black slave of his own, or sells them in the public market: this latter mode of disposing of them, however, is seldom practised, except in cases of necessity; for although the law

gives great latitude to masters having slaves, yet the children are generally brought up under the mother's care, and become members of the family; by serving at an early age in domestic occupations, they earn their living by their work; for in a country where the necessaries of life are prohibited from exportation, for the purpose of enabling the subjects to live comfortably with a little income, the expence of maintenance is inconsiderable: so that a large and numerous family is a blessing, and the more numerous the greater the blessing. Living on simple food, for the most part of the farinacious kind, their appetites are easily satisfied; their wants are few; and their resources many.

At the birth of a child it is customary for the parents to grieve eight days, at the expiration of which they sacrifice a goat or a sheep, and invite their friends and acquaintance to partake of the feast. Women suffer but little inconvenience in this country from child-bearing; they are frequently up the next day, and go through all the duties of the house with the infant upon their backs. They do not adopt the method of teaching their children to walk which is customary in Europe, but when they are twelve months old they put them on the floor, where, from first crawling, they naturally in a short time acquire the habit of walking, and as soon as they can be made in the least degree useful, they are put to the various kinds of labour adapted to their age and strength. Others, whose parents are in better circumstances, are, as was before observed, sometimes sent to school; and those who are intended for the church usually continue their studies till they have nearly learnt the koran by rote. In that case they are enrolled among the talbs, or learned men of the law; and upon leaving school are paraded round the streets on a horse, accompanied by music and a large concourse of people. The procession is conducted in the following manner: Upon the day appointed, one of the most shewy horses in the place is procured for the youth to ride on, who, if he is a person of consequence, is drest in all the gaiety which silks and brocades can afford, wearing a turban richly ornamented with gold and jewels, and interspersed with flowers. Thus arrayed he mounts his horse, which also is not without its decorations, carrying in his hand his prayers pasted on a board, on which he looks with steadfast attention; and he proceeds with all the sedateness and composed gravity of old age to the different places appointed for the purpose, accompanied by music, and all his school-fellows on horseback, dressed according to their circumstances. At last they meet at the house of the head boy of the school, where they are treated with a collection of sweetmeats. This custom, which is evidently adopted with a view of promoting an emulation in their youths, is one of the very few good institutions which are observable among these people.

In celebrating the rite of circumcision, the child is dressed very sumptuously, and carried on a mule, or, if the parents are in poor circumstances, on an ass, accompanied with flags flying, and musicians playing on hautboys and beating drums. In this manner they proceed to the mosque, where the ceremony is performed.

When any person dies, a certain number of women are hired for the purpose of lamentation (for the men are seldom observed to weep for the loss of a friend) in the performance of which nothing can be more grating to the ear, or more unpleasant, than their frightful moans, or rather howlings: at the same time these mercenary mourners beat their heads and breasts, and tear their cheeks with their nails. The bodies are usually buried a few hours after death. Previous to interment the corpse is washed very clean, and sewed up in a shroud composed of seven pieces of fine linen united together, with the right hand under the head, which is pointed towards Mecca; it is carried on a bier, supported upon men's shoulders, to the burying place, which is always, with great propriety, on the outside of the town, for they never bury their dead in the mosques, or within the bounds of an inhabited place. The bier is accompanied by numbers of people, two a-breast, who walk very fast, calling upon God and Mahomet, and singing hymns adapted to the occasion. The grave is made very wide at the bottom, and narrow at the top, and the body is deposited without any other ceremony than singing and pray-

ing in the same manner as on their way to the grave.

They have no tombs in this country, but long and plain stones; and it is frequently customary for the female friends of the departed to weep over their graves for several days after the funeral. The Moors will not allow Christians or Jews to pass over their places of interment; as they have a superstitious idea, which is perhaps more prevalent among the lower class of people, than those who are better informed, that the dead suffer pain from having their graves trodden upon by infidels.

When a woman loses her husband she mourns four months and eight days, during which period she is to wear no silver or gold; and if she happens to be pregnant, she is to mourn till she is brought to bed. For the above time the relations of her late husband are obliged to support her. We do not learn that any mourning is due from the husband for the loss of his wife; but it is customary, particularly among the great people, for a son to mourn for his father, by not shaving his head or any part of his beard, and by not cutting his nails for a certain period.

When a Jew or a Christian is converted to the Mahometan faith, he is immediately dressed in a Moorish habit, and paraded round the streets on horseback, accompanied with music and a great concourse of people. He then chuses himself a Moorish name, and fixes on a person who adopts him as a child, and is ever afterwards called his father. This adoption, however, is only nominal, for he is by no means bound to support him. The new convert is not allowed to marry any other woman than a Negro, or the daughter of a renegado; and his descendants are not considered as genuine Moors till the fourth generation.

The renagadoes in the empire of Morocco are principally Spaniards, though there are some few of other nations in the country, who have deserted from Ceuta or Spain, to avoid the hand of justice for some capital crime or misdemeanor—commonly, indeed, murder. Though the emperor may for various reasons find it convenient to countenance renegadoes, yet the Moors in general so thoroughly detest them, that they cannot be induced upon any terms to allow them to form a part of their society.

Seven months before the feast Aid de Cabier, or the commemoration of the birth of Mahomet, pilgrims from every quarter assemble at Fez, in order to join the caravan which at that season proceeds for Mecca.—They are composed of three classes of people. First, the mountaineers, named Brebes: secondly, the Moorish merchants: and, thirdly, persons in public employments, or who are engaged about the court of the emperor. Thus religion and interest conspire to draw together a large and motley groupe, and to induce them to undertake a journey which is as fatiguing and dangerous as it is expensive.

The first class are not required to ask permission to join the caravan. The second are obliged to present themselves to their respective governors, as well to avoid the inconveniences of debts on their own account, as on that of their families, who might be subject to be molested by creditors during their absence. If a merchant has the least connection with the court, it is expected that he also present himself to the emperor, who, as he feels disposed, grants or refuses him permission to enter upon the journey. Those of the third class must have an express permission from the emperor, who never allows any to go whose circumstances will not sufficiently enable them to defray the expences of the pilgrimage.

As there are two modes of performing this pilgrimage, by sea and by land, those who prefer the former are subjected to an examination by the governor of the port whence they embark, to see that they pay the freight of the vessel, and to inform himself whether they have sufficient means to go and return from this sacred object of Mahometan devotion, without being under the necessity of borrowing, or being suspected of using any base and dishonourable means of obtaining a subsistence. Those who proceed by land are liable to be examined also, but not so rigorously as the others, the shaik of the caravan having the power to punish those who are guilty of any irregularities.

The place whence the caravan sets out by land is from Teza, a town in the province

of Tedla, some distance to the east of the city of Fez, the latter being the first place of rendezvous. At Fez, the most commercial city in the whole empire, and abounding with provisions of every description, each person furnishes himself in the best manner he is able, according to his rank and circumstances, with a sufficient supply to last till he reaches Tripoli, or Tunis at least.

This grand caravan is always accompanied by many others, of which one goes to Algiers, another to Tunis, and a third to Grand Cairo, &c. Those persons who go to Algiers and Tunis are not under the necessity of asking permission, as they are persons who are accustomed to carry on a trade with those two places; whence they return with a quantity of their respective manufactures. The caps of Tunis are of great use in the empire of Morocco, and their silks also sell at a very good price, though, upon the whole, those of Algiers are preferable for the girdles used by the Moors, curtains, women's dress, and furniture for beds and rooms. The manufactures indeed of both Algiers and Tunis are brought to a greater perfection than those of Morocco. The merchants who go upon these expeditions carry with them ready money, haicks, and slippers, which are the manufactures of Morocco, and dispose of the two last articles to the Arabs and inhabitants of the towns in the neighbourhood of Algiers and Tunis, who, though they do not wear the haick as a part of their dress, yet make use of them for a variety of other purposes.

Some time within the first fifteen days of the month Jumeth Tenii, every proper preparation being previously made, the grand caravan sets of from Teza in the following order:—After having invoked the true and sole God, and his prophet Mahomet, to give every benediction to this sacred journey, they all meet near the tent of the chief conductor, who is named in Arabic Scheck Rebeck, and commence their devotions to the sound of clarionets, tambours, &c. The unloaded camels and mules are then first put in motion, attended by the cooks, watermen, &c. Next to this party follow those who travel on foot, either from devotion or necessity; to these is entrusted the care of the loaded mules and camels; and the rear is brought up by those who are mounted either on horses or mules. The caravan is put in motion at sunrise, stops at twelve o'clock at noon to dine, and about four in the afternoon the people encamp in the same manner as they did at Teza.

The course which they take is through the interior parts of the country, leaving Tremecen, Algiers, and Tunis to their left. Some of them, indeed, make excursions to the two latter places, and afterwards join the caravan. By these means they are enabled both to obtain a fresh supply of provisions for themselves and beasts, and to sell to the Arabs haicks, slippers, and old caps, for which they usually receive a very good price; and the profits enable them frequently to make advantageous purchases at Mecca, Alexandria, and Cairo.

Upon their arrival, after a journey of two months and a half, at that part of the sea-coast where the tower of Salines is situated, and which is about half a day's ride from the city of Tripoli, they rest themselves ten days. At this place all the pilgrims supply themselves with forty or fifty days' provisions, which is generally sufficient to support them to Alexandria, or Grand Cairo; and on their return they purchase, in the neighbourhood of Tunis and Tripoli, a large supply of mules, frequently giving only twenty-five hard dollars for what they afterwards sell in Morocco for eighty or an hundred.

From the tower of Salines they continue their route as far as Alexandria and Grand Cairo, where they furnish themselves, in the same manner as at Tripoli, with sufficient provisions for the remainder of the journey, which requires altogether near seven months to accomplish. To those who undertake this journey for the purpose of trade, it generally answers extremely well. By purchasing goods at one place, and selling them at another, they contrive to make upon each sale a profit of ten per cent.

The Arabs from Fez as far as Alexandria and Grand Cairo, though a rude class of people, are very warmly attached to their religion, and on that account give the pilgrims a friendly reception, furnishing them with barley, butter, eggs, mutton, beef, &c. From that place, however, to Mecca, the route is

not so easy, as the Arabs, instead of the benefactors, frequently become the plunderers of these holy travellers. On these occasions they spare nothing, and leave them not so much as the necessaries of life; particularly if they refuse the contributions which they usually demand for permitting the caravan to pass peaceably through the country. Within the last seven or eight years this passage is become more dangerous than ever. The banditti now assemble in very considerable bodies in these deserts, and at certain passes the travellers may be assailed with great advantage. In passing the isthmus of Suez, for instance, above Alexandria, the caravan may be defeated by an hundred men. These robbers, therefore, generally endeavour to post themselves in such a manner as to attack it in this place.

Those people who carry on a petty trade endeavour to convert their little stock into ready money upon their arrival at Mecca; where, with the remainder of the caravan, and other Mahometan pilgrims, they commemorate by a feast the nativity of the great prophet Mahomet, when every person is obliged to sacrifice at least one sheep. It is computed that on this day, which is the tenth of the moon Dalaja, above two millions of sheep are slaughtered at Mecca.

After the performance of this solemn rite, the majority of the travellers employ themselves in laying out their money to the best advantage. Some purchase muslins, Levant silks, &c.; others essence of roses, amber, musk, Persian silks, &c.; while another part of them save their money to lay it out at Grand Cairo, where they purchase a good stock of raw silk, cottons, and manufactured silks of different kinds. In this city, indeed, every article may be had at nearly the same price as at Mecca. On the whole, we may assert, at a moderate computation, that the value of the articles contained in one of these caravans, joined with the ready money, amounts to two millions of hard dollars.

Those persons who proceed by sea join the caravan after disembarking at Alexandria, and paying the freight of the vessel in which they set sail. On their return also considerable numbers embark at Alexandria, and land at Tetuan or Tangier, whence they depart for their respective homes, and sell the commodities they bring with them for perhaps a third more than their original price. Others continue their journey by land, and add to the riches brought from the Levant the merchandizes of Tunis and Algiers, which are held in great esteem throughout the empire of Morocco. By these means they double the capital they provided themselves with at first setting out.

It would be no very difficult matter for a Christian to join one of these caravans, provided he obtained the recommendation and express permission of his Moorish majesty, or the shaik of the caravan, who would take him under his protection. This obstacle would be still further removed, if the Christian would consent to wear the Turkish habit, or dress himself in the manner they are obliged to adopt at Grand Cairo. By these means he would obviate every inconvenience to which the European dress subjects a traveller, both with respect to the wild Arabs, and to the weak and illiberal people of the caravan. As the caravan, however, does not go far into the interior parts of the country, the object of discovery would hardly be sufficient to counterbalance the fatigues and dangers of the expedition.

There are no caravans which go directly into the interior parts of the country. It would, in fact, be as dangerous for a Mahometan as for a Christian to penetrate an hundred leagues beyond the known limits of the empire of Morocco, as the inhabitants of these parts are savage, avaricious, and capable of committing any crime for a very trifling emolument. A fatal proof of the cruelty of these Arabs occurred in the year 1786, when forty pilgrims, on their return from Mecca, were massacred. These people demanded hospitality from the mountaineers of Zamor, near Mequinez, for only one night; but as they brought some valuable goods with them, it is supposed that it was owing to that circumstance that they were all put to death.

The country beyond the mountains of Atlas, about six day's journey to the east of Morocco, is not even known, though it is probable it might be penetrated with safety, provided the same means were used as are

employed by the caravans which go to the south; that is, a small proportion of force, and a small proportion of generosity.

There is no particular caravan so considerable for the south as that which goes to Mecca. As these, indeed, are intended merely for the purposes of commerce, they seldom consist of more than one hundred and fifty, or perhaps two, or at most three hundred persons, including the muleteers, camel-drivers, and other servants. Some of these caravans set out from Morocco, while others go from Tarudant, Fez, and Tetuan. They first pass by way of Domnet, while the others meet at Tafilet, and thence pursue their journey towards the desert. These caravans go no further than Tombut, where there are some merchants of Morocco established for the purpose of carrying on a trade with the inland parts of Guinea, where they traffic for slaves, ivory, gold dust, &c. The merchandizes which the caravans carry from Morocco, Tarudant, &c. consist of blue cloths and haicks, or stuffs, for which they find a good sale throughout the country of the Mohafres, and at Thouat.

The journey of Ali Bey, on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and the strange and mysterious ceremonies in which he was permitted, as a Mussulman, or believer, to participate, present a singular proof of the fanaticism and superstition of the eastern nations.

"I travelled in a machine made of sticks, and covered with cushions of the form of a sopha, or cabriolet, roofed with boughs, upon arches which they placed on the back of a camel, and is called schcoria. It was very convenient, as I was enabled to sit up or lie down on it; but the motion of the camel, which I felt for the first time in my life, completely exhausted me, in the feeble state that I was in. It appeared interesting to me to see the camels eat. The driver placed a mat of a circular form, about six feet in diameter, upon the ground, and covered it with a pile of brambles and herbs, cut very small. He then permitted the camels to approach, when they immediately squatted themselves down around the carpet, at regular distances, and began to eat with a sort of politeness and order which gave me pleasure. They each ate the herbs that were placed before them, a little at a time; and if any of them left his place, his companion at his side appeared to scold him in a friendly manner, and made the other return to his provender. In a word, the table of the camels is a copy of their master's.

"We repeated, on our route, the ceremony of purification, or maharmo, that we had performed at Araboh. I made use of warm water, and repeated the prayer, as usual, while naked; after which I covered myself with two napkins, without seams, putting one round my loins and the other round my body, passing it over the left shoulder, and under the right arm, which remained naked, as also my head, legs, and feet. In this state I walked some steps in the direction of Mecca, reciting a Mahometan invocation. I retained this custom till the evening, according to the sacred book, when I resumed my ordinary habit.

"The moment I entered Mecca I performed a general ablution; after which I was conducted in procession towards the temple, with all my people, by a person appointed for that purpose, who, as he walked along, recited different prayers in a loud voice, which we repeated all together, word for word, and in the same tone. I was supported by two persons, on account of my extreme weakness.

"In this manner we arrived at the temple, making a tour by the principal street, to enter at the gate of health, which they look upon as a happy auspice. After having taken off our sandals, we entered at this blessed gate, which is placed near the northern angle of the temple, and were upon the point of entering the great space where the house of God, or el kaaba, is situated, when our guide arrested our steps, and pointing with his finger towards it, said with emphasis, "Schouf, schouf, el beit Allah el harem." "Look, look, the house of God, the prohibited." The crowd that surrounded me—the portico of columns half hid from view—the immense size of the temple—the kaaba, or house of God, covered with black cloth from top to bottom, and surrounded with a circle of lamps or lanterns—the hour—the silence of the night—and this man speaking in a solemn tone, as if he had been ins-

all served to form an imposing picture, which will never be effaced from my memory.

"We entered into the court by a path a foot high, upon the northern angle of the kaaba, which is nearly in the centre of the temple. Before we arrived at it, we passed under a sort of isolated triumphal arch, called Beb-es-selem, like the gate by which we had entered. Being arrived at the house of God, we repeated a little prayer, kissed the sacred black stone brought by the angel Gabriel, and named hagara el assouad, or the heavenly stone; and having the guide at our head, we performed the first tour round the kaaba, reciting prayers at the same time.

"The kaaba is a quadrilateral tower, entirely covered with an immense black cloth, except the base. The black stone is discovered through an opening in the cloth. It is encrusted on the eastern angle. A similar opening to the former, at the southern angle, discovers a part of it which is of common marble. On the north-west side rises a parapet, about four feet high, forming nearly a semi-circle, separated from the building, and called el hager Ismael, or the stones of Ismael."

The following is a detail of the ulterior ceremonies which are observed in this religious act, such as Ali Bey performed at this period:—The pilgrims go seven times round the kaaba, beginning at the black stone, or the eastern angle, and passing the principal front, in which is the door; from whence they turn to the west and south, outside of the stones of Ismael. Being arrived at the southern angle, they stretch out the right arm; when, having touched the angular marble with the hand, taking great care that the lower part of their garment does not touch the uncovered base, they pass it over the face and beard, saying, 'In the name of God, the greatest God, praises be to God,' and they continue to walk towards the northward, saying 'Oh! great God be with me; give me the good things of this world and those of the next.' Being returned to the eastern angle, they raise their hands as at beginning of the canonical prayer, and cry, 'In the name of God, the greatest God.'—They afterwards say, with their hands down, 'Praises be to God.' The other tours are like the first, but the prayers are read in different orders. At the end of the seventh, and after having kissed the black stone, they recite in common a short prayer, standing near the door of the kaaba, from whence they go to a sort of cradle, called makim Ibrahim, or the place of Abraham, situated between kaaba and the arch Beb-es-selem, when they recite a common prayer. They then go to the well Zemzin, and draw buckets of water, of which they drink as much as they can swallow. After this they leave the temple by el beb Saffa, or the gate of Saffa; from whence they go up a small street facing, which forms what is called dyebel Saffa, or the hill of Saffa. At the end of this street, which is terminated by a portico composed of three arches upon columns, ascended by steps, is the sacred place called Saffa. When the pilgrims have arrived there, they turn their faces towards the gate of the temple, and recite a short prayer standing. The procession then directs its course through the principal streets, and passes a part of the hill of Merona, the pilgrims reciting some prayers at the end of the street, which is terminated by a great wall. They then ascend some steps, and turning their faces towards the temple, the view of which is interrupted by the intervening houses, recite a short prayer standing, and continue to go from the one hill to the other seven times, repeating prayers in a loud voice as they proceed, and short ones at the two sacred places which constitute the seven journeys between the two hills. These ceremonies being completed, there are a number of barbers in waiting to shave the pilgrims' heads, which they do very quickly; the person on whom they operate saying prayers while they sit, and the barbers repeating them after them in a loud tone, and word for word. Almost all Mahometans leave a tuft of hair to grow upon the crown of their head. The scharif Abdoulouchab declared this to be a sin, and every one is obliged to have his tuft taken away by the hands of the inexorable barber.

At the third visit of Ali Bey to the temple, the kaaba was washed and perfumed in the following manner:—Two hours after sunrise, the sultan Scherif went to the temple, accompanied by about thirty persons, and

twelve Negro and Arabian guards. The door of the kaaba was already open, and surrounded by an immense number of people. The staircase was not placed. The sultan scherif mounted on the shoulders and heads of the multitude; and entered with the principal scheiks of the tribe. Those below wished to do the same, but the guards prevented them by beating them with their sticks.

"I staid," says Ali Bey, "at a distance from the door to avoid the crowd, and in a short time received an order from the scherif of the sacred well to advance to the door, where he stood making signs to me. But it became extremely difficult to get through the crowd that stood between us. All the water carriers in Mecca were advancing with their vessels full of water, which they passed from hand to hand, till they reached the guards at the door. They also passed a great number of small brooms made of the leaves of palm trees, in the same manner. The Negroes began to throw the water on the marble pavement of the kaaba: they also cast upon it rose-water, which flowing out at a hole in the door, was caught with great avidity by the faithful. But, as it did not run out so fast as to satisfy the wants of those at a distance, they cried out for some of it to drink, and to wash themselves with. The Negroes complied, and threw it with cups, and with their hands threw in quantities over them. They were so civil as to pass a pitcher and a cup-full to me, of which I drank as much as possible; and poured the rest over myself: for although this water is very dirty, it is a benediction of God, and is besides much perfumed with rose-water.

"I at last made an effort to approach: several persons raised me up, and after walking on the heads of several others, I arrived at the door, where the Negro guards helped to lift me in. I was prepared for the operation; for I had on nothing but my shirt, a cashaba, or shirt of white wool without sleeves, my turban, and the haick, or coarse cloak that covered me. The sultan scherif swept the hall himself. Immediately after my entrance, the guards took off my haick, and presented me a number of small brooms, some of which I took in each hand, and at the instant they threw a great deal of water on the pavement, I began my duty by sweeping with both hands with an ardent faith, although the floor was quite clean and polished like glass. During this operation, the scherif who had finished began to pray. They gave me afterwards a silver cup filled with a paste made of the saw-dust of sandal-wood kneaded with the essence of roses, and I spread it on the lower part of the wall which was encrusted with marble, under the tapestry which covered the walls and the roof. I received also a large piece of aloe-wood, which I burned in a large chafing dish to perfume the hall.

"After I had finished all these things, the sultan scherif proclaimed me Haddam Bent Allah el Haram, or servant of the forbidden house of God. I received the congratulation of all the assistants. I recited my prayers in the three first corners, as upon my first entering, and thus entirely completed my duties. The sultan withdrew, while a great number of women, who were in the court at some distance from the door of the kaaba, uttered from time to time shrill cries of rejoicing. The assistants gave me as relics a small quantity of the sandal-wood paste, and two of the small brooms, which I kept most carefully. The Negroes helped me down upon the people, who also assisted me to reach the ground, and addressed to me their compliments of congratulation. I then went to the Mahem Ibraham to say my prayers: they returned me my haick, and I went home completely wet. The other assistants of the temple brought to my residence some of the water which had been used to wash the kaaba, and the scherif's son, who had held the key, also sent me a small pitcher full, a horn of sandal-wood paste, a horn of other aromatics, a wax taper, and two brooms. On Tuesday the 3d of February 1807, they cut that part of the black cloth, which surrounded the door and the bottom of the building, which completed the ceremony which is called jaharmah el bet Allah; the purification of the house of God."

On the same day a party of the army of the Wehabites entered Mecca, to fulfil the duties of pilgrimage, and to take possession of this holy city. To form an idea of this singular scene, we must imagine a crowd of men thronged together, without any other

covering than a small piece of cloth round their waist, except some few who had a napkin placed on the left shoulder that passed under the right arm: they were perfectly naked in every other respect, with their match-locks, and their rhangears, or large knives hung to their girdles. All the people fled at the sight of this torrent of men, and left them the whole street to themselves. A column defiled, composed of 5000 men so pressed together in the whole width of the street, that it would not have been possible to move a hand. The column was preceded by three or four horsemen, who were armed with lances twelve feet long; and followed by twenty men mounted upon horses, camels, and dromedaries, with lances like the others; but they had neither flags, drums, nor any other instrument or military trophy during their march. Some uttered exclamations of holy joy; others recited prayers in a confused and boisterous voice. They marched in this manner to the upper part of the town, where they began to file off in parties to enter the temple by the gate Beb-es-selem. A great number of children belonging to the city, who generally serve as guides to strangers, came to meet them, and presented themselves successively to the different parties to assist them as guides in the sacred ceremonies. Among these infantine guides there was not a single man. Already had the first parties began their turns round the kaaba, and were pressing towards the black stone to kiss it, when the others, impatient of being kept waiting advanced in a tumult, and mixed among the first. Confusion was soon at its height, and prevented them from hearing the voices of their young guides. Tumult succeeded to confusion. All wishing to kiss the stone, precipitated themselves upon the spot; and many of them made their way with their sticks in their hands. In vain did their chiefs mount the base near the stone, with a view to enforce order; their cries and sighs were useless; as the holy zeal for the house of God by which they were inspired would not permit them to listen to reason, or to the voice of their chiefs.—The movement of the circle increased by mutual impulse. They resembled at last a swarm of bees, which flutter round their hive, circulating rapidly round the kaaba, and by their tumultuous pressure breaking all the lamps which surrounded it with the guns they carried on their shoulders.

After the different ceremonies round the house of God, every party ought to have drank and sprinkled themselves with the water of the miraculous well: but they rushed towards it in such crowds, that in a few moments the ropes, the buckets, and the pullies were ruined. The chief, and those employed at the zemzen abandoned their posts: the Wehabites alone remained masters of the well; and giving each other their hands, they formed a chain which descended to the bottom, and obtained the water how they could. The greater part had brought no money with them; and instead of paying their infant guides, or the usual offerings to God, they presented twenty or thirty grains of a very coarse powder, small pieces of lead or some grains of coffee. These ceremonies being finished, their heads, which were covered with hair an inch long, were shaved in the streets; and the barbers were paid in the same coin as that which rewarded the children and the officers of the temple. The chief, or guardian of the well, is a young man about twenty-eight; extremely handsome, with very fine eyes. He dresses remarkably well, and his manners are refined. He has an air of sweetness, which is seducing: on first acquaintance, he appears to possess all the qualities which render a man amiable. Yet, strange to say, in addition to the guardianship of the well he holds an infamous and cruel office, which the sultan scherifs of Mecca have had the unparalleled audacity and iniquity to establish and avow: his title is, The *Poisoner!* When he wishes to destroy some obnoxious individual, who is unacquainted with the manners of the town, or with the existence of such a wretch, he sends him a magnificent dinner; and every day two small pitchers of the water from the miraculous well. He even watches the moment when his victim goes to the temple, and displays every other indication of the most devoted attachment, and the purest sincerity. The miscreant observes the same conduct to all the pachas who come to

Mecca, and upon the slightest suspicion, or the least caprice, which may arise in the mind of the sultan scherif, he orders, the other obeys. As it is considered impious not to receive the sacred water presented by the chief of the well, this man is arbiter of the lives of every one, and has already sacrificed many victims. From time immemorial the sultan scherifs of Mecca have had a poisoner at their courts, and it is remarkable that they do not try to conceal it; since it is well known in Egypt and Constantinople that the divan has several times sent to Mecca pachas or other persons to be sacrificed in this manner. A traveller, who had been warned of his danger by the Arabs, accepted his water and his entertainments with unalterable serenity and coolness, but took the precaution to keep three doses of vitriolated zinc always in his pocket, that he might take it the instant he should perceive the least indication of treason.

Among the curiosities in natural history which abound in Morocco, the camelion claims our first attention. Tatta is the Arabic, and Tayuh the Shelluh name for this extraordinary and complicated animal; its head resembles that of a fish, the body that of a beast, the tail that of a serpent, and the legs and feet are somewhat similar to the arms and hands of a human being; the tongue is pointed like that of a serpent, and is so instantaneous in its motion, that the human sight can scarcely perceive it when it darts it out to the length of its body, to catch flies (its ordinary food): in doing this it never misses its mark; there is a glutinous substance which attaches the fly to the tongue. I have often admired the velocity with which the camelion thus secures its food.

The length of the camelion, when full grown, is ten or twelve inches, including the tail. When suddenly discovered and pursued, it runs fast, forgetting its wonted caution, which is never to trust to the tread of the foot, the toes of which grasp the object they tread on: in its ordinary movements, its step is geometrically exact; it looks carefully around to discover the state of the surrounding place, and to ascertain if every thing be safe, one eye looking behind, the other before, and in all transverse directions; for this organ is a perfect hemisphere, projecting from the head, and moving in various and independent directions; having ascertained that its feet are safe, and that the substance on which they are fixed is firm, the camelion disengages its tail, and proceeds on, with the same caution, again fastening the tail, by twisting it round some branch or twig, till it has ascertained the safety of the next step.

Many doubts have arisen with regard to the camelion's mode of changing its colour: from the various and repeated observations which have been from time to time made on this most extraordinary animal, in a confined as well as in a free state, we have been enabled to ascertain, that in gardens (its ordinary resort) it gradually changes its colour, assuming that of the substance over which it passes, and to do this it requires two or three minutes; the change beginning by the body becoming covered with small spots of the colour of the substance over which it actually passes, and which gradually increase, till it is altogether of that particular colour; green appears its favourite, or at least it assumes that hue more distinctly than any other, for many have seen it on vines so perfectly green, that it was scarcely distinguishable from the leaves; when it assumes a white or black colour, these are not clear, but of a dirty hue, inclining to brown. When irritated, it will gradually assume a dirty blackish colour, which it retains whilst the irritation lasts, swelling its sides, and hissing like a serpent; when asleep, or inclined to rest, it is of a whitish cast. In the course of the various experiments which curiosity and admiration of the camelion induced me to make, it was discovered that it never drinks, and that it always avoids wet and rain. Mr. Jackson kept three in a cage for the period of four months, during which time he never gave them any food: they appeared withered and thin.—Others, which he kept in a small confined garden, retained their original size and appearance; consequently it is to be supposed that they feed on the leaves of vegetables; those confined in the cage did not vary their colour much, appearing generally that of the cage; but if any thing green, such as vegetables, were placed near it, they would assume that

hue; those confined in the garden assumed so much the colour of the object over which they progressively passed as to render it difficult to discover them. Various medicinal qualities are assigned to the flesh of the camelion; and many whimsical effects are attributed to fumigation with it when dried; debilitated persons have recourse to it, and it is accordingly sold in all the drug shops at Morocco, Fez, and other places, which shops are named Hanute El Attira: the smell arising from the fumigation is by no means grateful; but what scent will prevent an African from using that remedy which credulity or superstition has persuaded him will give strength to the impotent!

The Arabs assert, that the camelion is the only animal which destroys the serpent, and it is said to do it in the following manner: it proceeds cautiously on the bough of some tree, under which the serpent sleeps, and placing itself perpendicularly over its head, discharges a glutinous thread of saliva, having a white drop at the end, which, falling on the serpent's head, soon kills him. This assertion being general and uncontroverted among the Arabs, we have mentioned it, as a hint to future travellers, who may be desirous of investigating its truth.

The camelion is, by some persons, said to be venomous; but no one ever knew any harm done by them, though the boys sometimes carry them in their bosoms for a whole day.

Locusts (Jeraad).—This destructive creature, which the French call sauterelle, confounding it with the common grasshopper, differs very much from that insect, in the direful effects and devastation it causes in the countries it visits. Dr. Johnson, in his translation of Lobo's Abyssinia, has rendered it grasshopper, although it evidently should have been translated locust.

Locusts are produced from some unknown physical cause, and proceed from the desert, always coming from the south. When they visit a country, it behoves every individual to lay in a provision against a famine; for they are said to stay three, five, or seven years. During Mr. Jackson's residence in west and south Barbary, those countries suffered a visitation from them during seven years. They have a government among themselves, similar to that of the bees and ants; and when the (sultan jerraad) king of the locusts rises, the whole body follow him, not one solitary straggler being left behind to witness the devastation. When they have eaten all other vegetation, they attack the trees, consuming first the leaves, and then the bark, so that the country, in the midst of summer, from their unsparing rapacity, bears the face of winter.——In my travels (says this gentleman), they were so thick, as sometimes actually to have covered my horse's hoofs, as he went along; it is very annoying to travel through a host of them, as they are continually flying in your face, and settling on your hands and clothes. At a distance, they appear, in the air, like an immense cloud, darkening the sun; and whilst employed in devouring the produce of the land, it has been observed that they uniformly proceed one way, as regularly as a disciplined army on its march; nor will it be possible to discover a single one going a different way from the rest. Before the plague in 1799, the country was covered with them: a singular incident then occurred at El Araiche; the whole country, from the confines of Sahara to that place, was ravaged by them, but after crossing the river El Kos they were not to be seen, though there was nothing to prevent them from flying across it; moreover, they were all moving that way, that is to the north; but when they reached the banks of the river, they proceeded eastward, so that the gardens and fields north of El Araiche were full of vegetables, fruits, and grain. The Arabs of the province of El Garb considered this remarkable circumstance as an evident interposition of providence.

This curse of heaven can only be conceived by those who have seen the dismal effects of their devastation: the poor people, by living on them, become meagre and indolent, for no labour will yield fruit, whilst the locusts continue increasing in numbers. In the rainy season they partially disappear, and at the opening of the spring the ground is covered with their young; those crops of corn which are first mature, and the grain which becomes hardened before the locust attains its full growth, are likely to escape, provided

there be other crops less forward for them to feed upon.

In the year 1799, these destructive insects were carried away into the Western Ocean by a violent hurricane; and the shores were afterwards covered with their dead bodies, which in many places emitted a pestilential smell; that is, wherever the land was low, or where the salt water had not washed them; to this event succeeded a most abundant crop of corn, the lands which had lain fallow for years, being now cultivated; but the produce of the cultivation was accompanied with a most infectious and deadly plague, a calamity of which the locusts have often been observed to be the fore-runners.

The following is the statement of Paulus Orosius:—"In the consulship of Marcus Plausius Hypsæus, and Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, Africa scarce breathing from bloody wars, a terrible and extraordinary destruction ensued; for now throughout Africa an infinite multitude of locusts were collected, and having devoured the growing corn, and consumed the vegetables, and leaves of the trees, their tender boughs, and their bark, they were finally driven, by a sudden and tempestuous wind, into the air, and being driven by the wind through the air, at length were drowned in the sea: their carcases, loathsome and putrified, being cast up by the waves of the sea in immense heaps, and in all parts of the shore, bred an incredible and infectious smell, after which followed so general a pestilence of all living creatures, that the dead bodies of cattle, wild beasts, and fowls, corrupted by dissolution, filled the atmosphere with a contagious miasma, and augmented the fury of the plague; but how great and extraordinary a death of men there was, I cannot but tremble to report: in Numidia, where Micipsa was the king, died eighty thousand persons; on the sea-coast, near Carthage and Utica, about two hundred thousand are reported to have perished; from the city of Utica itself were, by this means, swept from the face of the earth, thirty thousand soldiers, who were appointed to be the garrison of Africa; and the destruction was so violent, according to report, that from one gate of Utica were carried to be buried, in one and the same day, the bodies of above fifteen hundred of the aforesaid soldiers; so that by the grace of God (through whose mercy, and in confidence of whom I speak of these events) I boldly affirm that sometimes, even in our days, the locusts do much mischief, yet never before happened, in the time of the Christians, a calamity so insupportable as this scourge of locusts, which, when alive, are insufferable, and after their death produce much more pernicious consequences; which, if they had lived, would have destroyed every vegetable thing; but being dead, destroyed, through the plague which they produced, all earthly creatures."

The Saharawans, or Arabs of the desert, rejoice to see the clouds of locusts proceeding towards the north, anticipating therefrom a general mortality, which they call (el-khere), the good, or the benediction; for after depopulating the rich plains of Barbary, it affords to them an opportunity of emanating from their arid recesses in the desert, to pitch their tents in the desolated plains, or along the banks of some river; as was done by one of the kabyles of Tuat, after the plague had depopulated Barbary in the summer and autumn of 1799, and the spring of 1800, when these wild Arabs poured into Draha from Sahara, and settled along the banks of the river from that devastated country.

Locusts are esteemed a great delicacy, and during the above periods dishes of them were generally served up at the principal repasts; there are various ways of dressing them: that usually adopted was to boil them in water half an hour; then sprinkle them with salt and pepper, and fry them, adding a little vinegar; the head, wings, and legs are thrown away, the rest of the body is eaten, and resembles the taste of prawns. As the criterion of goodness in all eatables among the Moors is regulated by the stimulating qualities which they possess, so these locusts are preferred to pigeons, because supposed to be more invigorating. A person may eat a plate-full of them, containing two or three hundred, without any ill effects.

When the locust is young it is green; as it grows it assumes a yellow hue, and lastly becomes brown. I was informed by an Arab, who had seen the (sultan jeraad) king of the

locusts, that it was larger and more beautifully coloured than the ordinary one; but I never myself could procure a sight of it.

The scorpion (el akarb).—The scorpion is generally two inches in length, and resembles so much the lobster in its form, that the latter is called by the Arabs (akerb d'elbahar) the sea-scorpion: it has several joints or divisions in its tail, which are supposed to be indicative of its age; thus, if it have five, it is considered to be five years old. The poison of this reptile is in its tail, at the end of which is a small, curved, sharp-pointed sting, similar to the prickle of a buck-thorn tree; the curve being downwards, it turns its tail upwards when it strikes a blow.

The scorpion delights in stony places, and in old ruins; in some stony parts of the district of Haha they abound so much, that on turning up the stones, three or four will be found under each. Some are of a yellow colour, others brown, and some black; the yellow possess the strongest poison, but the venom of each affects the part wounded with frigidity; which takes place soon after the sting has been inflicted.

During the summer, the city of Morocco is so infested with this venomous reptile, that it is not uncommon to find them in the beds: all persons, therefore, who visit Morocco at this season of the year, should have the feet of their bedsteads placed in tubs or pans of water; this precaution will also prevent the attack of bugs, which in summer are a perfect nuisance; but the inhabitants are accustomed to all these sorts of inconveniences, and care not about them.

Most families in Morocco keep a bottle of scorpions infused in olive oil, which is used whenever any person is stung by them; for although the scorpion carries an antidote in itself, it is not always to be caught, as it often stings a person whilst asleep, and disappears before he awakes, or thinks of looking for it; in which event the body of the live scorpion cannot of course be procured. It is necessary to bind the part, if possible, above the place stung, then to cauterize, and afterwards to scarify the puncture, to prevent the venom from pervading the system; this method is sometimes effectual, and sometimes not, according to the situation of the part wounded, and the nature of the scorpion, some being more poisonous than others; but where the flesh of the reptile can be obtained, the cure is certain and effectual.

Serpents and noxious animals are numerous. The domestic serpent claims some attention. In the city of Morocco these animals abound; there is scarcely a house without its domestic serpent, which is sometimes seen moving along the roofs of the apartments; they are never molested by the family, who would not hurt them on any consideration, conceiving them a benediction on the household; they have been known to suck the breasts of women whilst asleep, and retire without offering any further injury. They are so susceptible as to be sensible of enmity towards them, and it is thought imprudent to incur their displeasure; for this reason the inhabitants of Morocco treat them kindly, and as members of the family, not wishing to disturb an animal that claims the rights of hospitality by settling in their house.

The tortoise (fackrone).—Land tortoises of a very large size abound in Barbary and in Suse, where, in the afternoon of a hot day, one may collect a dozen in the course of an hour. They are esteemed good eating by the French, and the inhabitants of the shores of the Mediterranean. The wonderful geometrical construction of this animal is such that it will bear a ton-weight on its back.

In Sahara, the turpins, or land-tortoises, are reported to be very large, weighing four, five, or six hundred weight; but I never heard of any like those found at the time Leo Africanus wrote, who mentions a man who had seen one as big as a tun, and he himself says he saw one the size of a barrel

Among the various animals which the Arabs hunt for sport or profit, that which most fully rewards their exertions is the ostrich: a party of about twenty Arabs mounted on the desert horses, set out together, riding gently against the wind, one after the other, at the distance of about half a mile asunder; they walk on, tracing the footmarks, till they discover those of the ostrich, which they then follow; when they come in sight of their game, they rush towards it at full speed, always keeping nearly the same distance as at first; the bird finding her

wings an impediment to her progress against the wind, turns towards the horsemen, and after escaping the first and second, is perhaps shot, or brought down by the third or fourth, or some of those that follow; they are, however, often a whole day in the chase before they secure their bird. Were it not for this stratagem, aided by the stupidity of the ostrich, it would be impossible to take it; thus we see, that Providence, whenever it gives any extraordinary quality to an animal, gives also another to neutralise that quality, and thereby to bring it under the power of man. The Saharawans carry musquets, but in hunting the ostrich they rarely use them, trusting rather to their zerwata, which is a stick about two feet long and three inches in circumference, taken from the alk soudan tree, or the tree that produces the Senegal gum, being a nard close-grained heavy wood; this zerwata they throw with extraordinary dexterity at the legs of the birds, and by breaking, or maiming them, impede their progress, and by that means secure them. Having cut the throat according to the Mahometan practice, they pluck off the feathers and divide them, as well as the carcase, into different portions: on these occasions, as on all others, whether in hunting, pillaging, or attacking (the akkabahs) accumulated caravans from Soudan, they divide the booty into as many shares as there are persons to partake, caring but little about the equality of them; then each person taking something that he has about him (such as a key, a knife, or a piece of money), he puts it into the corner of a hayk or garment, and covers it over, waiting till some stranger or uninterested person appears, whom they engage to take out of the garment, before mentioned, the different articles deposited therein, and to place one on each of the parcels or lots of feathers and meat, when each person takes up that portion on which the article belonging to him is placed; they then separate, and retire to their respective douas, where they regale themselves and their families with the produce of their sport. The flesh of the ostrich is by no means palatable to an European; it is a dark-coloured and strong meat; the fat is much esteemed in medicine for all kinds of bruises and sprains, and is sold at a very high price; but money will not always procure it, friendship or hospitality being more powerful in these regions than even money itself. This medicine, therefore, is often procurable only through the former. The feathers are sold by the hunters to the agents of the merchants of Mogodore, established at Wedinoon, for the purpose of tranportation finally to Europe, to adorn the heads of our fashionable females.

The (dubbah) hyæna.—The dubbah, a term which designates the hyæna among the Arabs, is an animal of a ferocious countenance; but in its disposition more stupid than fierce; it is found in all the mountains of Barbary, and wherever rocks and caverns are seen: this extraordinary animal has the opposite quality of the deeb, having a vague and stupid stare, insomuch that a heavy dull person is designated by the term dubbah. The flesh of this animal is not eaten, except in cases of extreme hunger: those, however, who have tasted it assert that it causes stupefaction for a certain time; hence, when a person displays extraordinary stupidity, the Arabs say (kula ras dubbah), he has been eating the head of a hyæna.

The mode of hunting this animal is singular. A party of ten or twelve persons, accompanied with as many dogs of various kinds, go to the cavern which they have previously ascertained to be the haunt of the hyæna; one of the party then strips himself naked, and taking the end of a rope with a noose to it in one hand, he advances gradually into the cave, speaking gently, and in an insinuating tone of voice, pretending to fascinate the hyæna by words; when he reaches the animal, he strokes him down the back, which appears to soothe him; he then dexterously slips the noose round his neck, and instantly pulling the rope to indicate to those on the outside of the cave who hold the other end, that it is fixed, he retires behind, throwing a handkerchief or cloth over the eyes of the hyæna; the men then pull the rope from without, whilst he who fixes the noose urges the animal forward, when the dogs attack him. Some of the Shelluhs are very expert at securing the hyæna in this manner, and although there

may be some danger in case the rope breaks, yet the man who enters the cave always carries a dagger, or large knife with him, with which he has considerably the advantage, for this animal is by no means so ferocious as he appears to be. In the southern Atlas I have seen them led about by the boys; a rope being fastened round the animal's neck, and a communicating rope attached to it on either side, three or four yards long, the end of each being held by a boy, keep him perfectly secure. It is confinement that is inimical to a hyæna, and which increases his ferocity. There are other modes of hunting this stupid animal, either in the night with dogs, or by shooting him; but he never comes out of his cave in the day-time, but sits at the further end of it, staring with his eyes fixed. Their general character is not to be afraid of man, nor indeed to attack or avoid him; they will, however, attack and destroy sheep, goats, poultry, asses, and mules, and are very fond of the intoxicating herb called hashisha. Tne hyæna is said to live to a great age.

The gazel (antelope).—The gazel is that pretty light and elegant animal, swift as the wind, timid as a virgin, with a soft, beautiful, large and prominent black eye, which seems to interest you in its favour. In its general appearance, the gazel resembles our deer; it is, however, much smaller, and has straight black horns, curving a little backwards. The eye and figure of the gazel, so well known to all Arabian poets, are emblematical of beauty, and the greatest compliment that can be paid to a beautiful woman is to compare her eyes to those of the gazel. Much art is employed by the Arabian females to make their eyes appear like those of this delicate animal. Eyes originally black and lively, are made to appear larger and more languishing by tinging the outer corner with el kahol filelly, a preparation of lead-ore, procured from Tafilet, which gives an apparent elongation to the eye. The eye-lashes, and eye-brows being also blackened with this composition, they appear peculiarly soft and languishing; it is said also to improve and strengthen the sight. Every one who has accurately observed the eye of the African gazel will acquiesce in the aptness of the simile before alluded to. The word angel, so often employed by our poets to designate a beautiful female, is with the Arabs transformed to gazel.

Great numbers of gazels are found in all those extensive plains situated at the foot of the Atlas mountains: in the plains of Fruga, south of Morocco, after descending the Atlas, they appear in a flock a hundred together; they also abound in the plains of Sheshawa near Anek Jummel. Wild as the hare, and more fleet than the Barbary courser, they are seen bounding over the plains in large numbers. The antelope, however, soon fatigues, so that the horses of the Arabs gain on it, and the dogs are enabled finally to come up with it; it is hunted rather for the meat (which is similar to venison,) than for any regular sport, the Arabs having little desire to hunt merely for amusement. They kill and cut the throats of as many animals as they can procure. They often hunt the gazel with the (slogie) African greyhound, a peculiarly fine breed of which is produced in the province of Suse. The Arabs and Moors, whilst hunting the antelope, often throw (zerwâta) thick sticks about two feet long at their legs, to break them, and thereby incapacitate them from running; a cruel device, at which the natural predilection for this delicate and beautiful animal recoils

CHAP. IV.

The history of Morocco, from the first accession of Bogud to the establishment of Muley Solyman as undisputed emperor.—Characters and exploits of Hemet Deby, the marquis of Santa Cruz, and the bashaw of Ripperda; Muley Ishmael, Sidi Mahomet, and Muley Yazed; their singular dispositions and adventures, and their melancholy deaths. —Character of Muley Solyman.

Bogud, the first prince of Morocco mentioned with certainty, was cotemporary with Julius Cæsar, and instrumental, not only to his successes in Africa, but to the memorable victory at Munda in Spain, which gave the finishing blow to the Roman republic. After his death, this country was reduced to a Roman province, and by Augustus conferred on the younger Juba, whose father had been king before Boisius, a prince of consummate learning and virtue. His son, Ptolemy, was cut off by the avaricious Caligula. Tacarinas, a Numidian, assembled a great number of barbarians, eager for rapine, and gave the Romans no small trouble. He was put to the sword, with a vast number of his followers. Augustus settled nine colonies here; and the Roman conquests extending, Claudius settled three more all which were disproportionate either to subjugate or conciliate the affections of so extensive a country. About four centuries after, as Italy itself could not withstand the attacks of those innumerable swarms of Goths, which came rushing upon them from the north, these ravagers crossed over into Africa, and made an easy conquest of all the provinces, the inhabitants being unwilling to exasperate a furious enemy, by fighting for oppressive governors. The Gothic dominion in Africa was also overthrown by the Saracens, an eastern people, and of similar ferocity, about the year of Christ 600. After they had filled the country with all kinds of miseries, they were dispossessed by the Arabians, whom a fiery devotion to Mahomet sent out of their own country, to propagate the Alcoran throughout Africa with fire and sword. Many of their chiefs used their power with great wisdom and mildness; but by the excesses of others, and dissensions, the family of the Almoravides were raised to the sovereignty in 1068. Joseph, the second monarch of this race, founded Morocco, subdued the kingdom of Fez, and likewise the Moorish dominions in Spain. His grandson, Albo-Hali, ordered a set of Arabian doctors to compile the works now extant, in the name of Avicenna, but the glory of the Almoravides terminated in him, for being defeated and killed, the crown was transferred to the line of the Almohads. It was Mahomed, the fourth of this succession, who lost the famous battle of Sierra Morena against the Spaniards, and with it the Moorish conquests in Spain. It was well fought, for the total of the slain, on the African side, was not less than two hundred thousand, and the Spanish army, during several days, used no other fuel than the pikes, lances, and arrows of their enemies. After the reign of three other princes of this house, whose turbulent lives ended in violent deaths, it became extinct. The above-mentioned Mahomed, by computation of time, must be him, to whom Matthew Paris makes king John of England send an embassy for succours against his barons and the French, offering both to hold his kingdom of him and embrace Mahometanism. The Moorish king answered with some indignation, that he had lately read the book of Paul's Epistles, which he liked so much, that were he to choose another religion, it should be Christianity; but every man should die in that sect wherein he was born, and Paul's forsaking Judaism was his only fault. Matthew Paris was a monk, and John a professed enemy to the fraternity, so that envy, if it did not invent, may have amplified the story.

The race of the Merins raised themselves on the former, to be involved in greater miseries, and to be murdered by their chief confidents, brothers and sons. Alboacen, the sixth of them, with an army of four hundred thousand foot, and seventy-five thousand

horse, was totally defeated by twenty thousand foot, and fourteen thousand horse, headed by the kings of Castile and Portugal. The period of the Merins was in 1540, and the Cheriffs, a name affected by Mahomet's descendants, attained their grandeur by artifice and cruelty; but the consequences proved answerable to their guilt. The first monarch was dethroned by his brother Mahomed, who, after a reign of continual quarrels, was murdered by his own guards. Abdalla, his son, to secure himself, put ten of his twelve brothers to death, and fortunately died before the revenge meditated against him was gratified. Mahomet, his son, was forced to fly to Sebastian, king of Portugal, who, together with the two competitors for the sovereignty of Morocco, was slain at the battle of Alcazar, 1578. The reigns of his successors appear in the same odious light. Sidan, the eighth prince of this line, having restored peace to the country, a gang of pirates sheltered themselves in Sallee, a sea-port in the kingdom of Fez; to put a stop to whose depredations, he sent a splendid embassy to Charles the first of England, who dispatched the desired succours, by which Sidan mastered the Porte, destroyed the pirates, and sent three hundred Christian slaves as a present to his Britannic majesty. His issue was cut off by a collateral branch, of which Muley Archy, the first, having drank to excess, and riding furiously into a grove of orange trees, fractured his scull. His nephew, Mulet Hamet, then bashaw of Morocco, caused himself to be proclaimed king, whilst a brother took the same bold step in Tafilet; but the famous Muley Ishmael, also brother to the late king, overcame both the competitors. He was a stern but capricious judge. A braber, or farmer, being robbed by the king's negroes of a yoke of oxen, which were all his subsistence, applied himself to the king, who seeming to resent the villany, made all his negro guards pass by the man, and immediately shot every one whom the braber had accused; then asking him what satisfaction he could make for the loss of so many stout negroes, and the man being stunned at the question, he suffered the same fate as the robbers.

He was so addicted to building and pulling down, that it is reported, that if all his buildings were now standing they would reach to Fez, which is twelve leagues off; but he told his confidants that he did these things to occupy the people; 'for,' said he, 'if I have a bag of rats, unless I keep that bag stirring, they will eat their way through.' His wives were computed at three thousand, and his concubines at five thousand. He had two hundred sons and one hundred daughters. He professed himself such a strict observer of their law, that he kept their ramadan, or lent, four months every year; and before he entered upon any thing of consequence used to prostrate himself upon the earth for a considerable time, believing that he then received directions from Mahomet, and that all his proceedings were the dictates of the Almighty. All the disturbance he ever met with at home was from his son Muley Mahomet, who attempted to dethrone him, but he was justly punished for his unnatural ambition; and, being taken prisoner by his brother Muley Zidan, his right hand and left foot were cut off, by which he soon died, not suffering the blood to be stopped, but tearing off the plaisters. Zidan, for this important service, was declared heir to the crown; but his cruelty and drunkenness excited his own wives to strangle him. Muley Ishmael died in extreme old age, the natural causes of which may be imputed to his frequent riding, and strict temperance; for it is said of him, that, the use of women excepted, he was as temperate as any man in his kingdom, and exceeded them all in a rigid observation of the superstitious part of his religion, which chiefly supported him for so many years in the most absolute tyranny ever exercised for so long a time.

An interesting account of the court of Muley Ishmael, the successor thus noticed, is given by Mr. Windhus, in his 'Journey to Mequinez,' and may be considered as a faithful representation of the Morocco court at the present day, so trivial is the change of Moorish manners:—

"About eight or nine o'clock in the morning his trembling court assemble, which consists of his great officers, and alcaydes, blacks, whites, tawnies, and his favourite Jews, Memaran and Ben Hattar, all barefooted; and

there is bowing and whispering to this and the other eunuch, to know if the emperor has been abroad (for if he keeps within doors there is no seeing him unless sent for); if he has returned in a good humour, which is well known by his very looks and motions; and sometimes by the colour of the habit he wears, *yellow* being observed to be his *killing colour*; from all which they calculate whether they may hope to live twenty-four hours longer.

"If he comes out, their necks are all held out, their eyes fixed on the ground, and after this manner the crouching creatures pay their homage. If he speaks, some swear by their God what he says is true; others, at every pause he makes, cry out—God lengthen thy days, my lord—God bless thy life—which once occasioned an accidental jest; for he was saying, May I be called the greatest of liars, if I have not always conceived a great esteem for the English, and making a little stop at the word *liars*, his officious court cried, Yes, by G—d, it is true, my lord.

"If he comes not out, he sometimes sends for some of them; at other times he has the door opened, and orders them all to pass muster, and they go one by one cringing at his door. If he only goes a little way out of the gate of his palace, they follow him on foot through the dirt; and he is a great man, and esteemed a great favourite, who advances as far as his stirrup; and if he has occasion to send a message, though never so trivial, the best of them are ready to run, without respect to age, rank, or favour (even his favourite Hameda used to make his court this way), and return bespattered up to their eyes, at least all over their white drawers, and other garments, which are white: nay, I have heard that Hamet Ben Haddu Attar (who was ambassador in England in king Charles the second's time) was once surprised without his shoes, walking barefoot in a great deal of dirt by his horse; and without regard to his age, or the pretence he had to his favour, was sent to the farthest part of the town in that condition.

"Those days that he does not come abroad, the courtiers remain in an alley of his palace till dinner-time, when he sends them a great vessel of cooscosoo, which they fall upon without ceremony, and having filled their bellies, return to their private affairs; but if he goes any distance from the town, those who have the privilege to go with him call for their horses, which are held by their servants at some distance, none ever presuming to go unless bidden. Sometimes when he goes out of town, which is not above once in two or three months, he will be attended by fifteen or twenty thousand blacks on horseback, with whom he now and then diverts himself at the lance.

"In the year 1690, before he was master of Sahara, there came a woman from that people to him, who, hearing of her coming, went to meet her on horseback, at the head of twenty thousand men. She told him the people of Sahara were desirous to put themselves under his protection, but that he must fight her at lance-play, if he had a mind to have her, at once the pledge of their fidelity, and the prize of his victory. She set him hard at first, but afterwards suffered herself to be overpowered, was put among the rest of his women, and troops were sent to protect the frontiers of Sahara.

"While he is abroad, there are carried after him a stool, a kettle of water, and a skin, (which is his table-cloth) this belongs to his eating; and if he is out at dinner-time, his dinner is carried after him upon the head of a negro, in a great wooden or copper vessel, which he does not take from his head until the emperor asks for it: the manner of his eating does not differ from the ordinary Moors. His other travelling utensils are two or three guns, a sword or two, and two lances, because one broke once as he was murdering; both the swords and lances must be carried with their points upwards; these are all carried by lusty fellows; his boys carry short Brasil sticks, knotted cords for whipping, a change of clothes to shift when bloody, and a hatchet, two of which he took in a Portuguese ship, and the first time they were brought to him, killed a negro without any provocation, *to try if they were good.*—Although the natives of his dominions are whites, yet they are not so much esteemed by him as the blacks and the copper-coloured, to whom he commits the guard of his person, and is so fond of their breed, that he takes

care to mix them himself, by often ordering great numbers of people before him, whom he marries without any more ceremony, than pointing to the man and woman, and saying, *Hadi yi houd hadi*, i. e. that take that; upon which the loving pair join together, and march off as firmly noosed as if they had been married by a pope. He always yokes his best complexioned subjects to a black help-mate; and the fair lady must take up with a negro.

"Thus he takes care to lay the foundation of his tawny nurseries, to supply his palace as he wants, into which they are admitted very young, are taught to worship and obey the successor of their prophet, and being nursed in blood from their infancy, become the executioners and ministers of his wrath, whose terrible commands they put in execution with as much zeal and fury as if they had received them immediately from heaven. Their manner is, as soon as the word comes out of his mouth to seize on the wretch ordered for execution, like so many lions, whom, if he is not to be executed on the spot, they almost tear to pieces before he gets to the place of execution; and by the fury of their looks, and their violent and savage manner of using him, make a scene very much resembling so many devils tormenting the damned. They are so ready to murder and destroy, even while young, that the alcaydes tremble at the very sight of them, and the emperor seems to take a great deal of pleasure, and place much of his safety in them, for they surround him almost wherever he is; they are of all ranks and degrees;—some are the sons of his chief alcaydes, others picked up by chance, or taken from a large negro town joining to Mequinez, which the emperor has filled with families of blacks and tawnies for his use.

If they are well-looking and strong, they need no other quality: some who have relations that are able, are fed, clothed, and lodged by them; others who have not, are lodged in the outskirts of the palace, in great rooms, where they pig a hundred or two together. They wear only a short and small coat without sleeves, which does not reach to their knees; their heads are shaved, and always exposed to the sun, for he affects to breed them hard. Most, and sometimes all of them, are employed in his buildings, where they take off their clothes, and laying them all in a heap, every one takes a basket, and removes earth, stones, or wood; when they have done, he orders them to go to this Jew, and receive so much soup; the next day they appear gay and under arms.

"He beats them in the cruellest manner imaginable, to try if they are hard; sometimes you shall see forty or fifty of them all sprawling in their blood, none of them daring to rise till he leaves the place where they are lying, and if they are discountenanced and out of heart at this usage, they are of a bastard breed, and must turn out of his service. I never heard that he killed but three of them; one for sodomy, and two for hiding a piece of bread in the hole of a wall, which it is supposed they could not eat, for they are great reverencers of bread, and take up, as all Mahometans do, the least crumb wherever they find it, and kiss it. When they want clothes, the emperor thinks of somebody that has too much money, either Moor or Jew, and bids them go to him, and receive each a coat or shirt.

"They are generally about eight hundred in all, and live with him in a sort of subordination to one another: several have the names of alcaydes, as the chief of them who wait on the emperor's person; others are made overseers of some task or work the emperor has ordered them to finish; some he makes perpetual alcaydes over a certain number of his companions, and such a one is to answer for the rest, as to their diligence, cleanly and good deportment in all particulars: and it is wonderful to see the insolence, state, and gravity, of these young rogues, and how they ape the old emperor, in their way of government; for though they can only inflict blows, yet they use the haughty phrases of command, and talk of cutting throats, strangling, dragging, &c.

"The first mark of their preferment, after they grow too big to serve the emperor in this nature, is giving them a horse (a horseman being in the highest esteem imaginable among them, and the foot the contrary, insomuch that those who command thousands of them, are not esteemed equal to the com-

manders of fifty horse); then the emperor either recommends them to some of his bashaws or great alcaydes employed against the Christians, or the Berebbers that inhabit the mountains, or keeps them near him, and then they are ready to be entrusted with all important messages, as to carry the emperor's letter of thanks to any officer who serves him well, or to call him cuckold, spit in his face, give him a box on the ear, strangle, or cut off his head.

"When they have waited a considerable time, if no command or government becomes vacant, he sends them to gather the tribute of some country, with the title of an alcayde; and if he remains by him without any employment (after performing this service) he is called the alcayde of his head, which is a sort of titular alcayde; but perhaps the emperor suspects that he has put something more in his pocket than ordinary; then he bids him build some houses of such or such dimensions; and that he may seem something more reasonable than the Egyptian task-masters, he bids him take his lime and stone: the poor man begins with a good heart, and when he has spent all, despair forces him to go to the emperor, and tell him that he is not worth one farthing more, lest he should find his work standing still, and bury him alive in one of the walls. The emperor picks a quarrel with him, cuts him with his sword, wounds him with his lance, or takes off his clothes all but his drawers, gives him five hundred blows on the buttocks, puts him in prison, or loads him with two great chains, and sends him to labour at the house he was building, and orders somebody else to finish it. Now you must know the emperor never beats a man soundly, but the man is in the high way of preferment, and it is ten to one that his majesty passing by him in chains a few days after, and finding him in a sad pickle, he calls him his dear friend, uncle, or brother, and inquires how he came into that condition, as if he knew nothing of the matter; sends for a suit of his own clothes (which is a great compliment); makes him as fine as a prince, and sends him to govern some of his great towns; for by this means he is sure he has not left him worth a groat, and will make a careful computation of what he may get in his government, until it be his turn to be squeezed again.

"They tell a story of a Spaniard who was esteemed a good marksman, and bribed to shoot the emperor; he so missed his aim, that the two balls he had charged his gun with flew into the pummel of the emperor's saddle. The man was immediately seized, and when it was expected he would be put to a cruel death, the emperor first reproached him with his base design, and asking what he had done to deserve being used so; whether he was no more beloved, and people were tired of him; then calmly sent him to the works among the rest of the Christians. The Spaniard fearing that he should not come off so, and thinking it a means (if there was any) to get his liberty again, turned Moor, but continued in his Christian habit. Some years after, the emperor going among the workmen where he was, asked him why he did not pull off his hat? He answered he was a Moor; and the emperor being informed who he was, ordered him to be freed immediately, asked him a thousand pardons for keeping him at work so long, dressed him from head to foot, and made him governor of some country.

"A little more or less, this is the treatment of his grandees—to day hugged, kissed, and preferred—to-morrow stripped, robbed, and beaten. Many of the people about him bear the marks of his sword, lance, or short sticks; and the face and arms of the negro who carried his umbrella when Captain Norbury was there, were scarred all over with cuts that the emperor had given him, it is supposed for letting the sun come upon him; for he is extremely nice in his tyranny, and when he has done with his lance, he darts it suddenly into the air, and it must be caught before it comes to the ground, or he will kill the man appointed for that purpose.

"If he chances to kill any body when he has not determined their death (as it frequently happens), he civilly begs their pardon, and says, he did not design to kill that poor man, and lays the fault on God, saying his time was come--the powers above would have it so."

Muley Hamet Deby, the son of Muley Ishmael, by a favourite queen, was nominated

his successor in 1728. His parent's death was concealed two months, in order to give Hamet time to secure himself against two brothers older than himself. Abdallah, the eldest, made an attempt to usurp the sovereignty, but was defeated, though he was afterwards received into favour. Hamet Deby remained in quiet possession of the throne, and ordered a strict account to be taken of his father's treasures, which amounted to fifty millions, besides jewels. This immense sum he increased by ten millions more from the dominions entrusted to his care before the death of his father, and was so rapacious as to strip his father's last eight hundred wives of all their gold and jewels. Elate with his accession to power and riches, he plunged in all the extravagance of debauchery. The people detesting his vices, and resenting his oppression, a rebellion broke out in the kingdom of Zetuan; where his army, commanded by his brother Abdallah, after taking the chief city was drove out with dreadful slaughter.

Abdelmelek, his other brother, taking advantage of these confusions, and of the contempt the people had for their king, assembled an army of sixty thousand men. As he advanced, every city, Morocco itself not excepted, surrendered to him.

Hamet Deby was by this time convinced of his error, and appointed one of his brother's commander of his troops; but for want of experience in military affairs, he gave his enemy battle before his army was in a proper condition, and was defeated. But a second army, much stronger than the former, and commanded by the general of the blacks, sufficiently revenged the loss of the first action, for they entirely routed Abdelmelek's army, killing his own son, made two of his generals prisoners, and obliged the general himself to seek his safety in his flight.

Every circumstance seemed now to promise tranquillity to Hamet Deby; for no sooner did the news of Abdelmelek's defeat reach the ears of the Alarbes, than they threw down their arms; and the dissensions which then subsisted between the two cities of Fez, one of which had expelled those troops which the king had sent to pacify them, were happily terminated. The bashaw who was the fomenter of these quarrels, was enticed to the court of Hamet Deby, who immediately caused him to be strangled with a silk string, and his body to be carried on a mule through all the streets in Mequinez, and whipt with rods; at the same time a herald was ordered to repeat the following words: "Be faithful to your king, and take notice, that in this manner he punishes traitors."

Notwithstanding the danger to which Hamet Deby had been exposed, his natural inclination was so predominant that he sunk into all his former debaucheries. His first eunuch, in concert with the grandees of the kingdom, formed a conspiracy to punish so vicious a prince, and so effectually united all parties, that he was arrested in his palace on the 18th of March. Abdelmelek, though at this time absent, was proclaimed king, and his son, during his absence, entrusted with the government. This fugitive prince was not found without great difficulty; and in order to restrain the people till his arrival, which happened the 15th of April, they were obliged to make use of several stratagems.

The eunuch, traitor to his former master, expected to be made Abdelmelek's sole favourite and prime minister; but finding himself disappointed, he endeavoured to betray the prince he had established on the throne, and undertook to restore Hamet Deby. Abdelmelek, who was informed of this conspiracy, intended to be beforehand with his rival. In order to this, he sent his son, who was then at Tafilet, to pluck out that prince's eyes; but two officers who were in the secret gave him notice of the danger to which he was exposed, and furnished him with good horses, by which means he escaped into the desert before the arrival of Abdelmelek's son, which happened but a few hours after. This flight, however, gave Abdelmelek great satisfaction, as he imagined he now had nothing to fear: but his many acts of injustice, together with the scorn and cruelty with which he used the blacks, made them revolt, and re-proclaim Hamet Deby. This prince had raised a body of fifteen thousand men, which being joined by the blacks, and his other troops, his army consisted of sixty-five thousand men. Abdelmelek retired to Mequinez, where he was besieged by

Hamet Deby. After a few days the city was taken by storm, through the treachery of about four thousand of Abdelmelek's troops, who surrendered to Hamet Deby.—It will easily be imagined, from the natural ferocity of these people, what dreadful havoc was made among the vanquished. Hamet Deby's first care was to punish the authors of the revolt in favour of his brother. He caused them to be nailed alive to the doors of the city; and one of them dropping by the weight of his body, which had drawn out the nails, was cut in pieces on the ground by sabres.

In this confusion, Abdelmelek retired to Fez; Hamet Deby, elevated with his victory, followed him close, and besieged him in that city. He made three general assaults with his troops; but could not force the garrison. He therefore was obliged to besiege it closely for three months and a half, and, at last, famine alone rendered him master of it. Yet the only condition he imposed on the inhabitants was, that they should deliver to him his brother. This they complied with, and when he was presented to him, they found on him a pistol and a dagger. Hamet Deby, so far from giving way to his natural cruelty, only reproached him for his intention to stab him; but Abdelmelek assured him, that they were no other than those he usually carried about him. Deby sent him under a strong guard to Mequinez, where he was kept in the bashaw's house, and constantly watched. This mildness had so great an effect on the minds of the people, that all his former debaucheries and cruelties were buried in oblivion; but his passion for wine was too predominate to be conquered, so that he ruined his constitution, and died the 22d of March 1729, five days after Abdelmelek had been strangled by his order.

The throne became vacant by the death of these two competitors. As this kingdom is not hereditary, but the throne is always filled, either by election or usurpation, it is no wonder that there should be many competitors. One of Muley Ishmael's wives, by the strong interest she made with the grandees, and the large sums she dispersed among the blacks, procured the crown for her son Abdallah. This prince till then appeared of a mild temper. His first care was to secure Muley Boufer, the son of Hamet Deby, whom he looked upon as a powerful competitor; but Boufer found means to make his escape, and took sanctuary in a mosque. The Iman, however, from some secret motive, delivered him up to Abdallah. He was a second time thrown into prison, and a second time escaped.

Fez refused to acknowledge Abdallah, who having, after an obstinate siege of six months, made himself master of the city, seemed fully determined utterly to destroy it. This he had certainly effected, had it not been represented to him, that this city having a Santon for its founder, who was worshipped throughout the whole country, he would unavoidably draw on himself the abhorrence of the people, the indignation of the Santon, and the curse of the Almighty.

At this time, the duke de Ripperda, who had been driven out of Spain, arrived at Mequinez, and proposed to Muley Abdallah to undertake the blockade of Ceuta and Melilla, to unite the piratical states of Barbary in a league, and transport an army of Moors into Spain. Abdallah, being informed of the great abilities of the duke, and the apprehensions the people of Europe were under on account of his attachment to him, by his admiral, Perez, who was lately returned from the Hague, instantly determined to put his scheme in practice, and leave the preparations for, and the conduct of the war entirely to his care.

Accordingly, he began to put his projects in execution, by taking the strong places possessed by the Spaniards in Africa. With this view he disguised his servant St. Martin, and sent him as a spy to Melilla. The servant fortunately performed this expedition, and safely returned to the camp of his master; where he no sooner rendered an account to the duke, than he immediately gave advice to the emperor, and a council was held, in which it was determined to open the trenches before Ceuta. The most experienced officers among the Moors, when this question was debated, declared themselves against it. They represented, with great earnestness, the many fruitless attempts they had made within the space of forty years; the great expence of blood and treasure,

which the blockade alone had cost the empire, and the reasons which experience had taught them, by which they believed the place to be impregnable. But to these objections the duke, now the bashaw de Ripperda, answered so clearly, removed their difficulties with such facility, and opened to them so many new methods of acting offensively, that they all immediately came over to his opinion, so that it was unanimously resolved to besiege the place in form, and without any further delay.

The next day there was a grand promotion of officers, on which occasion the renegadoes were supported by the interest of Ripperda, and Ali, a French renegado; the former of whom was declared commander in chief, and the latter had a very considerable employment given him. Muley Abdallah being now fully resolved to prosecute the plans of his new favourite, took all imaginable pains to assemble a choice body of infantry, for the reinforcement of the troops before Ceuta, that no time might be lost in reducing that important place. This body of foot, to the number of ten thousand men, being once drawn together, and in a condition to march, the bashaw de Ripperda put himself at their head, conducting them in person to Ceuta, where he directed all things with the same genius, spirit, and indefatigable industry, that could have been expected in a general who had never studied any thing but the art of war. When he had taken all the necessary precautions, had inspired his troops with the usual ardour, by leading them in person on several slight expeditions, and given the engineers an idea of the works necessary for carrying on the siege, he returned to Mequinez.

The emperor received him with the greatest marks of distinction, having been informed by the Moorish officers who accompanied him, that he had absolutely changed the face of affairs, and inspired the troops who formed the blockade with such vigour, that instead of looking upon themselves as condemned to an endless task, they talked of nothing but feasts and donations, on their taking possession of the place, which they made no question of effecting in the space of a few months. As for the bashaw himself, he affected great modesty in his behaviour, he spoke of the fortifications of Ceuta, as much more considerable in themselves, than they had appeared to him from the plans; he commended the courage and discipline of the garrison, and the dispositions made by the governor for its defence; but concluded with applauding the courage, patience, and resolution of the besiegers, and assured the emperor and his council, that notwithstanding all opposition, he doubted not to make himself master of the place, and that within a reasonable time; but desired the proper supplies of ammunition, provisions, and other necessaries for carrying on the siege, should be sent without delay to the camp, that the spirits of the soldiers might not sink, and that they might have no doubt of his exerting all his interest in their favour. His proposals were seconded by Perez, and immediately assented to. The arrival of the convoy at the camp effectually conciliated the hearts of the Moors to their new bashaw, whom they looked upon as the common father of the troops, bestowing on him the loudest and the most excessive praises.

But the bashaw de Ripperda was not long so happy, for his spy, M. de St. Martin, who was promised a liberal reward for running daily the hazard of being broken upon the wheel, brought him advice, that the Spaniards were preparing to transport an army into Africa, in order to retake Oran, and, perhaps to push their conquests still farther. At the same time, he presented him with the king of Spain's declaration, dated at Seville the 6th of June 1732, containing the reasons for that expedition, and declaring its real object. He likewise brought a distinct account of the armada, which consisted of twelve ships of the line, two frigates, seven gallies, eighteen galliots, twelve barcolongoes, two bomb vessels, and betwixt four and five hundred transports, having a chosen body of veteran troops on board, under the count de Montemar, which landed on the 28th of June. Oran is about a mile and a half in circumference, situated on a bay in the Mediterranean, partly on a plain, and partly upon an ascent of a hill, and is well fortified, according to its disposition; but being commanded by several hills, the avenues, distant castles, redoubts,

with the town itself, require no less than ten thousand men to stand a vigorous siege.

Muley Abdallah gave orders to the bashaw de Ripperda to take care to provide Oran, which now belonged to the Algerines, with every article necessary to sustain a protracted siege; a task which he promptly and effectually performed. He commanded in person in the place, which was defended by twelve thousand Algerines. So vigorously was the attack conducted, that a Spanish serjeant of dragoons, with only sixteen men, taking post at a well a little distance from the main body, Ali, a French renegado, surrounded him with three hundred horse. This gallant handful of men, though nine were killed, repulsed the Moors three times, and so completely intimidated them, that they could not be brought to the charge a fourth time against men so invincible. This resistance facilitated the landing of Montemar; and the Moors, though directed by the brave and skilful Ripperda, were unable to obstruct the debarkment of the enemy. For, as each battalion came on shore, which was executed with all possible regularity; the first line instantly drew up, moved forward to an advanced post, and in such a manner, that the troops might have a clear space to form without delay or disorder. This disposition following immediately upon the serjeant's bravery, struck the Moors with so much terror, that they retreated to the hills. Ripperda, in a council of war, and among the ranks, warmly reproached their misbehaviour, telling them that, as they were now twenty thousand effective men, and the Spaniards dispirited with fatigue and heat, he intended a general action the next day. He charged them to retrieve their character, as their whole country lay at stake. His words were not lost, for they fell on so furiously, that they overthrew the Spanish right wing; but, contrary to all military conduct, crowded their whole force to the left, in pursuit of an enemy already broken, without attending to the motions of that wing which was formed and entire. The count de Montemar, too wise not to take advantage of their indiscretion, ordered his own left wing speedily to possess themselves of the hills, which had been imprudently quitted by the Moors; then dispatching a reinforcement to his right, they faced about, and repulsed the enemy, whilst he himself pressed forward in the centre. The Moors, astonished by the dexterity of the Spaniards' motions, fearing to be surrounded, fled in such confusion, that neither words, example, nor punishment, could rally them, and even the eloquent and intrepid Ripperda was threatened to be forsaken, unless he would suffer himself to be carried off upon a very swift camel. The next day, being the first of July, the count de Montemar marched to Oran, which, with five castles, he found quite abandoned, and, which was more extraordinary, the magazines full of ammunition, several thousand tents standing, and a large sum of money, besides a hundred and forty brass and iron cannon, twelve field-pieces, and seven mortars. This important conquest cost the Spaniards not above two hundred men, killed and wounded, whereas the Moors, in their weak defence, lost above a thousand. The excessive heats coming on, it was judged advisable to return to Spain, after making new works, and leaving a garrison.

The Spaniards were no sooner returned, but the Moors, under the command of Ripperda, again resumed their project of taking Ceuta, together with recovering Oran. Ripperda told Muley Abdallah, that it would be of great importance to negociate a peace with the states of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, that they might furnish ships of war and transports, on any occasion; he further advised, that moderate terms should be immediately offered to the free Moors, who at this time were in arms against the emperor; and as they were allowed to be the best soldiers in Barbary, they would greatly augment his army before Ceuta, both by their numbers, and the reputation of their courage and martial atchievements. Muley Abdallah listened to both proposals, and terms were accordingly sent to the general of the free Moors. The officer returned in a few days, bringing the agreeable news, that the offers were accepted, and that they were in full march to join the army before Ceuta. The bashaw immediately set out, and found them about two leagues distant from Ceuta. At the same time he was informed, that the garrison of

that place, having received a considerable reinforcement from Spain, were marched out to meet him in the open field. The bashaw, delighted at this news, made a long harangue to the army, in which he exposed the tyrannical fury of the Spaniards, the injuries they had done their ancestors, their present design to subdue Barbary, and reduce them all to the wretched state of slaves. He likewise exhorted them to follow his example. The Moors were so transported by his eloquence, that they expressed their rage like beasts, by loud cries and horrid noises. The bashaw, however, was not ignorant of their meaning; and while they were in this situation, drew them up in order of battle, and immediately marched to meet the Spanish forces.

The engagement was long and bloody; the infidels, contrary to their wonted custom, fighting boldly hand to hand, and rallying three or four times, which they had never done before. The bashaw, during the whole action, not only exposed his person as much as any private man, but rode to each separate corps, exhorted, encouraged, charged with, and rallied them, till at length, after prodigious efforts, the Spaniards were totally defeated, and forced to retire in great confusion to Ceuta. This encouraged the ambitious bashaw to open the siege of Ceuta in form; and at the same time he sent upwards of thirty thousand men, under the command of Ali, to assist in forming the siege of Oran.

But this success did not continue long, for the governor of Ceuta, receiving information that the Moors, elevated with their late success, lay straggling along the trenches, and that their advanced guards were at a great distance from their head-quarters, it was resolved to make a sally in the night. This was executed by five detachments, consisting of six thousand men, exclusive of five hundred pioneers, commanded by don Joseph Aramburo, count Mahoni, and other persons of distinction. This affair was so well conducted, that the Moors were driven out of the trenches, the trenches themselves filled up, the cannon nailed, the head-quarters plundered, and the bashaw de Ripperda himself obliged to fly in his shirt to Tetuan, the greatest part of his infantry being cut to pieces. The Moorish cavalry, however, behaved in quite another manner, they formed in the plain behind their works, charged the enemy vigorously, gave time to some corps of foot to form behind them, who afterwards returned to their posts; so that after an action of seven hours, the Spanish troops returned into the place with a great booty, several standards, and other trophies of honour.

Some months passed before the Moors made any future attempt; but towards the end of the summer 1732, the army of the Moors being increased to fifty thousand men, they invested Oran in the following manner: A corps under the command of Bigottilos, formerly governor of Oran, besieged the castle of Santa Cruz, and another corps of troops, under the command of the son of the late dey of Algiers, lay encamped on the side of a mountain opposite the castle to cover the siege, while Ali with his forces lay still at a greater distance, in order to support both armies, as there should be occasion, and to succour either, if they should be attacked. Bigottilos pressed the siege with all imaginable vigour; he had reduced the castle of Santa Cruz to great extremities, and was actually preparing to storm it. The marquis de Santa Cruz, who commanded in Oran, perceiving the necessity there was of hazarding all things for the relief of that place, committed the care of this important enterprize to sir Charles Worgan, an Irish gentleman, who was a colonel in the king of Spain's service. In the morning, before he marched out with his detachment, the marquis de Santa Cruz brought all the artillery of the place to bear upon the intrenchments thrown up by the troops under the command of the son of the dey of Algiers, and made such other dispositions, as obliged him to send for reinforcements from Bigottilos. As soon as the Spaniards perceived the Moors in full march on this side, colonel Worgan marched out with his detachments which he drew into order of battle, so as to cover the edge of a deep valley, where the Moors lay generally in ambuscade. This disposition distracted the Moors more than the other, and Bigottilos recalled his troops; but before they returned, the head of the convoy of

ammunition and provisions was actually entering the fort of Santa Cruz, under the fire of their batteries, which was so warm from a prospect of their being well supplied, that the Moors durst not disturb them. Bigottilos, however, drew immediately a large body of troops into the valley, with an intent to cut off the retreat of the convoy, or at least oblige the detachment which escorted it, to fight upon very unequal terms. Colonel Worgan being apprised of his design, ordered two companies of grenadiers to possess themselves of the pass through which the enemy were to march, in order to cut off the convoy. This they performed so happily, that the Moors were obliged to retire, and to regain their batteries, from which they fired with such effect, that a Spanish officer was killed by a cannon-shot, another wounded, and colonel Worgan himself, so covered with dust, that he could hardly see. By nine in the morning, the convoy had set out again from the castle of Santa Cruz, and colonel Worgan began his retreat. In order to this, the cavalry of the detachment was ordered to make a front towards the sea, to cover six companies of grenadiers, who were posted under Santa Cruz, three companies being to return to that castle, and the other three to that of Oran. But while colonel Worgan passed to and fro in giving his orders, he received a musket-shot, which disabled him so, that he was forced to quit the field, and leave the command to the marquis de Turbilly, his lieutenant-colonel. This unlucky accident either made the horse forget the orders they had received, or else their new commander repeated them in such a manner that they misunderstood them; for by defiling too soon, they left the six companies of grenadiers absolutely uncovered. The enemy took advantage of this, and so vigorously attacked them, that they were obliged to retire in great confusion. But this was nothing comparable to the loss of the Moors, which amounted nearly to two thousand men, among whom were nineteen officers of distinction, and one of the sons of Bigottilos. As there was now no longer hope of taking the fort of Santa Cruz, the Moors in all probability would have raised the siege, had not their spirits been elevated by the arrival of the fleet from Algiers, which was the largest that state had ever fitted out: It consisted of twelve men of war of the line (the admiral carrying sixty-six pieces of cannon), four large saicks, seven galliots, and near five thousand men.

The news of this Algerine armament awakened the Spanish court, which hitherto had neglected the repeated instances of the marquis de Santa Cruz; the fear of seeing this new conquest lost, which had cost Spain such immense sums, obliged the ministry for once to make a very extraordinary effort. They immediately ordered such troops as were nearest to the sea-coasts to embark at Alicant, where, by laying an embargo on the ships of all nations, they found transports sufficient for their purpose. This convoy was escorted by seven Spanish men of war, and three ships of Malta. The Algerine squadron having notice of their departure from Spain, and being informed that several of the ships carried Maltese colours, they were struck with such a panic, that they retired, after landing about two thousand five hundred Turks and renegadoes, who immediately marched to the Moors' camp. If they had not made this precipitate retreat, they might, in all probability, have done the Spaniards a great deal of mischief; for the weather growing very stormy, the transports were separated from their convoy and arrived at different times at Oran, where they landed on the 20th of November 1732. They were mustered with the garrison the same evening, after which the marquis de Santa Cruz held a council of war, wherein he acquainted the general officers, that though the Moorish army was very numerous, yet their fire-arms were in a bad condition, and their engineers very unequal to the office they had undertaken; he therefore proposed the attacking them the next morning in their trenches, by which means they must necessarily surprize them, since they could not but suppose a day's rest at least necessary for the refreshment of the troops, after their extraordinary fatigues at sea. The council unanimously approved this plan, and orders being instantly given for putting it into execution, all things were so disposed that before it was light the troops were under arms.

About seven in the morning, on the 21st of November, the Marquis de Santa Cruz marched out of Oran, at the head of eight thousand men. He had before prepared the plan of the attack, and the dispositions he made were so judicous, that though the enemy were five to one, yet after a vigorous attack, which lasted five hours, the Spaniards forced the intrenchments everywhere, made themselves masters of their cannon, some of which they carried off, nailed up others, and threw the rest down precipices; they likewise burnt their tents, blew up their magazines, and were busy in plundering their baggage; when, suddenly, the bashaw Ali, having, with much skill, rallied his forces, attempted to re-possess himself of his camp. The Spaniards, desirous of keeping what they had gained, and elate with victory, made a most obstinate defence; but were at last put into confusion, and obliged to fly, especially the cavalry, whence the foot must of consequence have been abandoned to the enemy. The marquis de Santa Cruz, who hitherto had not exposed his person, accompanied by some officers, put himself at the head of a squadron of dragoons, and marching to the left, formed the flying cavalry in a valley as fast as they arrived. Having drawn together a considerable body, and left his orders with some officers who remained upon the spot, he went to charge the Moors in flank, who were on the very point of forcing the infantry. He was so fortunate as to disconcert the Moors, by which means the Spanish cavalry had time to form, and regain the foot, so that they made a good retreat; but in the meantime he himself was overpowered by numbers, and falling grievously wounded from his horse, was taken prisoner. The Moors who were nearest him, stript him immediately of the ensigns he wore of his military orders, of his gold watch, and diamond ring, and then fell to quarrelling about his person. But one of them suggested, that their general would certainly oblige them to restore to this officer the valuables they had taken from him; and to prevent this they cut off his head, and chopped his body to pieces. An action which reflects ignominy on mankind, and is worthy only of such brutal actors.

Thus fell the marquis de Santa Cruz, at the age of fifty, after having merited the reputation of one of the ablest statesmen, and one of the best officers of the age in which he lived. He was colonel of a regiment of foot at fifteen, and served in that quality from the year 1702 to the peace of Utrecht. He was afterwards minister at the Sardinian court, where he spent his time in a very extraordinary manner; for perceiving that a light gallantry, and a supercilious contempt for solid literature, grew much in fashion among the young nobility, he formed a kind of assembly at his house, where he not only took pains to shew the use and excellency of a contrary conduct, but even condescended to become a preceptor, a professor of mathematics, and a master of exercises, that he might re-establish a just sense of virtue, wisdom, and true religion. He was also minister in France and Holland; and notwithstanding the multitude and importance of his employments, he composed in Spanish a work, intitled, "Political and Military Reflections," of which ten volumes in quarto were published at Turin before his death. He had also undertaken another still more laborious work, viz. making a collection of all the treaties made by the crown of Spain, in which he had made a considerable progress before he was sent to Ceuta, and afterwards to Oran.

This victory, though of vast advantage to the Spaniards, yet cost them excessively dear. For, besides the marquis de Santa Cruz, governor-general of all the conquests in Africa, there fell the marquis de Valdecagnas, brigadier-general, don Joseph Pinel, colonel of foot, and one hundred other officers, and about a thousand private men, besides double that number who were wounded. As for the Moors, they had four thousand men killed on the spot, a multitude of renegado officers, and the bashaw Ali himself was so grievously wounded, that it was doubted whether he could recover. With this action ended the siege.

We have been the more particular in these transactions relating to the Spaniards, as the officers and troops of the emperor of Morocco were the principal actors. We shall now resume our history of the

revolutions which happened in the reign of Muley Abdallah.

This prince's enormities increasing every day, the Alarbes rebelled, and defeated him in a battle, which he revenged, by practising a thousand cruelties on the inhabitants of Fez; and when his mother upbraided him with it, and exhorting him to make use of milder measures, he replied, that his subjects had no other title to their lives but his will, and that his greatest pleasure was to kill them with his own hand. The Alarbes, too much elevated with their first success, were totally routed in a second action. Here, for once, Abdallah heightened the glory of his victory by an act of humanity. Four thousand of them appeared before him stripped of their clothes, at which he seemed to express great compassion, and some resentment that men should use even their enemies so cruelly, ordering them to be immediately supplied with comfortable clothing.

The inhabitants of Dara having also revolted, Abdallah sent one of his best generals against them; but he lost his head for a fortuitous miscarriage, though his conduct was irreproachable. Nor was this all: every officer of any rank, who had acted in this expedition, was ordered to be put to death; and Abdallah, conceiving that the executioner performed his office but awkwardly, he came down from his palace, and gave him some lessons in his infamous calling, by cutting off the heads of several of these unfortunate persons.

The mountaineers of Tetuan, not intimidated by the defeat of others, took arms in 1732. Abdallah marched against them with thirty thousand men; but precipitately engaged himself among their mountains, and brought off only four hundred men. He had still a narrower escape soon after by the like imprudence, in his expedition against the inhabitants of Tafilet.

So far was his cruelty from being softened by these misfortunes, that he even attempted the life of his own mother, to whose intrigues he owed his crown. To escape his frantic rage, she made a pilgrimage to Mecca, during which he committed new enormities. A custom prevails at Mequinez for new-married men, when the bride proves a virgin, jocularly to entitle themselves kings, and impose taxes on their friends, which they require under some penalties; but Abdallah, too jealous to admit of any mockery of kingship, ordered eight bridegrooms to be tied to mules' tails, and dragged through the streets till they expired.

He once had formed a design upon the life of the general of the blacks; but he having timely intelligence, and representing to his troops the ingratitude of a prince to whom they had rendered such important services, they all joined in his resentments; and caused Muley Ali, brother to Hamet Deby, to be proclaimed. Abdallah, now grown as timorous as he was before cruel, fled out of the city, carrying with him his many precious jewels, and vast sums of money. No distress could restrain his sanguinary temper; for meeting with some deputies from the Alarbes, to whom he was flying, and they making some disagreeable remonstrances, he killed them with his own hand, though at that very time he was entirely destitute of any safe refuge.

Ali took possession of Mequinez, and much enraged at missing the treasures, he ordered Abdallah's mother and his governess to be tied together, in such a manner, that the governess should be stabbed in the arms of the mother.

Abdallah found means to debauch a considerable part of those very blacks, who so little a time before had been the instruments of his deposition. They restored the crown to him in 1736, and when their general upbraided them for their inconstancy, they answered, that Ali was not worthy to wear it. He was indeed quite besotted by the abuse of an herb, called by the Orientals archicha, which, when taken moderately, exhilirates, but when taken to excess, possesses a lethargic quality.

Abdallah ordered the citadel of Mequinez to be razed, every individual of a whole garrison to be beheaded, and the governor's youngest son to be strangled, his father having killed himself, after cutting the throats of his wife and all his other children, to prevent them from falling into the brutal hands of Abdallah.

The general of the blacks being informed

that Abdallah had still a design upon his life, caused another king to be proclaimed; but the expectations of being joined by multitudes not succeeding, the blacks reconciled themselves to Abdallah, by delivering up their general. He made use of a stratagem, which he flattered himself, from the devotions of the Moors, would prove an inviolable security; for he not only fled to a mosque, but putting on the clothes which enrobed the saint to whom it was dedicated, he quietly suffered himself to be brought before Abdallah in this venerable disguise. Abdallah kissed those robes respectfully, and having ordered them to be taken off the black, he immediately plunged his spear into his bosom, and called for a cup to drink some of his blood. His prime minister diverted him from it, as beneath his dignity; but, as a proof of his loyalty, he desired Abdallah's consent to drink off the blood, as a draught no ways improper in a subject. Atreus, if compared to these monsters, might be deemed a model of virtue.

Sidi Mahomet, the son of the emperor, had retained a party in Fez, and Abdallah's uneasiness was the greater, as he found himself utterly unable to pay the blacks the sums he had promised. This the blacks, whose only subsistence is their pay, no sooner understood, than they began to carry on a clandestine intelligence with Sidi's party at Fez. Abdallah laid siege to that city with all the forces he could muster, as a decisive stroke; but after several unsuccessful attempts was obliged to retire; and seeing the storm gathering on all sides, he fled to the mountains, carrying with him his mother, his son, some of his favourite wives, several slaves, and all the money in the treasury.

The inhabitants of Fez, upon his retreat, sent deputies to the blacks, telling them how much more worthy Sidi was to wear the crown, and assured them, that he should pay the four hundred thousand ducats of Abdallah's arrears.

Sidi, however, was far from coming up to the character given of him, and he gave such frequent cause of disgust, that a general disaffection began to shew itself, upon which Abdallah again made his appearance, and soon after totally defeated Sidi, who being wounded in the action, narrowly escaped with his life; but, in 1757, on his father's death, and after long remaining in obscurity, he ascended the throne. In the year 1757, he had arrived at the zenith of his power, and ruled the kingdom with stern and resistless authority. He was then near eighty years of age, thin, and of a sallow complexion. His hair and whiskers, though originally very dark, had acquired a perfect whiteness, and his voice was much impaired. His dress was exactly similar to that of other Moors, differing only in the fineness of the materials, and he was only distinguished from his subjects by a large retinue, riding in a carriage; or when on horseback, having an umbrella carried before him.

From the general tenor of his conduct throughout his reign, and from his conversation, Sidi Mahomet appears to have possessed strong natural talents, to which, had a good education been united, he might have proved a great monarch. But the want of education, and the illiberality and superstition of his religion, betrayed him frequently into cruelty; and the possession of arbitrary power tinged his character with that intolerable caprice which has ever distinguished and disgraced the Moorish princes.

Avaricious from his youth, he gave his whole attention to the accumulation of wealth; and it was from that motive only that he appeared to give more encouragement to European merchants than any of his predecessors. It is at the same time well known, that he occasionally oppressed them with such heavy duties, that they have been obliged to send home their vessels empty. In hopes of adding still more to his treasures, Sidi Mahomet became himself a merchant, took up goods from Europeans, and obliged the Jews to pay him five times their value for them; so that there was not a single resource for becoming rich of which he did not avail himself. Avaricious to this excess, and naturally of a very timid disposition, his great object has been peace: well aware that war could neither enrich him, nor contribute to his enjoyments in any respect.

His reign, it is true, was distinguished by fewer instances of cruelty than that of any of his predecessors, but he has certainly

exceeded them all in the licentiousness of his attacks upon private property. He was always surrounded by people, who, for the sake of rising into favour, were at all times ready to give him information concerning any of his subjects who were rich. It was then his usual course of proceeding to invent some plea for confining them in prison; and if that did not succeed, he put them in irons, chained them down, and proceeded in a course of severity and cruelty, till at last, wearied out with punishments and disgraces, the unfortunate victims surrendered the whole of their possessions; which alone procured them the enjoyment of liberty, an opportunity of again obtaining subsistence, or perhaps of once more becoming the prey of the rapacious monarch. Such of his sons as were in friendship with him, were continually making him presents, as if apprehensive of the same fate. Muley Absulem, who was the only son for whom the emperor professed much affection, was plundered by his father of the greatest part of his riches; which indeed were reputed to be very considerable.

Vices are never solitary; and those which are most naturally connected with an avaricious and timid disposition, are jealousy and suspicion. Conscious how little he deserved the affection of his people, and latterly sensible of having totally lost it, Sidi Mahomet was in constant fear of assassination and poison. In this state he dragged on a miserable existence; an example to arbitrary kings, and a living proof that the picture exhibited of the Roman tyrant, by the sarcastic historian, was not overcharged. He seldom stirred out of his palace, unless accompanied by a numerous band of soldiers, and even of these he had always his suspicions. At night he had constantly six blood-hounds in his chamber, and relying more on the fidelity of the irrational creation than on man, he thought these a more certain guard than his soldiers. His victuals were dressed and tasted in his presence; and at dinner, though no person was permitted to eat immediately with him, yet he always had some of his sons and ministers in the same apartment, who were helped out of his dish. To complete the misery of this unfortunate old man, he lived under the apprehension of being conquered by his eldest son Muley Yazid, afterwards emperor, who, in consequence of some ill treatment received from his father, retired secretly from court, and took refuge in a sanctuary near Tetuan.

Sidi Mahomet was sufficiently conscious of his own power and dignity, and kept every person at the most abject distance; no person daring to approach or speak to him without his permission. Sensible also of the excesses into which he might be betrayed by ungoverned passion, if at any time he found his temper discomposed he indiscriminately ordered every person out of his sight. It may easily be conceived that the monarch had no difficulty in securing obedience to this mandate, since all were sensible that to have continued in his presence would have been highly dangerous, if not fatal.

The only persons who possessed any considerable influence over the emperor were his women; and it was through that channel that the most successful business was transacted with him.

Thus far for the vices of arbitrary power. But deceit, hypocrisy, and falsehood, were qualities which could not be immediately ascribed to that source, unless we consider them as the necessary effects of an education in a despotic court. As a cloak to actions which he knew must excite disapprobation and disgust, Sidi Mahomet attempted to persuade his subjects that they proceeded from motives of religion and justice; and to give them a greater sanction he enrolled himself in the fraternity of saints, and paid a strict attention to all the superstitions and forms peculiar to his religion. This conduct answered well with the ignorant part of the community, but the more enlightened could not but observe that he attended more to the ceremonial of his religion than to its principles, which he made no scruple of violating whenever it suited his convenience. What he promised one day he would refuse the next, so that no dependance was ever placed upon his word. Added to these, he possessed a large portion of that low cunning which is common to persons whose minds and sentiments have not been elevated or refined by literature or science. He perhaps,

indeed, found this quality not without its uses in governing such a people as the Moors; and no man understood their character and disposition better than he did.—He was aware that respect is frequently destroyed by unseasonable familiarities, and therefore kept at a most stately distance from his subjects, and but seldom appeared among them. By these means his consequence was preserved, and his conduct and his talents were involved in that impenetrable and awful mist that surrounds the seraglios of eastern monarchs.

The few rebellions which occurred during his long reign proved decisively that he knew how to govern his subjects. Whenever a disposition to revolt prevailed in any of the provinces, a body of troops was immediately dispatched to plunder the whole of the discontented province, and to seize the insurgents, who were immediately conducted to court, and punished according to the magnitude of their respective offences. Some were put to death, others were deprived of their hands and legs; and for lesser crimes the discontented parties underwent the bastinado. This monarch employed persons in different districts to watch the motions of his subjects, and to inform him of every symptom of revolt; and thus, by a well-timed interference, he was enabled to crush rebellion in the bud.

In his conduct towards foreign powers Sidi Mahomet discovered the same disregard to truth and justice, the same adroitness and cunning. He readily promised to grant every demand, provided he was to be well paid for the concession. But it must have been valuable presents indeed which would induce him to perform his promise. He protracted negociations in order that he and his ministers might be enriched by them; but always as much as possible avoided bringing them to a final determination, by either granting or refusing a favour.

If foreign powers omitted to pay him the tribute he demanded, he immediately threatened in the severest manner to commence hostilities; yet in this he was never in earnest, for he was more afraid of his enemies than they had reason to be of him. When he found they were not disposed to contend the matter with him, he increased his demands accordingly.

In order to enhance his consequence, he endeavoured to persuade his subjects that he was remarkably skilled in matters of which they were entirely ignorant. To preserve an appearance of ability, when he was visited by Europeans, if the stranger was a merchant, the subject of conversation was on manufactures, foreign commerce, &c. If he was a military officer, fortifications, attacks, &c. were the topics; and if a seafaring person, he would then scratch on a piece of paper a plan of his coasts and harbours.—Though he rarely advanced any thing to the purpose on these subjects; yet as foreigners who visited the court generally appeared there with a view of obtaining some favour, and as it was never customary for any person to contradict the emperor, they always coincided with his opinions, and pretended at least to admire his extensive abilities. This fully answered the intention of the emperor; it induced his subjects to form a good opinion of his understanding, and he often collected some real information from the answers which his visitors returned to his questions.

Sidi Mahomet paid more attention to military affairs than to his navy, though if any power refused to repair a frigate, it was a sufficient inducement for him to threaten a war. He thought himself perfectly acquainted with the art of fortification, but his knowledge of it extended no farther than a few loose hints which he had received upon the subject from those Europeans who had visited the court.

In his court and personal appearance, Sidi Mahomet affected great simplicity of manners, not allowing even his own sons to appear in his presence except in a plain Moorish dress. They then were obliged to uncover their cap or turban (for a Moor never pulls off either, except when going to bed) and to wear, instead of the haick, the sulam, which is a cloak made of white or blue woollen cloth, the front parts of which they were obliged to throw over their shoulders, and as soon as they saw the emperor to prostrate their heads to the ground, and kiss it, exclaiming, "God save the king!" He then ordered them to approach and speak to him.

Though in general of a stately demeanour, he was sometimes known to unbend, and occasionally took pleasure in conversing with his courtiers on various subjects; but they were permitted to advance no opinion of their own, but merely to approve of what he said. He frequently talked upon the subject of religion, and considered himself as well informed in that particular. He sometimes endeavoured to explain to them different parts of the koran, pointing out its beauties, and impressing on the minds of the auditors the most intolerant prejudices against Christians

The mixture of good and evil, so incident to all human characters, was also to be found in Sidi Mahomet. Notwithstanding what has been remarked of his avarice, his duplicity, and absurd pretensions to religion, there are some circumstances which serve to lessen our indignation, and these it is only consistent with justice and candour to state. It is generally allowed, that though he must necessarily suffer in a comparison with the princes of free and civilised nations, yet when compared with his despotic predecessors, his character greatly rises in the scale of humanity. He was seldom or never wantonly cruel. He was certainly sometimes too hasty in pronouncing sentence on criminals, for which he has been often known to express the strongest sentiments of remorse; and his desire to prevent any ill effects from his passions has been already remarked.

In his administration of justice he generally acted very impartially, except indeed when his own interest was immediately concerned, and then every other feeling gave way. It must, however, be acknowledged, that though himself a most notorious violator of the laws, he so far respected them that he never would permit others to follow his example. Though so extremely avaricious, it has been already stated that in some severe instances of public distress, he generously dispensed his treasures to administer relief to the sufferers; and the number of poor people who were daily fed at his palace plainly evinced that he was not destitute of charity. Europeans met with great encouragement, and the wheels of commerce were less clogged during the reign of Sidi Mahomet than at any preceding period.

Thus was this monarch a singular compound of liberality and intolerance, of avarice and benevolence, of cruelty and compassion. It is perhaps only in a state of despotism that we behold this confusion of character. The legal restraints of civilised life form themselves into habits; and the eccentricities and caprices to which circumstances, situation, the state of the health, or perhaps the variations of climate, dispose the human mind, are no longer found to exist in European countries, or exist in an inferior degree. Happy it is, when any restraints are imposed upon us, to prevent us from doing evil. Man is a creature not formed for arbitrary power. So limited are his views, so variable his disposition, so violent and tyrannical his passions, that the wisest of men would certainly not wish for absolute authority, and the best, if entrusted with it, would probably abuse it.

It is well known to those who have been conversant with the Moors, that to secure their friendship you must first assert your own superiority, and then if you make them a trifling present, its value is trebled in their estimation. The same disposition would have been found in Sidi Mahomet as in the common Moor. So far from courting an alliance, it would rather have been good policy at once to quarrel with him; the loss of a few towns, and particularly Mogodore, to which he was much attached, from its being raised under his own auspices, would soon have reduced him to good humour and submission.

One instance of Sidi Mahomet's mingled avarice and humanity it becomes our duty to record: Prince Yezed had brought along with him an English captain, who had been left in slavery; who for some months past had been separated from his people, one of whom was a near relation, and without knowing whether they were dead or alive; who, with the evils of slavery, had experienced that of a severe fever, without having any person to console him, or afford him that assistance which is so necessary upon such occasions. To be redeemed, under such circumstances, from his inhospitable situation, to recover from his illness, and to meet with all his companions at Morocco, well taken care of by the emperor, was a change

which he had given up all expectation of ever beholding.

The captain was a well-informed young man, and an agreeable companion. He had been brought up to the profession of medicine and surgery, in both of which he had received a good education. His first essay in the world was as surgeon to a Guineaman; after having made several voyages in this capacity, however, finding it a disadvantageous employment, he obtained the command of a small vessel in the same trade, and this was his first voyage as commander.

Contrary to his inclination, he was ordered by his owners to sail between the Canaries and the coast of Africa, which is at all times considered as a dangerous navigation. As he approached towards the spot where his misfortune happened, which is inhabited by wild Arabs, he got into a strong current, which drives directly towards the shore, and a perfect calm succeeding, the vessel unavoidably ran aground. The crew immediately took to their boat, carried off all the money on board, which was about five hundred dollars, with a good share of provisions and water, and got safe to shore.

The part of the country where they were wrecked consisted of deep and heavy sands. As upon their first landing they saw nothing to molest them, it was their intention to proceed on foot, along the coast, to the northward, till they could reach Santa Cruz or Mogodore, where they could make their situation known. For this purpose they set off with their money, provisions, and water, and met with no disturbance till the end of two days. They then observed a party of wild Arabs, armed with large clubs and knives, and rapidly advancing towards them: their first object was to bury their money in the sands. Overpowered by numbers, they saw no chance of making a successful defence, and therefore every moment expected instantaneous death. The savages, however, had a different object in view. They knew very well that what property the unfortunate people had about them was sufficiently secure, without being under the necessity of destroying their lives in order to obtain it, and they were not ignorant of the value of their persons when offered for sale; their ultimate object therefore was, to bring them to market as slaves.

As each of their conquerors conceived himself equally interested in the capture, they were some time before they could agree among themselves how they should dispose of their prisoners; in the meantime some of the people were knocked down, others had their pockets cut out, and the buttons torn from off their coats. They were at last seized on by different persons, and carried away to different places of residence.

These savages, contrary to the custom of the Moors, wear the hair long, which is a dark black, and starting from their heads like porcupine's quills. Their complexions are of a very dark brown, their noses very pointed, their eyes dark and staring, their beards long, and their features altogether suggest the idea of lunacy or raving madness. In their persons they are very strong and muscular; and many of them go quite naked; others wear only a small garment round their waists.

The English sailors were put into miserable huts or tents, where for several days they could procure no sustenance, but juniper-berries, brackish water, and now and then a small quantity of milk.

From these people they were soon disposed of to others, who put them into the immediate employments of slavery; these employments were the carrying of water in skins, and performing various other kinds of drudgery, which was at all times accompanied with stripes.

After continuing in this state between two and three months, they contrived to get a letter conveyed to the English vice-consul at Mogodore, expressive of their situation, who forwarded it to the consul-general at Tangier, and at the same time wrote to Muley Absulem upon the subject. This prince, who commanded the province adjoining to that where captain Irving and his people were detained, at the expiration of eight months from the time this accident happened, obtained the emperor's permission to redeem them out of slavery, with orders to send them up to Morocco, where his Moorish majesty thought proper to keep them, till they were expressly sent for by

our sovereign; or, in other words till he received a handsome present.

In 1774, the Spanish crown, which had enjoyed a long period of tranquillity, was disturbed by Sidi's ambition; and an attack was made by the Moors and Algerines on its fortresses on the African coast. The grounds on which the emperor professed to make war are deserving our notice for their singularity. "His subjects," says his manifesto, "and the Algerines are determined that no Christian shall have possessions on their coasts: they have called upon him, as endowed with great power and force, to fulfil that injunction, which requires that the latter should not be suffered to hold territorial possessions in Mahometan countries, and that he was bound to a compliance with this request." He then distinguishes between a war with the fortresses, and one with the crown of Spain, towards which he professes an amicable disposition. In answer to this manifesto, the king of Spain declared war against the barbarian powers. The Moorish prince, who appears to have formed too sanguine hopes of success from the numerous forces which he could bring into the field, invested Melilla, in the kingdom of Fez. But he was convinced of his error by the difficulties which he experienced in carrying on a regular siege without proper artillery. After continuing some months before the place, the besiegers were obliged to retire with disgrace. The same ill success attending on Penon de Velloy, the Moors grew tired of the war, upon which they had so presumptuously entered. Though the enterprise was concluded, the war continued; but as the circumstances by which it was attended more materially affected the interests of Algiers than of Morocco, we shall postpone the narration of its details to that portion of our history.

With respect to the other features of this emperor's character, his principal vices appear to have resulted from that great corrupter of the human heart, arbitrary power: for he was the most arbitrary of monarchs, having at his absolute disposal the lives and properties of all his subjects. In such circumtances, what man can be trusted, nay, who would trust himself? In such circumstances, can we wonder when we observe the occasional indulgence of intemperate revenge? Among these we are to account his treatment of an unfortunate Jew who had imprudently written something to his prejudice, and for this slight offence was quartered alive, cut to pieces, and his flesh afterwards given to the dogs.

Upon another occasion, a similar disposition was manifested by Sidi Mahomet. A Moor of some consequence, and very opulent, gave a grand entertainment on the marriage of one of his sons. The emperor, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, and who well knew that magnificence was a striking proof of wealth, was determined to be present at the festival, in order that he might more fully inform himself of the circumstances of the Moor. For this purpose he disguised himself in a common dress, and entered the house in the midst of all the jollity, and perhaps the licentiousness, of the entertainment. The master of the ceremonies observing a person of a mean appearance intrude himself into the room so abruptly, ordered him out; and upon the refusal of the stranger, he gave him a kick, and pushed him by violence out of the house. For a short space of time after this occurrence, the whole affair passed without notice, and probably had escaped the memory of most; and it was a matter of the utmost surprise to the master of the house, to receive an order, commanding him immediately to repair to Morocco. Upon being introduced to the emperor, he was asked if he recollected the circumstances which have just been related, to which he applied in the affirmative. "Know then," says the emperor, "I was that Moor whom you treated thus contumeliously; and to convince you that I have not forgot it, that foot and that hand which insulted me shall perish."—They have seen this unfortunate victim of tyranny walking about the streets with one leg and arm.

The emperor Muley Yazid was as ready to revenge the imaginary or the real injuries of his subjects. To elucidate this assertion; an English and French gentleman were amusing themselves by the diversion of coursing, in the vicinity of Mogodore, when one of their dogs unfortunately attacked the

calf of a Moor. This accident soon brought out the villagers, who immediately shot the dog, and entered into a very serious quarrel with the Christians, which terminated in a general contest. The women of the village now thought it a proper occasion for their interference; and among their number was one, who from old age had lost all her teeth except two, and these were so loose that they could be with difficulty retained; and another, who had upon a former occasion fractured her arm, the bone of which had never been reduced or united. In the course of the dispute, these two women were unintentionally thrown down, and by this accident the old lady lost both her teeth, while the other insisted that the Christians had been the occasion of fracturing her arm. To be brief, the Christians were overpowered by numbers, and were obliged to retire to Mogodore, where they immediately made a complaint to the governor of the insults they had received from the Moors, who in their turn also appeared before him with a complaint agaisnt the Christians. The whole being referred to the emperor, both parties were ordered up to court, with a view of giving the matter an impartial hearing, and of administering justice accordingly. It is hardly necessary to intimate, that in this uncivilized country, and with a man of Sidi Mahomet's prejudices, the Moorish evidence would be certain of a favourable hearing. The circumstances, indeed, of one woman losing her teeth, and another having her arm fractured, appeared in the eyes of the emperor so plausible, that upon their being made known to him, without hesitation he ordered the Christians to be put in irons, and confined, till he should determine upon the punishment which such apparent crimes merited. For this purpose, the mufti, or high priest, was desired to refer the matter to the koran, with a view of punishing the delinquents according to its dictates. The priest soon found out a passage, where it specifies an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. The English gentleman, whom the old lady fixed upon for the person who had been the occasion of her misfortune, was therefore directed to lose two of his teeth, which punishment was immediately put in execution in the presence of the emperor; while his French companion, as they could not find out a punishment in the koran for breaking an arm, received the bastinado in a manner which disgraced humanity and the law of nations; the prisoners were then set at liberty.

Prince Muley Yazid, whose mother was the offspring of an English renegado, having incurred his father's displeasure, was sent on a journey to Mecca, the old emperor hoping that by seeing the world he would, in a maturer age, reform, and be brought to a sense of his duty.

Upon his approaching the frontiers in 1786, about four years after, very strong and seemingly authentic reports were circulated, that he was on his march with a large army to dethrone his father. These rumours could not fail to affect the old man with considerable anxiety, which, however, was afterwards removed by the retreat of Muley Yazid to Tunis, without having made any hostile exertions whatever.

In the summer of 1789, the prince privately entered the country, and took refuge in a sanctuary named Muley Absulem. To this sacred spot, which is held in great veneration by the Moors, he retired as a place of safety, without any intention of attacking his father, but merely to remain there in readiness to declare himself, when the emperor's death should take place, which, from his great age and infirmities, was evidently an event which could not be very distant. Here he had no people about him, but three or four faithful attendants, and lived a strictly retired life, as far removed as can well be conceived from that state and consequence which are usually affected by princes.

The old emperor, however, considered his son's intentions in a far different point of view, and used every stratagem he could invent to draw him out of the sanctuary, but without success.

At one time he wrote him word, that if he would come to court, he would reinstate him in his affections, and acquiesce in every demand he would make; or, if he chose to leave the country, he would allow him sufficient to live in Turkey, or at Mecca, respected as a prince. On another occasion

he threatened to attack him, pull down the sanctuary, and to take him away by force. To all these letters, the prince, by the prudent advice of his mother, with whom he kept up a private correspondence, always evaded giving a positive answer. He assured his father of his affection, duty, and the purity of his intentions; and evaded his wishes.

The people who have the care of the sanctuary received positive orders from the emperor to expel the prince by force; which if they failed in doing, he assured them he would send and put every man, woman, and child in the neighbourhood of the sanctuary to the sword. The people, though well disposed to the prince, intimidated by these orders, related faithfully to him the emperor's intentions, and informed him that, as their lives were at stake, they expected him to remove, at the same time recommending him to another sanctuary at no great distance, where he could equally take refuge. The prince, who is one of the best horsemen in the country, and who had a horse of which he had the entire command, immediately promised them to depart, and mounted his horse for the purpose. But what was their surprise, when they found the horse would not stir from the spot, notwithstanding the apparently free use of whip and spur! Upon this the prince exclaimed, "You see plainly that it is God's will I should continue here, and therefore no other power shall ever drive me out." A speech which produced an electrical effect on the superstitious multitude.

It was difficult to conjecture whether the emperor would have used any violence towards his son, in case he had repaired to court. But it is well known, that the old monarch wished particularly that Muley Absulem might be his successor, and that he had a private dislike to Muley Yazid; which were sufficient motives for the prudent conduct of the latter.

The various reports that were circulated through the country, and particularly by the people at court, that Muley Yazid's intentions were hostile to his father, and the great esteem in which he knew he was held by every individual in the country, made the emperor consider this son as a very dangerous rival.

We have already so fully represented the state in which the emperor was at that period, that it would be only a repetition to expatiate on it at present. It will be sufficient to say, that after three or four months unsuccessful negociations, the emperor sent down his son Muley Hasem to Tangier, with an army of six thousand negroes, which were to be reinforced by men drawn from the neighbouring provinces. The prince's directions were, to offer a considerable reward from the emperor to the persons who had the care of the sanctuary, if they would surrender or expel Muley Yazid; but if they refused to comply with this request, he was to pull down the sanctuary, to seize Muley Yazid, and put every man, woman, and child in the neighbourhood to the sword. This sanguinary edict, however, the sharifs had spirit or enthusiasm enough to resist, and Muley Hasem not having secured the confidence of his troops, was afraid to attack his brother. When they were encamped at Tangier, he did not even venture to sleep among them, but at night always retired to the castle.

Disgusted with this fruitless attempt, the emperor called his son a coward and a trifler; and immediately ordered Alcaide Abbas, the commander in chief of the black army, and the best officer in his service, to supersede Muley Hasem in the command. Abbas carried a considerable reinforcement to the army already at Tangier, and was soon after joined by Muley Slemma, the late emperor's full brother. These two officers were directed to encamp near the sanctuary, and wait there till joined by the emperor himself, with a considerable army from the southward.

For this purpose the emperor left Morocco on the 29th March 1790, and travelled on horseback. At the time he was passing out at the gate of the city, the umbrella, which is always carried before the emperor, and in that country is the distinctive mark of royalty, suddenly broke in two, and the head was carried up in the air to a considerable height before it fell.

That the ensign of royalty should be in

so unaccountable a manner broken, at the very moment of his departure on a journey, upon the success of which the fate of his empire seemed to depend, was an accident which the emperor, who was remarkably superstitious, considered as a bad omen, and he was certain portended some calamity which was to befal him on the road.

In consequence of these apprehensions he became remarkably uneasy, pensive, and indisposed; and it is not improbable that this trifling circumstance, united to a previous weak state of body and mind, contributed materially to hasten his death.

From the time of his departure till the second of April 1790 he made unusually short stages; and on that day he ordered letters to be written to Muley Slemma and Alcaide Abbas, in very strong terms arraigning the conduct of Muley Yazid, and directing them to encamp at the bottom of the mountain on which the sanctuary was situated, and to block it up in such a manner, that the prince should not find it possible to make his escape. Soon after the signing of these letters, he complained of a pain in his head and stomach, and was seized with vomiting. He continued, therefore, for the space of two days, without being able to proceed on his journey. On the 5th of April, as he found himself unable to ride on horseback, he ordered his people to place him in his litter, and commanded his own physician to accompany him. When he had halted on his journey, in the evening, he was visited by a large body of people, who came to pay their respects to him. For these adventitious visitors the sovereign ordered a great feast to be prepared; he tasted of every dish that was sent to them, and soon after complained of a pain in his bowels.

On the following day he proceeded on his journey, and in the evening the pains of his head and stomach were considerably increased, and were soon after followed by a vomiting of blood. He now began to express a sense of his approaching dissolution; and, it is said, ordered a letter to be written to Muley Yazid, telling him, that he hoped God would forgive and bless him.

His uneasiness concerning his situation did not prevent him from regularly and devoutly performing every part of his ablutions and prayers, and fulfilling every ceremony of his religion. On the two succeeding days the emperor took very short journeys, and, finding he had no prospect of a recovery, he desired that his women would have him carried to Rabat, and buried in a vault which he had built in his palace for that purpose.

On the 11th of April, upon entering the town of Rabat, he expired in his carriage, without speaking a single word. The news of his death was not made public till the following day, when he was buried in his palace, agreeably to his orders, with all the honours usually paid to such personages.

The death of Sidi Mahomet was certainly a most fortunate event for the people of the northern provinces, and particularly for those who had manifested any attachment to Muley Yazid. His intention, indeed, was no less than the total extirpation of all the inhabitants; and it is impossible to foresee where his cruelties might have terminated. On the other hand, it was not the intention of Muley Yazid to come to any engagement with his father; therefore, as the emperor approached he would have retired, till he had got beyond the boundaries of his father's dominions.

Sidi Mahomet, when he died, was in the 81st year of his age, and the 33d of his reign. His character has already occupied so large a portion of these pages, that it would be entirely superfluous to make any additions.

It is well known that, a few months previous to his death, he was thoroughly convinced how greatly he had fallen a dupe to Spanish intrigues. By bribing the ministers, and obscuring the mental eye of the sovereign by large and repeated presents, the court of Spain procured leave to export great quantities of corn free of duty, the customs of which, at a moderate computation, would have brought him in five times the value of the presents he received. This indeed was not the only inconvenience which the country suffered through this imprudent concession; for the drought had been so excessive the preceding year, that a scarcity of corn had already taken place, and occasioned an universal murmur among the people: so that had the exportation of that article been

allowed a little time longer, a general famine, and consequently an universal rebellion, must have taken place. Besides this, out of pique to the English, the Spaniards engaged the emperor to refuse the supplying of Gibraltar with provisions, by which another considerable defalcation was made in his revenue. Latterly, however, the monarch was so sensible of these impositions, that he raised the duties upon those provisions and corn which the Spaniards exported, to so immoderate a height, that they were obliged to send home their vessels empty.

Had he lived to this time, it is a matter of doubt whether affairs with Spain would have ended only by increasing the duties; for he was so entirely irritated by their conduct, that it is not improbable that a rupture between the two courts would have been the consequence. On the other hand, his differences with England, from the same circumstances, would have been most probably adjusted and settled, perfectly to the satisfaction of our court. Indeed, he had given directions for that purpose two days previous to his death.

We have already mentioned, that in this country the succession to the empire, though restricted to the same family, is not limited to any particular branch, but depends on the influence each of the princes may have in the country, and particularly on the army. The government may therefore be considered as partly hereditary, and partly elective. Wealth, however, is not the only means of obtaining this influence; for Muley Yazid, the late emperor, was the poorest of the royal brothers.

When the news of the emperor's death reached Muley Slemma and Alcaide Abbas, they certainly fell back with the army towards Sallee; but whatever they might have in view by so doing, they could meet with no support. At Morocco, the old emperor left his two sons, Muley Hasem and Muley Oussine, entrusted with the joint government of that city, ordering the inhabitants to pay to the first prince the sum of ten thousand hard dollars, and the latter five.—The partiality, however, of the monarch so greatly irritated Muley Oussine, that he discharged a musquet at his brother upon some casual dispute, but missed him. Muley Hasem, who at Tangier had manifested a want of resolution, intimidated by this conduct of his brother, retired, shut himself up in the palace, and left Muley Oussine in full possession of the whole of the money.

As soon as Muley Hasem received intelligence of his father's death, he published it to the people of Morocco, at the same time presenting himself as the immediate heir of the crown. He was soon after proclaimed by a few mountaineers; but the principal people of the city declaring in favour of Muley Yazid, Muley Hasem was obliged to give up his pretensions, and retire to his late father's house.

Muley Oussine took the first opportunity of leaving Morocco, and repaired to Muley Abdrahaman, who resided among the Arabs in the most southern part of Suze. His motives for this step are differently accounted for. It is by some attributed to an apprehension of the new emperor's resentment, on account of the robbery he had committed on Muley Hasem; while others allege it was on the score of having formerly killed one of Muley Yazid's children.

Muley Abdrahaman had, during his father's life, amassed a very considerable sum of money, by his industry and attention to commercial affairs, and was at one time in great favour with his father. The old man, however, of whose immoderate love of riches we have already had occasion to speak, soon became jealous of his son's wealth, and consequently desirous of possessing it. To effect his purpose without opposition, he dissembled his intentions so far as to appoint his son governor of Sallee, a place of no inconsiderable importance; and, in consequence of this appointment, Muley Abdrahaman, having packed up all his money and valuables on mules, in the most affectionate manner took leave of his father, and proceeded on his journey. He had not, however, long proceeded in peace, before the emperor sent a large detachment of troops after him, with orders to strip him of every article in his possession; which they so effectually accomplished, that they left him master only of an old rusty pistol. While the prince, naturally irritated by such unworthy treatment, made

a rash but most solemn vow, that he would never see his father's face again; and he immediately retired to the mountains in Suze, where he has continued ever since.

The emperor endeavoured to persuade his son to return to court, by offering him large presents of money, and by the most splendid promises; but the prince always answered, that he never could comply with his father's request, as he was convinced his word was not to be trusted. Upon which the old monarch included him in the curse he had uttered against Muley Yazid.

When the emperor's death came to be known in Suze, forty thousand Arabs immediately tendered their spontaneous services to assist Muley Abdrahaman in ascending the throne, and in resisting the pretensions of Muley Yazid; and it was generally expected that he would have made the attempt, as the following letter was received from him by the new emperor, while he resided at Fez. It is inserted as a specimen of Moorish composition and of Moorish politeness.

"I have heard of my father's death, and that you have left the sanctuary, and call yourself emperor.—Go to your hole, you rat, or meet me at Morocco; where I will convince you that Fez is not a place for an emperor."

Though this was the only prince, in whose power it was to make any serious opposition to Muley Yazid; yet he since gave up that intention, wrote a letter of congratulation and submission to his brother, and made an offer of his services. Thus, amidst so many difficulties, and with so many competitors, all of them considering themselves as equally entitled to the succession, was Muley Yazid seated on the throne without the shedding of a drop of blood, and almost as peaceably as in the best regulated state in Europe.

If we look back on the changes of masters which this empire had previously experienced, we believe we shall scarcely find an instance where affairs have been settled so successfully and happily as on this occasion. The only disturbances that took place after the old emperor's death, were some predatory incursions of the Arabs into the southern provinces, who, under a pretence of supporting Muley Hasem, plundered Morocco, and obliged the Christians and Jews to take shelter in the castle. Mogodore was saved by being so well fortified, and by the great exertions of the governor and inhabitants. The country, however, adjacent to those places, even as far as Sallee, was in such a state of confusion that travelling became totally impracticable for a considerable time.

The town of Dar Beyda, which is garrisoned by about an hundred and fifty negroes, who on several occasions had made themselves disagreeable to the surrounding Arabs, nearly shared the same fate as Morocco.—As soon as the emperor's death was made known there, the Arabs bought up all the powder and ball that was in the town, before the inhabitants were aware of their intentions. For balls, which were usually sold at the price of eight or nine for a blanquil, the Arabs now consented to purchase at the rate of two blanquils each, and at last they completely stripped the town of all its small ammunition. Having effected this first step, they assembled in great numbers in the neighbourhood of the town, armed with musquets.

The governor, alarmed at the appearance of so considerable a body of Arabs, went out with fifty soldiers, and demanded of them their intentions in thus tumultuously assembling together. They replied, that as the country and town people were both equally subjects of the empire, it became necessary that deputations from each party should meet in the town, to determine upon the person proper to be elected their sovereign.

In return, the governor answered, that he had no objection whatever to a few of their principal people coming into the town, for the purpose they mentioned; but that he could not see any reason why so many persons should, on such an occasion, be collected together, and present themselves in a hostile state against a city of the empire. To this observation the Arabs did not condescend to reply, but insisted upon being admitted into the town; and were as obstinately refused. After some parleying, however, they promised to disperse, if the governor would pay them two thousand dollars. This he refused, observing, that in making this demand they

were treating the inhabitants of the town like Jews; and that they must disperse, or take the consequence. A reply of this nature was calculated to enrage instead of conciliating the Arabs, and they began to set the huts on fire, and at the same time continued to advance towards the town.

Their force at this period was increasing almost every moment, by numbers who came down from the mountains; and the governor, apprehending immediate danger to the town, privately dispatched a messenger to the inhabitants, cautioning them to be on their guard against the Arabs, and at the same time announcing that he had no opportunity of retiring himself.

As the town had been previously cleared of its flints, powder, and ball, it is impossible to describe the consternation of the people. To add to their distress, some small vessels, which had ammunition on board, had the day before been unfortunately driven, by bad weather, out of the bay, and the town appeared destitute of every resource. The Spanish house, however, which was settled at Dar Beyda, and had very considerable property in the place, advised the inhabitants to close the gates immediately, and to mount on the wall fronting the enemy an old twelve pounder, which was without a carriage, and was the only piece of ordnance in the place. At the same time they offered three dollars to every man, who would assist in defending the ramparts. Having mounted the gun on the wall, they were still at a loss for one of the most material articles, viz.—powder; there was some in the magazine, but the governor was on the outside, and had the key in his custody. The Spaniards advised them by all means, upon such a pressing emergency, to break open the door of the magazine, which they immediately did, and, with powder only, fired off their piece of cannon among the Arabs.

An attack so unexpected upon the Arabs, who had flattered themselves that there was neither a gun nor powder in the place, put them for some into the utmost consternation, and they began to disperse. But, upon finding that no person was wounded, they soon assembled again, with a full determination to attack the town. The Spaniards now advised the inhabitants to load the piece with a ball, which they by accident found, and fire it directly among them. This manœuvre was attended with the most brilliant success. The Arabs immediately dispersed, and gave the governor time to re-enter the town with his troops; and at length, being sensible that they could effect nothing by a regular attack, they next attempted to take the place by stratagem. For this purpose, they divided themselves into two parties; one was posted on the right side of the town, and the other on the left. The party on the right side sent in a deputation to the governor, informing him that they were friends, and requesting that they might be let into the town, to assist him in conquering those on the left, who were enemies, from whom they had deserted. This proposal, however, was obstinately refused on the part of the governor, who desired them to keep at a distance, or take the consequence; upon this the two parties again united, and endeavoured to surprise the town on the water side.

The vessels, which had been driven out the day before, returning about this time, powder, balls, and a few small pieces of cannon, were taken out of them; and when the Arabs made their last attack, by night, the town took the alarm, fired on them, and obliged them to retire. The following day the pieces of cannon were mounted in different parts on the walls of the town, which had the desired effect; for the Arabs, finding they had no chance of success, dispersed totally, and went to their different homes.—For some time after this circumstance, not one of them was permitted to enter the town, but upon condition that he should first leave his musquet and sword on the outside of the gate.

The Spanish house, during this petty siege, supplied the late emperor's women, who happened to be in the town, on this occasion, with money and other necessaries, and out of their own stores furnished corn to the inhabitants. The new sovereign was so pleased with the conduct of the Spaniards, that he sent them a letter of thanks, as well for their zeal in defending the town, as for the support they afforded to his father's women. Not satisfied, however, with the barren

return of thanks, he ordered them also to be repaid the whole of their expences, and sent them a present of two lions.

These were the principal disturbances which took place in consequence of the emperor's death. By degrees the spirit for plunder, on the part of the Arabs, was less general, and the country became in a state of perfect peace and tranquillity.

The news of the emperor's death reached Tangier on the 15th of April; upon which the governor repaired to the great mosque, made a short prayer for Sidi Mahomet, and proclaimed Muley Yazid his successor.—After this ceremony, the public crier was placed in a conspicuous situation, where he publicly proclaimed Muley Yazid; in his name denouncing the severest punishment against any person, who should dare to oppose the new sovereign.

As Muley Yazid had been proclaimed both in the church and in the town, the consuls all agreed to write him a letter, condoling with him on his father's decease, and congratulating him upon his accession to the throne. The only ceremony attending a new emperor's accession to the throne, is a public proclamation in the streets and mosques. When the proclamation takes place in the presence of the emperor, which by the law ought to be performed publicly, at least in the three capitals of the empire, it is customary for all the chief priests and doctors of law to assemble, with the other great people of the town, and for the mufti or cadi to read aloud to the emperor a short recapitulation of some of the laws of the koran; which direct, that he shall preserve the empire, administer speedy justice, protect the innocent, destroy the wicked, and so far from countenancing and keeping near his sacred person any adulterer, that he shall punish adultery, prevent the exportation of corn and provisions to the prejudice of the people, tax provisions according to their plenty or scarcity, and forbid usury to be exercised towards the poor, which is an abomination before God. He is told, that if he breaks these articles, he shall be punished, as he ought to punish others under a similar circumstance.

The same ceremony is performed before all bashaws, alcaides, and shaiks, upon their first receiving their appointment. How far these few but excellent admonitions are attended to, either by the emperor, or the officers under his command, has been already sufficiently explained in a former part of the narrative.

On the succeeding day, which was the Moorish sabbath, all the great people of the town assembled at the mosques, and, with greater ceremony than the day before, prayed for the soul of the deceased sovereign, and proclaimed Muley Yazid his successor. On the same day all the Jewesses of Tangier were ordered by the governor to repair to the castle, and lament Sidi Mahomet's death; which they performed by loud shrieks and lamentations.

On the 17th, the bashaw communicated to the consuls a letter, which he had received from Muley Yazid at the sanctuary, wherein he ordered the bashaw to conduct all the consuls to him with their presents, under a guard of fifteen soldiers. On the same day a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the battery, in consequence of an order having arrived for a general release and pardon to all prisoners.

Seven poor sharifs, or petty princes, who brought this order, delivered at the same time directions to the consuls to clothe them from head to foot at their own expence. In consequence of this, the consuls furnished each of them with cloth for a caftan, with two britannias, and twenty dollars; to this, as it was not sufficient to satisfy them, they were obliged to add a still further supply of money. On the following day the consuls set off on their journey with the bashaw, and the principal people of the town, both Moors and Jews. In the evening, Reis Musti Galli, with two other sea captains, arrived at the consul's camp with a letter from the new emperor, inviting them to repair to him at Tetuan, and promising to renew the ancient treaties of peace and commerce with their nations. The captains related, that Muley Yazid had left the sanctuary, and had made his public entrance into Tetuan the day before.

On the 19th of April the consuls arrived in the evening at Tetuan, where, upon en-

tering the gates, they were met by a messenger, who informed them that the emperor would give them audience immediately, whilst upon their horses; upon which their baggage was all sent away, and the consuls all ranged themselves in a regular form.—After waiting, however, a short time, another messenger came to acquaint them, that the emperor would see them the next day. On the following day, at twelve o'clock at noon, the consuls were sent for to the emperor's camp, where they found the sovereign on horseback, in a very rich Turkish dress, and his horse ornamented with Turkish furniture.

After having asked their respective names and titles, the emperor told the consuls he was at peace with the English and Ragousi, but at war with all the other nations; whose consuls he allowed only four months to retire from his dominions with their property, and ordered them to send him back every thing which belonged to his subjects. On the 22d of April, the consuls had their second audience, at which each of them brought their separate presents.

The emperor now told them, he would remain at peace with all their nations on the same footing as before, requiring of the Spaniards only an ambassador within four months. At this audience he promised the consuls letters to their respective courts, expressive of the same sentiments; and assured them, that the bashaw at Tangier should make them out, in terms most agreeable to the consuls. The succeeding day the consuls received orders to return to Tangier, at which place the emperor was to deliver to them the papers he had promised.

On the 25th of the same month, the emperor arrived at Tangier, and the day following was waited upon by all the consuls, to congratulate him on his safe arrival. The emperor continued at Tangier till the 29th, during which time he gave private audiences to those consuls who asked them. He was every day fully employed by people who came from the different provinces to pay their homage to him. These were supposed to amount to no less than 20,000. The bashaw of Tangier, who had the commission to write out the letters which the consuls were to send home to their respective courts, behaved in the most arbitrary and insolent manner towards those gentlemen. He demanded of some no less than two thousand, of others fifteen hundred dollars, for the trouble he had taken, by interfering in their favour with the new sovereign; at the same time positively refusing to make out or deliver the letters till they had either paid the sum he exacted, or given him security for it.

After the consuls had endeavoured to satisfy the bashaw in the best manner they were able, they at last did not receive the letters till the day after the emperor's departure from Tangier, when they were brought to them by the bashaw's secretary, and another of his attendants, who not only demanded a present for themselves, but also obliged them to pay an exorbitant price for the seal on each paper, which the bashaw pretended he had paid to the keeper of the seals.

The emperor arrived on the 10th of May at Mequinez, whence, after some little stay, he went to Fez, and there kept the feast of the Ramadam. About this period, in consequence of the emperor's not having appeared in public for several days, a false report was circulated, that he had been killed by his brother Muley Hasem, who had just before arrived at Fez from Morocco.

Having conducted the emperor to Mequinez, it will be only necessary to take a short general view of his subsequent conduct, during the short time that elapsed between his accession to the throne and arrival at that city; and thence go on to those circumstances which led to the cause of his death. After the caprice, pusillanimity, and avarice, which had distinguished the reign of his predecessor, Muley Yazid appeared to possess many qualities well calculated to render him a very popular prince in the eyes of the Moors. To a tall, elegant, and majestic person, were united a handsome and expressive countenance, which, with a specious and persuasive address, a generous and disinterested but determined conduct, a great activity of body, and an uncommon agility in horsemanship, were requisites which were certain of impressing on the minds of his subjects a very favourable opinion of their new sovereign; and it is certain that Muley

Yazid succeeded to the throne by the voluntary choice of the majority of the people. Happy it had been, if he had possessed sufficient virtue or policy to have preserved this good opinion which they had formed; but his ungovernable propensity to cruelty and drunkenness, which he had artfully concealed in his minority, he had not resolution sufficient to command when he succeeded to the throne; and in the whole history of Morocco, we do not meet with a tyrant who exercised greater barbarities than this monster was guilty of commiting.

His first step after leaving the sanctuary, was to repair to Tetuan, where he immediately ordered a general plunder of the Jews to be put in execution by his black troops, in consequence of an insult he had received from that people upon a former occasion. In pursuance of this edict their houses were instantly ransacked, the furniture which could not be carried off was destroyed and thrown into the streets, some of the owners were put to death, and others were severely beaten, and the persons of their wives and daughters violated by the outrageous soldiery, who indiscriminately stripped them even of their clothes, and turned them naked into the streets. It is not possible to paint in just colours, the distress and hardships that unfortunate race experienced for several days, till a conclusion was put to their persecutions by an order from the emperor, who, in consequence of a pardon to the Jews threatened death to every person who should in any degree further molest them.

There were two persons of this nation, of some consequence, whom Muley Yazid marked out as particular objects of his revenge. The first was a Jew, who, in the character of Spanish vice-consul, had committed some act during the reign of Sidi Mahomet, which the new emperor considered as having been inimical to his interests. For this real or imaginary crime, the culprit was suspended by a cord passed through the tendons of the lower part of the legs, with his head downwards; in which situation, without any sustenance, he continued alive for near four days, when the emperor ordered his head to be taken off, by way of relieving him from his misery. The other person was Jacob Attal, who, in a former part of the work has already been noticed as the favourite of Sidi Mahomet. There is great reason to believe that this young man, who possessed considerable abilities, was accessary to his own unhappy fate, by his too busy interference in politics, which occasioned him many enemies at court, who were now glad of seizing the opportunity of gratifying their revenge, by persuading the emperor that he was one of those who, in the court of Sidi Mahomet, had been particularly inimical to him. Attal, conscious of his danger, put himself under the protection of the English consul, with an intention of accompanying that gentleman to Tetuan, in hopes that a considerable present of money might induce the emperor to treat him with some lenity. Unfortunately, before this plan could be put in execution, an order for seizing Attal met the party on the road, upon which the unfortunate Jew was forced off his mule, stripped of his dress, and in an old Moorish frock, and with a cord about his neck, was driven on foot with whips to Tetuan. Upon his arrival, he was immediately conducted to the emperor, who ordered both his hands to be cut off, in which state he continued three days in the greatest misery, and then he was decapitated.

These are by no means the only instances of cruelty that were exercised upon the Jews. Those of most of the towns of the empire were either plundered or obliged to pay the emperor a very heavy fine; and at Mequinez, and some other places, several were put to cruel deaths, and their wives and daughters left to the mercy of the black troops, who treated them with the greatest indecencies.

A third object of the emperor's personal revenge was Alcaide Abbas, his father's black general: with respect to this officer, the emperor had two motives for punishing him. In the first place, he was the commander of that very army which was intended for his own destruction; and, in the second, upon his father's decease, instead of surrendering the army to Muley Yazid, he withdrew it to the southward, and, it was supposed, with an intention of supporting Muley Slemma.

Notwithstanding, however, this conduct on the part of Abbas, the emperor certainly would not have put him to death, had it not been at the particular request of his black army, whom at that time he did not wish to offend. Abbas, fully conscious how much he was disliked by his troops, attempted to make his escape to a sanctuary upon a very swift horse; but his horse falling, he was unluckily seized, and was immediately carried before the emperor, with very heavy charges on the part of his soldiers. After a hearing of the charges, the emperor signified to the culprit that he might yet partake of his royal mercy, provided he would confine himself for two months to the sanctuary of Muley Absulem. For this purpose he set off; but he was again seized by the soldiers, who brought him back to the emperor with still heavier charges; and the emperor, finding that the soldiers were determined on his destruction, with his own hand, by one blow of his sabre, divided his head in two, and he immediately expired.

Abbas was the best officer in the emperor's service, and never manifested the slightest token of timidity, or condescended to ask his life; on the contrary, when the emperor lifted up his sabre, he in a stern and undaunted manner looked his sovereign in the face, and died with the countenance and the tranquillity of a hero. As his body had not received the emperor's pardon, it remained on the ground unburied, to the great nuisance of every person who passed that way. For such is the barbarous custom of the country, that when a man is put to death by the emperor, or his order, his body cannot be buried without its first receiving a formal pardon from the emperor.

Muley Yazid, long before his father's death, had threatened the life of the effendi. He had been a principal agent in exciting the father's hatred and prejudice against his son. A further cause of the emperor's resentment was the great imposition practised on his father by the effendi, respecting the corn business with the Spaniards, by which he had amassed a very considerable sum of money in bribes and presents.

Upon the emperor's death, the effendi took refuge in a sanctuary, and, had he been wise, he would not have ventured abroad; but Muley Yazid having positively promised to pardon him, he was induced to forsake his asylum. For some time the new sovereign dissembled his intentions, and waited for a favourable opportunity to seize him. As soon as he was taken, he offered the emperor two hundred thousand dollars to spare his life; but the monarch haughtily replied, that he wanted not his money, and that he would not condescend to accept a bribe from a traitor. He then ordered his two hands to be cut off, in which state he suffered him to remain for some days, and then commanded him to be beheaded. One of his hands was placed on the walls of Fez, and the other sent down to Tangier, and ordered to be nailed on the door of the Spanish consul, to convince that nation in what manner the emperor was disposed to treat all the friends of the Spaniards.

The emperor always, indeed, manifested an exclusive preference to the English beyond all European nations, and on many other occasions evinced an inveterate dislike to the Spaniards. From the moment of his accession to the throne, he expressed a disapprobation of the Spanish measures, during his father's reign; and threatened to revenge himself very shortly on that country. The Spaniards, who have more reason to wish for peace, from their ports being so contiguous to the emperor's, as well as from the immense supplies which they procure from his dominions, than any other nation, endeavoured to ward off the threatening storm, by very large and repeated presents of money, and other valuable articles, to the emperor and his ministers. But this plan, which had been so successful in the former reign, effected nothing in the present. Muley Yazid had, from his youth, been disregardful of money; and, indeed, in his contempt of wealth, had even exceeded the boundaries of prudence; he had also conceived a very strong and very early predilection in favour of the English. Notwithstanding these circumstances, the Spaniards still continued to entertain hopes of success in their negociations, till they heard of the death of the effendi, their great friend and patron, and of the insult offered to their court, by

the effendi's hand being nailed on their consul's door. Such an affront was sufficient to convince them, that war was inevitable; but they esteemed it most prudent to get their consul and friars out of the country, before they commenced hostilities: and a frigate for this purpose was dispatched to Tangier. When they arrived there, they informed the governor, that they had on board a very valuable present for the emperor, and desired that he would send proper persons to receive it. The consul and friars took this opportunity of coming on board; and the frigate having sent off the Moors with the present, set sail, and the next day captured two Moorish gallies off Larache, in sight of the emperor, who was walking upon his terrace at the very moment. The valuable present which they carried proved nothing more than huge bales of rags.

These repeated insults were not calculated to conciliate the emperor; he consequently made immediate preparations for the attack on Ceuta, and soon after besieged it. But this garrison proved too strongly fortified both by nature and art to render it possible for the Moors to be successful, unless assisted by a naval power; and the emperor, after a fruitless siege for several months with a very considerable army, was obliged to retire. The insults offered by the Spaniards in the deception they employed to procure the release of their consul and friars, and afterwards in the capture of the two Moorish vessels, made such an impression on the emperor, that he threatened to put the town of Tangier to the sword, for so flagrant a piece of neglect. In their justification, the people informed their sovereign, that the error must be imputed to the governor, who alone was responsible for every circumstance which happened within his district. This officer, who at the risk of his life had supported Muley Yazid in his minority with money, and afterwards placed him on the throne, for which the emperor took a solemn oath that he would never do him or his family the smallest injury, was now thrown into irons, and immediately ordered into the royal presence. The unfortunate man, foreseeing his fate, requested the emperor would do justice to God and Mahomet; to which he replied, I mean to do justice to my country by punishing a traitor; and he immediately dispatched him with a musquet.

The numberless cruelties committed by Muley Yazid, it would be shocking to enumerate. He in a short time devoted himself entirely to the drinking of strong liquors, which for the greatest part of the day rendered him unfit for business, and excited him to the most savage cruelties; and, what was most distressing, where they were the least deserved: with some he amused himself by galloping up with great violence and spearing them, others were buried alive, while a third party were cut to pieces with swords.

It is almost unnecessary to add, that the neglect of public business, and the total insecurity of their persons from the tyranny of the monarch, destroyed in time entirely the confidence which the people had at first placed in their sovereign, and encouraged Muley Hasem, towards the latter part of the year 1791, to put himself at the head of an army in opposition to his brother. This prince, who possessed most of the bad, without any of the good qualities of the emperor, and who commanded against him during the life of Sidi Mahomet, was further induced to this measure in consequence of a supply of stores, and considerable sums of money, which he received from the Spaniards, who had great reason to wish a change of government. The emperor, who still had many friends, soon collected a considerable army, with which he marched to the southward to dislodge his brother, who had taken possession of the city of Morocco and its vicinity. Muley Hasem, upon this occasion, discovered his usual pusillanimity, by resigning his command to one of his generals, who, however, was an active and enterprising officer. When the two armies met, a dreadful engagement ensued. The emperor discovered an uncommon share of personal courage, intermixing with the enemy, and fighting like a private soldier. After a severe conflict, he totally routed the enemy and took possession of Morocco, but not before he had received several wounds, which in a few days proved mortal. During the short period of life which remained to him, his whole attention was occupied in punishing the people of

Morocco for their attachment to his brother. Between two and three thousand of the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex, were massacred in cold blood; while he ordered some of them to be nailed alive to the walls, tore out the eyes of others with his own spurs, and, in his dying moments, passed an edict that sixty people of Mogodore, among whom were most of the European merchants, should be decapitated, for the assistance which he supposed they had afforded to his brother. Fortunately for them, he died soon after issuing the order, and it was not forwarded.

Muley Yazid, who only reigned two years, and at his death was in the forty-third year of his age, was possessed of many qualities, which, if they had been properly improved, would have rendered him a very useful monarch in a country where the sovereign possesses so much influence over his subjects: naturally quick of apprehension, determined in his conduct, and not easily biassed by the persuasion of others, possessing a great share of personal courage, and a total contempt of wealth; had these endowments of nature been meliorated by an enlightened education, they might have enabled him to have accomplished some reformation in his subjects, and perhaps led the way to some further improvement. Unfortunately, this prince too easily gave way to the dictates of his passions, which soon rendered him totally incapable of carrying on even the common business of government; and rendered him as great a monster as ever filled the throne of Morocco.

After the death of Muley Yazid, the country sunk into a state of misery and confusion; and the people were rendered extremely cautious in their election of another emperor. To the southward of Sallee, Muley Hasem, from possessing the army, was obeyed as the sovereign; while on the northern side of the empire, Muley Solyman, the brother of Muley Yazid, who from his exemplary conduct gained the esteem of the people, was considered as emperor. Muley Hasem was compelled to yield to his superior influence; and Muley Solyman is in the tranquil possession of the throne. He has attained the age of fifty-six: he is tall and lusty; his countenance is rather handsome, is not too brown, and has the expression of kindness. He is distinguished by large and lively eyes. He speaks fast, and comprehends quickly. His dress is simple, not to say plain: he is always wrapt up in a coarse haick or great coat; and his gait is easy. He is fakih, or doctor in law, and his education was entirely Mussulman. His court displays no splendour. During the period of his encampment in the country, his tents are placed without any order. Those of the sultan are in a large and vacant space, surrounded by a parapet of painted cloth, representing a wall. In the tent of his generals there is no other furniture than two mattresses, a large carpet, and a single candlestick, with a lighted wax-candle. Round each tent the horses and mules of its proprietor are fastened; and there are only two or three camels in the whole camp; which sometimes contains 6000 men. The emperor is a quiet and peaceable man, and his study and attention appear to be directed to the welfare and happiness of his people. He has alleviated Christian slavery, and he employs no Turks to oppress the people. He refrains from recruiting the army of blacks which Muley Ishmael imported from the southward of Sebara to intimidate and oppress his unfortunate subjects; and which once amounted to 40,000 men. The repose of the emperor has only been disturbed by a few petty feuds which are beneath the dignity of history.

CHAP. V.

A description of Tripoli.—Horrible atrocities.—Sidi Hassan is murdered in the presence of his mother Lilla Alluma, by his own brothers Sidi Hamet, and Sidi Useph.—The body of the murdered bey.—Sprinkling of blood.—History of Tunis.—Succession and character of its beys.—Strength of the Tunisian army.

THE more early revolutions of this state may be pertinently omitted, being only a series of perfidy, ambition, and unnatural murders, like those of the other states of Barbary—the same scenes, performed by different actors.

It is governed by a bey, and is, like the other republics of Barbary, under the protection of the Porte, to which they pay a yearly tribute.

This kingdom is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean, on the east by Bara; on the south by Sara, or the great desert; and on the west partly by Tunis, and partly by Bilidulgerid. It is generally divided into two provinces, maritime and inland. Each of which has several cities and towns, the most remarkable of which are the following:

Tripoli, the capital of the whole kingdom, is divided into two parts, the old and the new. The old is now almost in ruins; but the new, which is situated at some distance from it, is very populous, though not very large. It is situated upon a barren sandy ground, inclosed with good walls, pyramidical towers, ramparts, &c. but without any ditches. It has only two gates, one next the sea, where it opens itself in the form of a crescent, and the other on the south towards the land. The point to the eastward is only an assemblage of rocks, with ancient and now almost ruined forts; the other to the westward is flanked with a large castle. It has several good modern fortifications furnished with large cannon.

The town has a good appearance on the outside, but within very poor and despicable. The houses are mean, low, and dark; the streets narrow, dirty, and irregular. Near it are still remaining some monuments of its ancient splendor; particularly a very magnificent triumphal arch. Near half of this curious piece of antiquity is buried in the sand; but what remains of it abundantly demonstrates its ancient grandeur. In a burying-place adjacent to the walls are found coffins, urns, medals, and other curious relics of antiquity. The friars of the Franciscan order have a handsome church, convent, and hospital in the city, the latter of which is very necessary in a place so frequently ravaged by the plague. The country adjacent to the city is full of villas, which are cultivated by Christian slaves, and nearly resemble those we have already described in the history of Algiers.

Capes, or Capez, is a large town, and well fortified. It stands on a bay of the same name, which is defended by a strong fort. Most authors agree, that it is the same with the ancient Tacape, which made so great a figure in the times of the Romans, but the many vicissitudes it has undergone from the Goths and other barbarous nations, and remaining so much exposed to the excursions of the Arabians, who inhabit the mountains, where they preserve their ancient liberty, it is almost deserted by its inhabitants, being at present only inhabited by a few poor fishermen and labourers. The soil which surrounds it is very barren and sandy, producing but very little corn, with a few dates, and a kind of sweet roots, which, mixed with some boiled almonds, is the principal food of its present inhabitants. The river Capez flows through it. This river is supposed to be the Triton of the ancients. It rises in a sandy desert near mount Vassalet, and, after washing this city, falls into the Mediterranean. Its waters are so hot, that they cannot be drank, till after they have been set by an hour.

Elhama, situated about five leagues from Capes, is a very ancient town, being built by the Romans, as is evident from several inscriptions still remaining. It is surrounded

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by a good wall, composed of square stones. The people, who at present inhabit this town and adjacent country, are wretchedly poor, having neither trade, fishing, nor husbandry to support them; but entirely subsist by piracy and robbery. Near this town is a spring of very hot sulphureous water, which is conveyed into the place by an aqueduct, but it must be exposed for twenty-four hours to the air before it is drinkable.

Zoora, or Zara, is supposed to be the port Pisidian of the ancients; but the many vicissitudes it has undergone has reduced it to a mean town, surrounded by a ruined wall, and inhabited only by poor labouring people, who either burn lime for their living, or follow piracy or fishing.

These are all the places of note in this kingdom, and even those which were formerly such trading and opulent cities are at present dwindled into almost uninhabited villages, whose wretched inhabitants are reduced to the utmost degree of misery by taxes, and all kinds of oppressions. In short, their commerce is reduced to the lowest ebb, consisting chiefly in the great quantity of ashes brought hither by the Arabians, which the French, and other European nations, purchase to make glass and soap.

Their principal riches consist in the prizes taken by the corsairs, which are about seven in number, but very small, having but one ship among them, the rest being little gallies.

The government, trades, and custom of this republic, have so near a resemblance to those of Tunis, that it would only be a disagreeable as well as needless repetition to describe them, before we speak of that town. However, they differ from them in one particular point, being more observant of treaties; at the same time never failing to punish severely any who dare to violate them. Whether this proceeds from real probity, or a consciousness of their own weakness, is uncertain; but punctuality is of very great consequence to navigation.

The reigning bashaw in 1784, Alli Caromalli, or Caromanli, was the grandson of Hamet, who after treacherously causing the assassination of the Turkish soldiery, whom he looked upon as his gaolers, succeeded in procuring a *firman* from the Grand Signior, which settled the succession of the pachalic in the Moorish line. Alli had three sons from one wife, the eldest of whom (Sidi Hassan) had the title of bey; by which is designated the legitimate successor to the throne, and was about thirty years of age; the second was named Sidi Hamet; and the youngest, about twenty, Sidi Useph, who at present wields the sceptre of Tripoli: the two younger brothers, but particularly Sidi Useph, conceived a hatred against the bey, and, as usual in all the Mahometan governments, conspired to deprive him of the succession. On the feast of Beiram, which immediately follows the fast of Ramadan, every good Mussulman endeavours to settle all quarrels which may have disturbed the peace of his family in the foregoing year. On the first day of this feast also, it is usual for the subjects of a certain rank to do homage to the sovereign. On such occasions, two of the people in whom the bashaw has the greatest confidence, stand on each side of him; their office is to lay hold of the arm of every stranger that presents himself to kiss the bashaw's hand, for fear of any hidden treachery; and only people of confidence and trust are permitted to enter his presence armed. The drawing-room in honour of the day was uncommonly crowded; when all the courtiers were, in a moment, struck with a sight that seemed to congeal their blood: they appeared to expect nothing less than the slaughter of their sovereign at the foot of his throne, and themselves to be sacrificed to the vengeance of his enemies. The three princes entered with their chief officers, guards, and blacks, armed in an extraordinary manner, with their sabres drawn. Each of the sons surrounded by his officers and guards, went separately up to kiss the bashaw's hand. He received them with trembling; his extreme surprize and agitation were visible to every eye, and the doubtful issue of the moment appeared terrible to all present. The princes formed three divisions, keeping distinctly apart; they conversed with the consuls, and different people of the court, as freely as usual, but did not suffer a glance to escape each other. They staid but a short time in the drawing-room, each party retiring in the same order they had entered; and it

became apparent that their rage was levelled against each other, and not against their father, though the bashaw seemed only to recover breath on their departure. The bey is stated to have used every means to conciliate his brothers, but in vain; and he is described, indeed, as a man of very engaging manners, of a calm and tranquil disposition, which had assumed a cast of melancholy, from having lost all his sons in the dreadful plague that desolated the Barbary states in the year 1785. Savage as these fraternal broils must be deemed, they are sometimes not altogether divested of a noble sentiment. On a rencontre of the two brothers, at the head of their armed followers, Sidi Hamet, the elder, approaching his brother, Sidi Useph, thus addressed him: "Sidi Useph, what shall we get by cutting our servants to pieces *here*, who are all friends, *wield-el-bled* (sons of the town); we may fill the castle with blood, and frighten the women, but *here* we shall escape each other's arms; if we fall, it may be by some of our own people, and our private quarrel will remain unrevenged. Call for your horse, mine is ready, and let us instantly go out in the pianura (or plain), and there settle this dispute between us." At this moment the wife and mother of Sidi Hamet rushed forward, screaming in despair, and, followed by their slaves, awakened the bashaw, by the *woulliah-woo* which ran through the castle. The bashaw ordered them to disarm, and to embrace each other. Sidi Hamet and Sidi Useph approached the bashaw; they each kissed his hand, and laid it on their heads; then kissed his head, and the hem of his garment, and wished him, in the Moorish manner, a long life. They were retiring, and did not offer to salute each other; the bashaw seized both their hands in his, and said, "By the prophet, by my head, by your hands, and by this hand that holds them, there is peace between you." The two brothers had not long before this taken the most sacred oaths of friendship and fidelity to each other, at the shrine of their temple; and they had very recently gone together to renew these oaths in a still stronger manner, by performing the last ceremony resorted to in this country—*the mixing of blood*. To accomplish this barbarous idea, they approached together the altar of Mahomet, and, after swearing by the koran, each to hold the other's life sacred, they wounded themselves with their knives, and mixing their blood in a vessel, shocking to relate, they sipped of it. But oaths had no effect in binding the youngest: he was as faithless to the second as to the bey, whose assassination, and the treacherous manner in which it was accomplished, form a striking picture of these barbarians. It is necessary to premise that this finished hypocrite, Sidi Useph, had made to their mother (Lalla Halluma) the proposal for a reconciliation, entreating that it might take place in her own apartment, and in her presence. When the bey came to his mother's apartment, Lalla Halluma perceiving his sabre, begged of him to take it off before they began to converse, as, she assured him, his brother had no arms about him. The bey, to whom there did not appear the smallest reason for suspicion, willingly delivered his sabre to his mother, who laid it on a window near which they stood; and feeling herself convinced of the integrity of the bey's intentions, and being completely deceived in those of Sidi Useph's, she with pleasure led the two princes to the sofa, and, seating herself between them, held one of each of their hands in her's, and, as she has since said, looking at them alternately, prided herself in having thus at length brought them together as friends. The bey, as soon as they were seated, endeavoured to convince his brother, that though he came prepared to go through the ceremony of making peace with him, yet there was not the least occasion for it on his part, for that he had no animosity towards him; but, on the contrary, as he had no sons of his own living, he considered Sidi Hamet and him as such, and would continue to treat them as a father whenever he came to the throne. Sidi Useph declared himself satisfied, but said, to make Lalla Halluma easy, there could be no objection, after such professions from the bey, to their both attesting their friendship on the koran; the bey answered, "With all my heart, I am ready." Sidi Useph rose quickly from his seat, and called loudly for the koran, which was the signal he had given his infernal

blacks to bring his pistols, two of which were immediately put into his hand, and he instantly fired at the bey as he sat by Lalla Halluma's side on the sofa. Lalla Halluma raising her hand to save her son, had it most terribly mangled by the splinters of the pistol, which burst, and shot the bey in his side. The bey rose, and seizing his sabre from the window, where Lalla Halluma had laid it, he made a stroke at his brother, but Sidi Useph instantly discharged a second pistol, and shot the bey through the heart. To add to the unmerited affliction of Lalla Halluma, the murdered prince, in his last moments, erroneously conceiving she had betrayed him, exclaimed, "Ah, madam, is this the last present you have reserved for your eldest son?" What horror must such words, from her favourite son, have produced in the breast of Lalla Halluma in her present cruel situation! Sidi Useph, on seeing his brother fall, called to his blacks, saying, "There is the bey, finish him." They dragged him from the spot where he yet lay breathing, and discharged all their pieces into him. The bey's wife, Lalla Asher, hearing the sudden clash of arms, broke from her women, who endeavoured to restrain her, and springing into the room, clasped the bleeding body of her husband in her arms, while Lalla Halluma, endeavouring to prevent Sidi Useph from disfiguring the body, had thrown herself over it, and fainted from the agony of her wounded hand. Five of Sidi Useph's blacks were, at the same moment, stabbing the body of the bey as it lay on the floor; after which miserable triumph they fled with their master.

Their wanton barbarity, in thus mangling the bey's remains, having produced the most dreadful spectacle, Lalla Asher, the bey's wife, at this sight of horror, stripped off all her jewels and rich habits, threw them in the bey's blood, and taking off from one of her blacks the worst apron among them, made that serve for her whole covering.—Thus habiting herself as a common slave, she ordered those around to cover her with ashes, and in that state she went directly to the bashaw, and told him, if he did not wish to see her poison herself, to give immediate orders that she might quit the castle; for she would not live to look on the walls of it, nor to walk over the stones that could no longer be seen for the effusion of the bey's blood, with which they were now covered.

As Sidi Useph left the castle he met the great chiah, the venerable Abdallah, the son of the late Turkish bashaw, who was much attached to the royal family of Tripoli, and loved by the people. The officer seeing the dreadful state of Sidi Useph, who was almost covered with his brother's blood, expressed his fears that something fatal had happened. Sidi Useph aware that, from the religious principles of this officer, he would abhor and severely condemn the crime he had committed, at the moment he met him stabbed him to the heart, and the chiah died instantly at his feet. Sidi Useph's blacks, who were following him, threw the chiah's body into the street, before the castle gates, and the porters standing by carried it home to his unhappy family. It was buried at three o'clock in the afternoon, at the same hour with the bey's. The short space of little more than four hours had witnessed the bey in the bloom of health, in the midst of his family—murdered, and in his grave.

So habituated are the people to scenes of this kind, that this atrocious murder caused little or no disturbance in Tripoli. The public crier, by order of the bashaw, proclaimed through the city, "To the bey who is gone give a happy resurrection, and none of his late servants shall be molested or hurt." Notwithstanding this declaration, the followers of Sidi Useph, the murderer, were ordered by their master to put to death the servants of the unfortunate bey wherever they could be found. As to the murderer, the grave was scarcely closed over the brother he had so treacherously assassinated, when he gave a grand entertainment, at which the sounds of firing, music, and women hired to sing and dance, were louder than at the feast of a wedding. A few days after this, Sidi Hamet, the second son, was proclaimed bey.

The wretched widow, according to the custom of the country, paid her first visit at the proper time to her husband's grave. It had been previously strewed with fresh flowers, for the second time that day. Im-

mense bouquets of the choicest the season could afford were placed within the turba, or mausoleum, and Arabian jessamine, threaded on shreds of the date leaf, were hung in festoons and large tassels over the tomb. Additional lights were placed round it, and a profusion of scented waters were sprinkled over the floor of the mausoleum before Lalla Asher, the widow, entered the mosque. His eldest daughter, the beautiful Zenobia, was not spared this dreadful ceremony, notwithstanding her severe and dangerous indisposition. The youngest daughter of Lalla Asher, not six years old, was likewise present at this scene of distress; and when this infant saw her mother weeping over the bey's tomb, she held her by her pelisse, and screamed to her to let him out, refusing to let go of her mother, or his tomb, till she saw the bey again. The wretched Lalla Asher, who went there in a state of the deepest dejection, was naturally so much affected at this scene of useless horror, heightened by the shrill screams of all her attendants, that she fainted away, and was carried back senseless to the castle in the arms of the women.

The Moors, instead of lightening the heavy hand of affliction, are ingenious in finding out new means to keep alive the recollection of misfortunes. One of the first requests of Lalla Halluma, the mother of the murdered bey, was, that her company might be taken into the very apartment where, in her presence, the bey met his death. The sight was found by the visitors as strange as it was terrible. Against the walls, on the outside of the apartment, jars mixed with soot and ashes had been thrown. The apartment was locked up, and was to remain in that state, except when opened for the friends of the bey to view it. All in it remained exactly in the same state as when Lalla Halluma received the bey to make peace with his brother. All that the apartment contained was doomed, by Lalla Halluma, as she said, "to perish with the bey, and like him to moulder away in darkness."

The practice of soiling, or defacing, whatever belonged to the deceased, is further instanced in the case of the unfortunate bey. Among the number of horses that had never been mounted by any person but himself, he had one particular favourite: it was remarkably handsome, and beautifully white. During the obsequies performed during the bey's death, when all was wretchedness, and nothing was to be seen but mourning, this beautiful horse formed a painful contrast.—It was the last object that appeared in this scene of horror, in the same state as when it belonged to his late master; but soon its fine appearance was altered. Those who were mourning for the death of the bey sprinkled it with their blood, and strewed it with ashes; and it was led from the place covered with mournful tokens of its master's fate.

We shall now proceed to the history of a more important kingdom.

Tunis is situated in a fine plain, at the point of a gulph to which it gives its names, and about twenty miles from the ruins of the famous Carthage. It lies in the latitude of 36 deg. 58 min. north, and 9 deg. 10 min. east longitude from London. It is above a league in circumference, and forms a parallelogram, or long square. It contains ten thousand families, and above three thousand woollen and linen drapers' shops; their chief trade is with the Venetians and Genoese, in which the Jews are the principal managers, as they are in most towns of any trade in Barbary. But its riches flow chiefly from its piracies, which they account a more noble, or at least a more expeditious trade than husbandry or traffic. The houses are built partly of stone, and partly of brick. Most of them are but one story high, having stone floors, on account of the scarcity of wood.

Africa, or El-media, is a walled town with a good harbour.

Sousa is naturally strong by its situation, standing upon a rock near the sea, and has also a good harbour.

Byserta, formerly a flourishing place, is now but a mean town, built upon the ruins of Utica, famous for the death of Cato.

Goletta is a fort built upon an eminence, having two redoubts, a good harbour, a custom-house and magazines.

Byrsa is a castle built upon the ruins of Carthage, the brave and formidable rival of Rome, but was at last laid in ashes by Scipio.

The most remarkable monuments now remaining among these famous ruins are its

aqueducts and cisterns. The arches of these aqueducts are one hundred and thirty feet high, fourteen in diameter, and the distance between them eighteen feet. The aqueducts are four feet broad, eight deep, and are still vaulted over in many places. The stones of the arches are of a greyish colour, extremely hard, two feet and three quarters square, and joined together with so hard a cement (the composition of which is not yet quite lost among the Moors), that it requires a strong arm and good tool to separate them. The want of good water at Carthage was the motive that produced these stupendous works; for such they certainly were, considering the obstacles, art, materials, and men, requisite to bring water no less than sixty miles, through mountains and over vallies, into the cisterns of Carthage. These reservoirs were of equal dimensions, being each one hundred feet in length, twenty in breadth, and thirty in depth. They are all contiguous to, and have communications with each other. The disposition, beauty, and strength of those cisterns, are highly extolled by antiquarians. Among these ruins are also found medals of gold, silver, and copper. Some represent, on one side, only the head of a horse, and the entire shape of a man; on the reverse are initial letters relating to the times: some have a horse with or without a bridle, intimating Carthage free, and Carthage subdued; a horse being the arms of that city; others have the impression of emperors and empresses, with a variety of emblems.

It must be confessed, that the present bey has added greatly to the respectability of the town's appearance. At the different gates he has erected, under the direction of a Dutch engineer, something like fortifications. But should they ever chance to be attacked, these decorations will be found only like the pasteboard batteries of a theatre. In the neighbourhood of the city, however, he has built several small castles, which promise to afford better protection.

At the upper end of the town stands the castle, built by the Spaniards when they had possession of the country. This fort commands the town, and in case of necessity would keep it in complete subjection.

The port of Tunis is at the Goletta, or entrance from the sea into the lake. As no river, nor even rivulet, runs into the lake of Tunis, the evaporation is supplied by a current at the Goletta from the sea.

At the Goletta, there are two forts of considerable strength, built by the Spaniards during the reign of Charles V. They are in a tolerable state of repair. Several fine guns are to be seen in them, particularly a large one for throwing stone shot, and a gun of exquisite workmanship, which was plundered from the arsenal of Leghorn by the French, and sold by one of Buonaparte's commissaries, to an agent of the bey of Tunis, about seven years ago.

It was at one time the intention of the bey to drain the lake, which is daily filling up by the filth of the city which runs into it. For this purpose, he sent for several engineers from Holland. The intention was to drain the lake, and form a channel of sufficient depth to bring vessels of burthen up to the town, where a handsome port was to be formed, fitted to contain not only merchant vessels, but also the ships of war belonging to the prince. Many obstacles, however, arose to prevent the execution of this princely design. The draining of the lake might create bad air, and the country, which had just been scourged by the pestilence, might again be visited by disease. The engineers were also of opinion, that ten years would be necessary to complete the work, with the labour of ten thousand slaves, and the cost of no small sum of money, besides materials.

The plan was for these reasons abandoned, and the bey contented himself with forming a small port at the Goletta. Into this, vessels of a small draught of water can enter through a handsome canal of stone, in which there is at all times fifteen feet of water.

This being the situation of the port of Tunis, the ships of the bey make use of Porto Farina, as safer and more commodious. Vessels loading or unloading at Tunis, lie off in the roads, in between five and seven fathoms water, with fine anchorage, and are served by large lighters, to transport their cargoes. These lighters, named *sandals*, drawing little water, even navigate in the

lake, and bring their loads to its borders below the city. Ships wishing to avail themselves of the port at the Goletta, can enter on paying a due of three Spanish dollars a-day; but very few choose to lay themselves under so heavy a tax.

The lake between Tunis and the Goletta is of an oval shape, and is about twenty miles round. The few fish which are found in it are of a coarse quality. The birds on its surface are of the common kinds of sea-fowl, if we except the flamingoes, which are here in great number. They are pretty birds, of the size of a swan, and inhabit the lake during all seasons.

The population of the city of Tunis has been computed to amount to upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand souls; and it has been supposed, that before the great plague, which was said to have carried off about one hundred and thirty thousand, its population extended to three hundred thousand. But it is impossible to form a just estimate of its population. Certainly it is great, but in countries under the Mahometan superstition, it is not permitted to enumerate the people. Judging from other Turkish towns, Tunis cannot contain more than one hundred thousand inhabitants. To form a correct idea on this subject, it would be necessary to visit their houses, which are small and full of inhabitants. But by attempting this even in a cursory manner, a Christian would not only incur the displeasure of the people, but also the suspicion of the government, whose spies are at every corner.—Many thousands of the inhabitants seldom leave their houses, unless when obliged by absolute necessity.

The climate of Tunis is one of the finest in the world, and admirably adapted for the production of most of those articles which, for the supply of Europe, are brought from an immense distance. All the coast of Barbary is capable of producing cotton, sugar, and spices of almost every kind. Indigo and silk might be raised with a little care. The soil also, through the whole state of Tunis, is remarkably fine, and with scarcely any cultivation, renders to the husbandman an astonishing return. The district to the eastward renders in a good year even an hundred fold.

At the commencement of the present reign, the number of slaves in the regency of Tunis was considerably increased. The bey was young, and his military spirit led him to make war upon his Christian neighbours, whom he too well knew were unable to resist his force. He encouraged his subjects to fit out privateers, and he himself set his corsairs in order. Many captives were doomed to beat the briny surf, chained to the oar; and many of both sexes fell victims to the brutal passions of the conquering Moors. The island of St. Peter, belonging to the king of Sardinia, was about that time taken by assault; and all its inhabitants, men, women, and children, were carried off into captivity. The number taken in this fruitful enterprise amounted to nearly one thousand, most of whom were women and children.

The unfortunate king of Sardinia has uniformly done whatever lay within the reach of his power, to ransom such of his subjects as had the misfortune to fall into the hands of his enemies. All those who were taken on the island of St. Peter he ransomed several years ago; and at present the total number of his people in slavery, in Tunis, is only twenty-five. These it is his intention to redeem; and a vessel with a flag of truce lately arrived for that laudable purpose, bringing the Moors who were in slavery in his dominions, to be exchanged, and a sum of money to make up the difference. For although the number of Moors equals that of the Sardinians, yet it being customary to give five Moors for two Christians, money is necessary; and the price fixed on the surplus is eleven hundred piastres per head, whether man, woman, or child. Sometimes, indeed, a much larger sum is demanded as a ransom, but such a demand is only made when the slave is a person of fortune, or endowed with some particular talent.

The king of Naples forms a striking contrast to the poor Sardinian king, and shews in this instance the same imbecility which in other cases has so strongly marked his conduct. If an unfortunate female throw herself at his feet, in behalf of the father of her family in slavery, he is said to answer, by demanding, "if she cannot find another

husband as good as he?" And an unfortunate husband, imploring the ransom of his wife, is answered in the same unprincipled unfeeling manner, "What! are women so scarce in my dominions?" The number of slaves in Tunis, belonging to this prince, amounts to nearly two thousand; and, let it be confessed with shame and sorrow, that upwards of one hundred of them were taken navigating under the protection of British passports. In vain had the consul of his Britannic majesty used his efforts for their relief. While his endeavours were frustrated by others in power in the Mediterranean, who, from some strange policy, are afraid of offending the powers of Barbary, though they would not, but through fear, give a single bullock to save the British navy from starving, they must remain in slavery, and carry disgraceful ideas of the British nation into the minds of every one who hears of their situation.

Among the number of those who suffer from this torpor of feeling are several unfortunate females of respectability, particularly a Sicilian lady with five daughters, who are at present in the hands of the kaiya of Porto Farina, or first minister of the bey's marine. As they have come to age, the unhappy mother has had the affliction to behold her daughters sacrificed to the barbarian. One of them fell an early victim, and died in her tender years. But they who thus shamefully keep them in slavery, feel no horror at such inhuman crimes; nor do the sighs of the widow and of the fatherless affect hearts so depraved!

The state of the females who have the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Moors is always deplorable; but the fate of the unfortunate boys who become their victims is still more to be lamented.

If we were able to forget the miserable situation of these unfortunate females and young men, it must be confessed, that in other respects the slaves in Tunis are not ill treated. They are either kept about the houses of their masters, in a domestic capacity, or put out to work at such trades as they have been accustomed to; and they are seldom punished, unless they have committed some offence. Many are employed in the gardens of their masters, and some are permitted to serve in the houses of Christians, who are employed in the service of the bey. If sick, an hospital is provided for them. They are well fed, though not sumptuously; and they are clothed, particularly if they belong to affluent persons, sometimes even in a rich and gaudy style.

Many slaves have lately renegadoed; indeed, in a greater proportion than at any former period. Those who have thus deserted their religion are principally subjects of the king of Naples; and it is thought that they have been driven to this degree of desperation from the hopelessness of being freed by their unfeeling sovereign. The French, much to their credit, have procured the release of every slave subject to the countries which have fallen under their power. No wonder, then, if the Sicilians be ready to welcome those on their island by whom their parents, brothers, husbands, wives, and children, may once more be restored to their native land!

Many conjectures have been made respecting the amount of the revenue of the regency of Tunis. It has been stated to amount to twenty-four millions of piastres of the country. Whatever it may have been at a former period (and it is most certain, that it never amounted to near that sum, even when commerce was in its most flourishing state), at the present moment it does not amount to one-fourth part of that sum, proceeding from its *regular* sources.

The *regular* sources from which the bey draws his revenue are the tithes upon the cultivation of oil, grain, &c.; the produce of his own lands; the sale of tescares (or *permits*) for the exportation of oil and grain, and for the importation of wine and spirits; the customs, which are annually farmed to the highest bidder; the sale of the monopoly of different productions of the country; the sale of governments and *places* in the country; a taxation on the Jews; and the sale of slaves.

The *uncertain* sources of his revenue are his extortions from his rich subjects; the appropriation of the wealth of his rich subjects who die, which is almost universally seized by the government; and his profit in trade,

which is considerable; for, as we have before observed, he is a great speculator in commerce.

Tunis resembles Algiers, and exhibits the same religion, the same government, the same manners, and the same events, which transferred it from the hands of the Arabs into those of the Turks; weakened the authority of the latter, and at length brought it to such a state of debility as to be able to nominate and appoint its own masters under the title of *beys*, but without entirely rejecting the Turkish influence. Till the commencement of the present century, the Grand Seignior appointed deys to the government of Tunis; but they were very different from those of Algiers, being representatives without power or authority. By the assistance of a militia, composed of Moors, Arabs, and above all, renegadoes, the beys rendered themselves completely absolute and independent. The Grand Seignior no longer sends a dey to Tunis. The divan being chiefly composed of friends and creatures of the bey, seems rather assembled for the purpose of giving its approbation to his resolutions, than for consulting on the justice and expediency of any measure; and he is entirely independent of the Porte.

But though we have said that the Tunisians greatly resemble the Algerines, they are distinguished from them by their superior politeness and civilization, and by their being exempted from that pride, insolence, and barbarity, for which the natives of this coast are justly stigmatized. They are affable in their manners, friendly and obliging to strangers, and faithful to their compacts. The extension of commerce, the improvement of manufactures, and the friendships they have formed with the European powers, have no doubt contributed to this happy effect on their minds; and as these circumstances tend to extirpate narrow and confined ideas, they by no means treat Christians with contempt; on the contrary, they allow them that justice, which in vain is expected from their neighbours. Though they keep some Christian slaves, and are not entirely free from that depredatory spirit which characterizes the inhabitants of the Barbary coasts, they treat the captives with a considerable share of lenity and indulgence; and the representations of the European consuls in their favour are always heard with candour and attention, and acceded to with the greatest readiness and alacrity.

In England, where female beauty abounds, the Tunisian women in general would be reckoned handsome, and their offspring are born with the finest complexions that can possibly be conceived. The boys, however, are soon tinged with a swarthy complexion, by the heat of the sun; but the girls, who are retained at home, preserve their native beauty till they are past child-bearing, which is usually about the age of thirty. The Tunisian women are frequently mothers at eleven; and as their longevity is nearly proportioned to that of Europeans, they frequently live to see several generations of their children.

Jealousy, which appears to be endemial in Barbary, prevails less at Tunis than perhaps in any other state which we have described in this part of the globe. As their religion obliges them to frequent ablutions, the baths are much resorted to, particularly by the ladies, who, in their washings, make great use of odoriferous gums and rich perfumes.

The taverns are under much better regulations than those in the neighbouring countries; and even a Turk, who is guilty of intoxication, and behaves himself insolently, may be deprived of his turban till he has made satisfaction. They sell only white wine, which is produced in great plenty in the surrounding country, and is extremely cheap and good. Provisions are so plentiful, that the purchaser of a single quart of wine at a tavern has two or three dishes of fish or flesh placed before him. Though the natives do not abstain entirely from wine, very few drink it to an excess; but they are very fond of a compounded drug called *harix*, which inspires them with a dauntless resolution, and exhilarates the spirits, and seems possessed of nearly the same qualities as opium.

As the religion of the Tunisians obliges them to attend public devotion by break of day, they are very early risers. After performing their morning prayers, they follow their respective employments till after noon, when they again repair to the mosques-

and the business of the day ceases. The Arabs can only be roused by the most pressing necessity to diligence or attention in trade and agriculture; their lives being one continual round of indolence and amusement. To hunt the lions and other wild animals constitutes a favourite diversion; and the inhabitants of a whole district will frequently assemble for this purpose. On these occasions they form a circle of several miles in circumference, which is gradually contracted, till the animals are driven into the centre, where they are immediately dispatched. The ancient diversion of hawking is still practised in this country, which affords great variety of hawks and falcons.

In the habitation of a person of quality, benches may be perceived at the porch or gateway, where the owner receives the visits of his friends and transacts business. Few persons, even of the nearest relatives, are admitted into the interior parts of the house, except on extraordinary occasions. Every city or village has a piece of ground allotted for sepulture, in which every family of distinction has a particular cemetery inclosed with a wall, where they deposit the bodies in separate graves, with stones at the head and feet of each, and either plant the intermediate space with flowers, or cover it with tiles. Persons of quality generally have a square room, with a handsome cupola erected over their graves. This being kept constantly white and clean, illustrates the expression of Christ, where he compares hypocrites to whited sepulchres, which appear outwardly beautiful, but within are full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness.

It is not easy to ascertain the amount of the revenues of the beys of Tunis; as they arise from annual tributes paid by the Moors and Arabs, who often evade them; and from duties on imports and exports, which are in a constant state of fluctuation. The forces of this country consist of renegadoes and a few militia, who are well paid and properly disciplined, and who are kept in garrisons and sea-ports; there being no janissaries here as at Algiers. The beys, however, upon emergencies, command a numerous army of Moors and Arabs, but little dependance is to be placed on their fidelity. The naval strength of Tunis is very inconsiderable, and much inferior to what might be expected from a commercial and maritime nation. There are seldom more than four ships belonging to government, the largest of which do not carry more than forty guns, and all of them are badly equipped for service. These, with thirty galliots, commanded by renegadoes, compose the whole naval force of the beys. Other vessels, however, are fitted out by private adventurers, who allow certain perquisites to the bey on all captures.

The punishments inflicted on criminals are nearly similar to those practised in Algiers; but superstition has taught them the most dreadful tortures relative to such renegadoes as return to Christianity. These are either inclosed in a cloth dipped in melted pitch, and afterwards set on fire; or being wholly covered, except the face and head, those parts are anointed with honey, which exposes them to a miserable and lingering death from the stings of wasps and other insects.

The Moors of Tunis, as we have already observed, appear to be less jealous of their wives than the Turks are. In Turkey, the fair sex are guarded by eunuchs; in Tunis they have none, nor can the women be said to be guarded at all. They are served by Christian slaves, and, which is curious, they fear less to be seen by Christians than by Mussulmans. It is quite uncommon for a Moorish lady to cover herself either before a Christian slaves or Jew. Does this arise from the contempt with which Christian slaves and Jews are considered? A Christian surgeon, who attended the family of the present bey, was strongly suspected of an intrigue with one of his wives. This was reported to the prince, who was promised ocular proof of the guilt of the parties. The bed where the surgeon had lain was found warm, and his slippers by the bed-side; but he had effected his escape through a private door which was discovered in the arras. In the morning the bey sent for him, gave him a purse of money, and desired him to get off the best way he could from his dominions, otherwise he could no longer be answerable for his life. On the woman he inflicted no farther punishment than banishing her ever afterwards from his bed.

The Tunisians have a curious custom of fattening up their young ladies for marriage. A girl after she is betrothed, is cooped up in a small room. Shackles of silver and gold are put upon her ancles and wrists, as a piece of dress. If she is to be married to a man who has discharged, dispatched, or lost a former wife, the shackles which the former wife wore are put upon the new bride's limbs; and she is fed until they are filled up to the proper thickness. This is sometimes no easy matter; particularly if the former wife was fat, and the present should be of a slender form. The food used for this custom, worthy of barbarians, is a seed called *drough*; which is of an extraordinary fattening quality, and also famous for rendering the milk of nurses rich and abundant. With this seed and their national dish *cuscosoo*, the bride is literally crammed, and many actually die under the spoon.

History takes notice of the city of Tunis as early as the first Carthaginian war, when it was the second city of Africa, and was several times lost and regained in these wars. Upon the fall of the Roman empire, Tunis was involved in the general fate, and taken by the Saracens, under whom it was governed by viceroys, with the title of emir, or prince of believers, who first established a form of government in Tunis. This continued in several families near five hundred years; when, by a general revolt, the sovereignty was transferred to the Almohades, who assumed the same honours as were paid to the califs in Africa. These resided at Morocco, governing Tunis by deputies till 1206. At this time the Lassis supplanted them, and first took the title of king, residing at Tunis, and forming a numerous and splendid court.

The kings of this family are allowed to be the first who erected great officers of state, to inspect the several affairs of the kingdom. These princes had for their body guard fifteen hundred renegadoes, besides an army of forty thousand men. Their council consisted of three hundred persons of birth, probity, and experience. The government, after flourishing above three hundred years, terminated in Muley Hasen, whom Barbaroussa drove out of Tunis. This prince, boasting, that he descended from the Lassis, through a succession of thirty-five kings, told the emperor Charles V. that to restore him to the throne of his ancestors would be no less equitable than glorious.

Muley Hasen being restored by that active emperor, became tributary to him, as all his successors were to the kings of Spain till 1574, when sultan Selim II. dispossessed Philip II. of Spain, of Gouletta and Tunis. This put a final period to the splendour and power of the kings of Tunis.

At the foundation of the kingdom of Tunis by Sinan Pacha, admiral of the Levant, this country was divided by the revolt of the city Cairouan against Tunis. Ayadar had artfully fomented these commotions, and disposed the Tunisians to receive the yoke. Sinan, who was no less a statesman than a warrior, foreseeing that such factions would soon prove the overthrow of his infant state, for security placed it under the protection of the Grand Seignior, created a pacha in Tunis as his representative, formed a divan, which almost entirely consisted of military persons, and at his departure for Constantinople left a body of four thousand janissaries as a curb to any mutiny. But the rapaciousnes of the pachas, obliged the Tunisians to petition the Grand Seignior to abolish the dignity. This he accordingly granted, and they immediately elected a dey, with the same power as that of Algiers.

The first dey who reigned under the title of calif was massacred. Ibrahim, who succeeded him in 1575, wisely prevented the same fate by withdrawing to Mecca.

After this time to that of Agi Mehemet Cogia, that is an hundred and twenty years, there reigned twenty-three deys, all of whom, except five, were dethroned, strangled, or murdered. A Genoese renegado, who some time in this interval commanded the gallies of Byserta, was known to have taken above twenty thousand Christian slaves. The beys, or second officers of state, by degrees raised their power on the ruin of the deys, and it is now so absolute, that when the bey assembles the divan, it is not so much to consult, as to command its approbation of resolutions taken without its privacy. Violence carries the election of the beys, the divan having very little share in it. The beylik is

not hereditary, unless the son can form the strongest party, and if several sons of the bey are competitors, no regard is had to primogeniture, but he who is thought best qualified, or has managed best his intrigues, is proclaimed.

Upon the death of Morat II. Mehemet, Aly, and Ramadan, his three sons, all aspired to the government. But Ramadan patiently resigned his claim, allowing the kingdom to be divided betwixt his two brothers, whose ambition, for a long time, occasioned a great deal of blood. Mehemet, who was excessively superstitious, whether he could not reconcile his religious duties with the practices of the government, or whether he was more disgusted with opposition than pleased with power, abdicated in his brother's favour, and retired to Cairouan, giving himself up to solitude and devotion. The quiet of Tunis was scarcely settled when it was again disturbed by the death of Achmet, Mehemet's eldest son, whom Aly, though entrusted to him by his father at his resignation, had caused to be murdered. Achmet Cheleby, at that time dey, which was now only a subordinate dignity, aiming at the destruction of the two brothers, informed Mehemet of this perfidy, offering to assist him in his revenge. This roused Mehemet from his solitude, he hastened to Tunis, and Achmet Cheleby ordered the gates to be shut against Aly, who, in an attempt upon the city, was totally defeated, and forced to fly to Kef.—Mehemet declared, that he only pursued the authors of his son's murder, and these having notice from Aly Bey to take care of themselves, they escaped on board a vessel. But Mehemet was too expeditious for them, and, before they could put to sea, took the vessel, and sacrificed them all to his revenge. Cheleby, at the same time, whose hopes depended on the variance of the two brothers, was fomenting discontent in Tunis, and the militia not only shut the gates against Mehemet, but declared they would not obey two brothers who alternately destroyed them; and that the submission of Tunis was to be obtained upon no other terms than by sacrificing his brother to the public tranquillity. Upon this, a great part of Mehemet's troops deserted into Tunis, which facilitated a reconciliation between the two brothers. Yet Cheleby attacked and defeated them. The dey being remiss in improving his victory, they obtained, for 40,000 piastres, a body of troops from the Algerines. These forces were headed by Ibrahim Dey, who, with the two princes, besieged Tunis from September 1685 to June 1686, when the Moorish chiefs, weary of their confinement, abandoned Cheleby, and retired to their mountains.

Cara Osman, who commanded the cavalry in Tunis, left the town, under pretence of pursuing the deserters, but went over to the beys, to whom Tunis opened her gates, rather as friends than conquerors. Cheleby, endeavouring privately to escape, was discovered, and carried to Ibrahim's tent. The Algerines, being now masters of Tunis, committed the most shocking cruelties. Some of them were so insolent as to pursue two Moors into Mehemet Bey's palace, and even dragged them into his apartment, brandishing their sabres in a threatening manner; at which Mehemet was so terrified, that, in order to quiet them, he commanded the poor creatures to be thrown headlong from the terrace, and stole away to his camp. The next night Ali, being informed of the enormities of the Algerines, hastened with some troops to the city, and forced the Algerines immediately to leave it. Some of them, of Cheleby's party, resolving to destroy the two beys, whom they imagined to be in the dey of Algiers' tent, repaired thither before break of day. But being disappointed, they made towards Ali's tent. Mehemet fled out of his camp, but Benchouque, his brother-in-law, overtook him, and represented to him that his presence would quiet every thing, and that Tunis was the spot where he must die or reign. This pusillanimity of Mehemet revived the courage of Cheleby's party, which entered privately into Ibrahim's camp, intending to carry him off, and proclaim him bey. But as this was opposite to the interest of the dey of Algiers, he immediately had him strangled. His warmest partisans, at the sight of his dead body, which was exposed before Ibrahim's tent, were the first to acknowledge Mehemet, who dismissed the Algerines at the same rate he had purchased them. Having now the power in his hands,

he had recourse to oppressions and confiscations, so that no person of wealth could escape his insatiable avarice. This prompted the Tunisians to apply a second time to the Algerines, who returned with ten thousand men, under the command of Cheleby Dey. Mehemet marched to fight him; but, upon the general desertion of the Moors, he hastily fled back to Tunis, causing such a consternation, that Ramadan, at that time pacha, the dey, and several Turks of distinction, escaped on board a French vessel bound to the Archipelago, where, being arrived, Ramadan thought proper to throw himself upon the favour of the duke of Tuscany.

The Algerines laid waste the whole country, and besieged Tunis for four months, which was courageously defended by Mehemet; but finding his people were not to be trusted, he secretly conveyed himself into the desart of Zara. The Algerines appointed Benchouque Bey, and Tatar Dey of Tunis. The cruelties of both these exceeded all that had ever been practised. Benchouque was not satisfied with confiscating the whole substance of seven or eight hundred substantial citizens, but ordered them to be tortured to death. But afterwards attempting forcibly to take some women, who were relations to Mehemet, out of a sanctuary or asylum at Cairouan, whither they had fled, all the inhabitants rose in arms, and obliged him to quit the city. This revolt spread itself through many cities. His outrages had quite obliterated all remembrance of Mehemet's exactions; so that a large body of men went in quest of him among the desarts. Mehemet was then concealed in the territories of a powerful shaik, whose father he had deservedly put to death. Being now discovered, he delivered himself up to the shaik, with whom a consciousness of his father's guilt, and the generosity of pardoning a submissive enemy, was so prevalent, that he not only received Mehemet very graciously, but also furnished him with a body of ten thousand horse, which, being joined by Mehemet's friends, defeated Benchouque; the consequence of which was, his re-admission into Tunis. Upon his restoration, Mehemet called Ramadan from Tuscany, and conferred on him the government.

This prince dying soon after of an apoplexy, Ramadan succeeded him in the government, by the interest of the Algerines, in opposition to the divan and people, who sided with Morat, his nephew. Ramadan committed the entire management of all his affairs to Mezaoul, an Italian fidler, whose mal-administration soon set all Tunis in a commotion. He seeing a storm ready to break out, instilled a suspicion into his weak master, that his nephew was plotting against his life, which being laid before the council, who were all creatures to Mezaoul, he was sentenced to lose his eyes. The surgeon, a French renegado, appointed to perform this operation, found means to preserve his sight, with the loss of his eye-lids, which, being covered with blood and tumours, Ramadan and his friends imagined the order had been fully executed. But, to put a matter of this importance beyond a question, fire-pans were laid in his room, against which the prince designedly stumbled; and, as if he knew nothing of their intentions, did not betray the least sign of fear, when they seemed to direct their scimetars at his head. So that Ramadan's council were perfectly satisfied with regard to Morat's blindness. He was confined in the castle of Soussa, under the care of the aga, a renegado monk, nick-named Papafalca, for having changed his religion. If Morat's resolution had deceived the council, the aga penetrated into the deceit, and immediately sent a message to Ramadan, with certain information, that however his eyes were disfigured, his sight was but little prejudiced. Morat, whose good qualities had engaged the greatest part of the Moors, renegadoes, and Turks, in the castle to side with him, sensible that his safety depended on his preventing Ramadan's designs, caused the aga to be killed as they sat at table, and fled to the mountains of the Ossolites, about thirty leagues from Tunis. Upon the report of his arrival, the greatest part of Ramadan's troops deserted to him. Ramadan, who was endeavouring to escape by sea, was seized, strangled, and his dead body burnt to ashes. Mezaoul was shut up in an iron cage, where for two days successively his body was torn away piece by piece, after which his disfigured carcase was thrown to the mob, who

treated it with most brutal indignities. Morat was so cruel in his revenge, that he insulted the body of his uncle after his death, and even mixed his ashes with his wine. The first public act of his reign was a war with the Algerines, for promoting his uncle Ramadan. The losses and charges of the war, Morat's profusion, and consequently oppressions, his unbounded revenge, and his atrocious violation of all ties, civil or religious, brought the most deplorable calamities upon Tunis.

The morabouts, and men of the law, though held in great veneration, did not escape his revenge for signing the decree of his uncle against him, though the manner of it was rather ridiculous than cruel; for, having summoned them to his palace, he ordered them to be stripped and laid upon the floor, and after keeping them a whole night in this posture he released them, after having ordered his servants to throw pails of water on them, whilst he stood by laughing. Though Morat was openly profane, with regard to his own religion, he shewed a whimsical kind of regard to the Christian faith; for, being in the chapel of the Holy Cross, and seeing there an image of St. Lucia, he asked what it was; being informed that it was the image of a saint whom the Christians invoked for disorders in the eyes, he cried out, then she is for my purpose; cure me, and you shall never want the best oil for your lamps; and to this very day the oil for that chapel is furnished by the government. His life was too long for such a monster, to whom Nero alone can be compared. At last he fell a sacrifice to the public tranquillity, by the hands of Ibrahim Cherif, captain of his guards, whose hazardous attempt was rewarded with the government. Ibrahim, though very brave, and in other respects a very worthy person, was unfortunate. After a disadvantageous war with Tripoli, he was taken prisoner by the Algerines, and after a confinement of seven months, obtained his liberty, but on the hard terms of paying them two hundred thousand piastres, as soon as he should recover his dignity, and also become their tributary. On Ibrahim's arrival at Byserta, with a small retinue, he sent two of his confidents ashore, but being known, they were arrested. Upon which mark of disaffection, he sailed to Porto Farina, where he expected a better welcome. But Assen Ben Aly, who observed him from the shore, sent a vessel in pursuit of him, and in the beginning of the action, Ibrahim Cherif fell by a musket ball. And as his death was owing to Assen's vigilance, he was appointed his successor.

Assen Ben Aly reigned in great peace and quiet; and nothing was wanting to his happiness but an heir to his throne. But with this blessing, notwithstanding his numerous wives, he was not favoured. He, therefore, determined to name his nephew, Aly Bey, who, for some time, had been commanding his camps, to be his successor. In this state matters continued for some time. At last, a young Genoese girl, who had been brought into slavery by a corsair of the bey, being appropriated to the harem, engaged the prince's affections, and proved with child by him. As soon as he was sufficiently convinced of her situation, he assembled a meeting of his divan, to whom he communicated the glad tidings; and put the question to to them, "whether, if she brought forth a male child, they would consider him as his legal successor?" Though, at the same time, he confessed, that all his arts and solicitations had proved insufficient to convert her to their faith. The divan were of opinion, that they could not consider as their prince the son of a Christian slave. By various means, however, Assen at last gained them over to his purpose. She at length bore a son, who was named Mahamed Bey; and afterwards she brought forth two other sons, who were named Mahmoud Bey, and Aly Bey.

Assen, now having three heirs to his throne, sent for his nephew Aly, and informed him, that as heaven had been pleased to change the face of affairs, he could not now leave him his throne, but that still his friendship for him would continue as before. As a proof of this, he sent to the Porte, and purchased for him the dignity of pasha of Tunis, a title, at that time, of great respectability. The young bey submitted to the will of his uncle, and appeared satisfied with the honours which had been procured for

him, and also took the title of Aly Pasha.—But he affected a content which he did not feel; his ambition was sorely hurt; yet he cloaked, with apparent submission, the deep designs which he had formed. He beheld the sceptre which he had so long swayed in idea, about to pass into other hands; and at length, unable to bear a disappointment which so galled his pride, he fled to the mountains of the Osselites. There he put himself at the head of a strong party which he had secretly formed, and marched to attack his uncle. Assen, informed of the treachery and ingratitude of his nephew, drew out his troops, attacked him, put his little army to rout, and obliged him to take refuge in Algiers.

Aly Pasha, during his exile in Algiers, by flattering promises gained over the Algerine government to favour him. They afforded him the assistance he desired. By this he obliged Assen to quit his capital, and gaining a complete victory over him (1735), forced him to take refuge in the mountains of Kieronovan. In consequence of these civil wars, famine desolated the country.—The fugitive prince was forced by it to abandon his retreat in the mountains, and to take up his residence at Susa, a port in the eastern part of the regency. Here the captain of a merchant vessel, named Barillon, lured by flattering promises of reward, should the bey's fortunes take a happier turn, supplied his wants and those of his followers. But his affairs looking day after day more desperate, Assen sent his family to Algiers, the common retreat of the unfortunate beys of Tunis, intending soon to follow himself. In his flight, he was however discovered by Younes Bey, son of the pasha, who immediately, and, with his own hands, cut off his head.

Aly Pasha, thus freed of his most dangerous enemy, flattered himself with the enjoyment of a peaceful reign. In this he was however deceived, for his tranquillity was soon disturbed by the dissensions which took place in his own family. Aly Pasha had three sons, for the second of which, named Mahmed, he had a strong predilection.—Mahmed formed the design of supplanting his elder brother Younes in the succession. For this purpose he alienated the affections of his father from him, and by his reasonings so far worked on his feelings, that orders were given to arrest Younes, under pretence of some private machinations against his father. Younes being on his guard, took refuge in the castle of Tunis, called the Gaspa. The troops of Aly marching against the castle, Younes fled to Algiers.

Mahmed, with the ruin of his elder brother, did not finish his shocking work. A younger brother remained, and him he poisoned. The divan then declared Mahmed presumptive heir of the throne. Thus, imagining himself secure, he prepared to enjoy the fortune which his crimes seemed to have procured; but the scene soon changed.

The city of Algiers, at this period, experienced one of those revolutions so frequent in countries which are governed by military power. A new dey was chosen, and the vote fell on Aly Cheavreaux, a Turk, who, on a former occasion, had been sent on an embassy to Tunis. Here he had received an affront from the haughty Younes, whom he now beheld an exile, reduced to the necessity of imploring his protection. The dey had now the opportunity of revenging the affront he had not forgotten; and refusing to listen to the entreaties of Younes, he resolved on espousing the cause of the sons of Assen Ben Aly. He therefore sent an army, under the command of the bey of Constantine, to establish them in that government which had been wrested from the hands of their father. Victory crowned their enterprise. They entered the city of Tunis, took the pasha prisoner, and immediately administered to him the bow-string. The elder son of Assen was now (1753), with all formality, declared bey of Tunis, and homage was paid to him under the title of Mahamed Bey.

Mahamed Bey was a young prince of an amiable disposition. He unfortunately only reigned during two years and a half, leaving (1756) two sons, Mahmud and Ismail Bey, still in their tender years.

Aly Bey, brother of Mahamed, now mounted the throne, under the promise of resigning it whenever the eldest of his brother's children should be of sufficient age to

hold the reins of government. However, the desire of reigning, and of continuing the government in his own family, led Aly to disregard his promise. On the contrary, he sought by every means to place his nephews in the back ground, and to bring forward to the eyes of the people his own son, the young Hamooda. He bestowed on him the command of his camps, and solicited for him from the Porte, the title of pasha. This he obtained through the interest of the Christian ambassadors at Constantinople, whom he had gained over to his views. In this manner, Aly secured to his son the respect and suffrage of the people. And the young Hamooda, by his arts, gained so complete an ascendancy over the spirits of his cousins, that, at the death of his father in the year 1782, they were the first to pay him homage, as bey of Tunis, and voluntarily withdrew themselves from all pretensions to the government.

At no former period did the state enjoy such tranquillity as under the government of Aly; and since that period, it has suffered from no kind of revolution. Those who might be supposed inclined to revolt are so content under the Bey Hamooda, who will appear, by the character of him which follows, to be a man of penetration and resolution, that they would not hazard the risk of a reverse of fortune.

The remembrance of past misfortunes, and the spectacle continually before them, of the troubles in Algiers, occasioned by the turbulent and over-bearing spirit of the Turks, has proved to the Tunisians the propriety of keeping them at a distance from the government. Hamooda has gradually withdrawn from them that part, which during his father's reign, and the commencement of his own, they had in their hands; and has put into their places persons more devoted to his interests, selected from his Georgians, and others in his confidence. Thus the government of Tunis may be considered as no longer Turkish.

The present bey of Tunis, named Hamooda Pasha Bey, was eldest son of Aly Bey, who left besides him two sons and five daughters. Hamooda Pasha Bey was born about the year 1752; and on the death of his father, mounted the throne in 1782. Hamooda Bey is a man of handsome, shrewd, and penetrating countenance; he is possessed of good natural talents, and, considering his extremely limited education, his judgment is tolerably enlightened. He reads, writes, and speaks the Arabic and Turkish languages, and also speaks the "Lingua Franca," or Italian of the country.

It is observable, that Hamooda Bey, from great practice, added to a considerable portion of natural sagacity, has a wonderful facility in penetrating into the characters of those who approach him. In reasoning, he is keen and quick; seizes the principal points of the argument, and judges with precision and wisdom. He is no stranger to the art of dissimulation; which he can practise to its full extent, when occasion requires it. No actor can play his part better.

In the art of governing, he cannot be supposed to possess any of those qualities which render men great in European states, where governments are on an extensive scale: and he appears not to have any of those noble or expanded ideas which bespeak a great mind. As an instance of this, he still continues to follow the wretched policy of eastern courts. He must, therefore, be considered as a barbarian prince, who governs a state without any knowledge of that policy which directs enlightened nations. Considering him in this light, we must give the praise of ability; for he certainly holds a tight rein of government, and acts with such a degree of firmness as to keep under all intrigues or civil broils in his country.

The state of Tunis never was on so respectable a footing as it is at present; and the subject never before enjoyed such independence and protection from external enemies. The troops of Hamooda, such as they are, are better paid than those of any former prince; and though they are more like a band of free-booters than a regular army, yet they are sufficient to keep in check his enemy, the Algerines, who are certainly no better.

Since Hamooda Bey mounted the throne, no attempt capable of giving him much uneasiness has been made to wrest the sceptre from his hands. He lives on friendly terms

with his cousins the rightful heirs, with his brother, and with his nephews. A son of Younes Bey, who took refuge in Algiers, signified a wish to reside at the court of Tunis, and even came to Biserta. The bey sent a guard of honour to meet him, clothed him sumptuously, and brought him to live in his palace at Bardo. This prince resided at Bardo for several years, during which time the Algerines, who are the natural enemies of Tunis, seduced him, and, in an unhappy moment, he entered into a seditious and rebellious correspondence. This treachery was discovered, though only a few years ago, and he suffered by the bow-string.

The brother of the bey, who lives constantly at Bardo, is on the most intimate footing of friendship with him; and both he and the nephews, who also, with their wives and families, live at Bardo, ride out with him, and partake of all his amusements. But as revolts are common in these countries, the bey finds it prudent that they should live under his own eye, and never leave the palace without his permission.

Hamooda has no issue; for, although several sons have been born to him, they have all died in their infancy. It is still uncertain which of his nephews will be named by him for his successor. He has four nephews, two by his brother, and two by one of his sisters, all of whom are nearly of the same age; although none of them have reached the age of majority, they are all married and have families.

It is generally supposed, that the eldest son of the brother will become successor. He is a young man of a tolerably good natural disposition, but has not shewn any marks of superior abilities. None of the other young men shew half so much prudence as even he, and neither of the four possess, in any degree, the talents of their uncle.

Hamooda has several wives, but passes little time in their society. A few years ago, a Christian child of eight years of age was brought into slavery. The bey was struck with her beauty and promising talents, and declared his intention of marrying her as soon as she should arrive at maturer years. She was sent with her mother to the house of one of his renegadoes, a man of great talents, who received orders to pay attention to her education; but the malignant fever, which raged a short time after, carried her off. The bey was much affected at this misfortune, and has never since shewn any inclination to fall in love. But many fine Georgian youths are said to be sacrificed to his vices.

In the early part of his life, Hamooda was as much inclined to worship the god Bacchus, as to follow the rules laid down by the prophet. He was much addicted to the use of wine; and his palace had more the appearance of being the seat of a northern than of an oriental prince. His slaves, who had not the same injunctions laid on them by their religion, indulged him in his excesses, and became his companions in riot and revelry. Great outrages were committed by them, when under the influence of wine; but a circumstance which happened during one of his debauches, about ten years after he came to the throne, had a salutary effect on the conduct of this prince.

One night, as they were over their cups, a noise was heard in the court-yard below; with impatience the bey demanded the occasion of it; and finding that it proceeded from some people of the dey of Algiers, who were also making merry; he ordered his late prime minister, Mustafa, who was a sensible man, to have them immediately strangled.

The prudent minister, who is still much spoken of, received the order, but contented himself with putting the poor fellows in prison; telling the prince that he had been obeyed. In the morning, when the fumes of the preceding night's debauch had begun to subside, the bey inquired after the Algerines. Mustafa reminded him of the order he had given the night before. Almost frantic, Hamooda asked if it had been obeyed? Mustafa answered in the negative; for which the prince thanked him; and since that time he has never tasted wine nor strong drink.

From avarice, and a mistaken idea in the art of governing, it must be confessed that Hamooda oppresses his subjects; and that by engaging himself in commercial pursuits, he prevents them from trading with that

spirit which they would display, if they had not to contend with their prince.

Wherever his interest is concerned, whether in public or in private disputes, the bey is extremely partial in his judgment; but where that is not concerned, he decides with wisdom and equity. Formerly, the governors of districts oppressed the people under them with impunity. At present, the peasantry have free access to their prince, and receive ample satisfaction from his justice.

Formerly, all posts were filled by Turks. The bey acts on a different principle; he gives up his power of governing to none; holds the reins in his own hands; rewards and chastises from the highest to the lowest. Those about him who have any influence, are either renegadoes or slaves; but though apparently they have power, yet, in reality, their influence over him is very limited.

Since Hamooda Bey mounted the throne, fewer conspiracies have happened than are usual in this state. The only disturbance worthy of notice was that which took place about sixteen years ago, and which had nearly cost him his life.

Three young Georgian slaves, who had suffered many insults, and the most brutal treatment, rashly formed the design of putting to death the bey their master. They hoped, that if they should succeed in assassinating him quietly, the whole suspicion of his murder would fall on the sapatapa who guarded the bey, and was the person by whom they had been so grossly ill-treated.

At the dead of night, these three desperadoes entered the chamber of the bey, who was asleep, but awoke on their approaching his bedside. Their intention was to cut his throat, and immediately after to leave the room; but clapping his hands to his throat, he prevented their design, and calling for help, the favourite, who slept in an adjoining room, flew immediately to the assistance of his prince. In assisting his master, the sapatapa was severely wounded, both by a pistol-shot and a poignard; but none of his wounds proved mortal. Other slaves were awakened by the noise, and ran to the bey's chamber; among the first was Soliman Kaiya, who met one of the assassins endeavouring to make his escape, and cleft him through by a stroke of his sabre. The other two made their retreat to an upper chamber. There they barricaded the door, and resisted every flattering promise which was held out to them if they would surrender. Too well acquainted with oriental policy, they knew the fate which awaited them. At day-break, when they knew they must be overpowered, a report of pistols was heard; and on breaking open the door, it was found that the two unfortunate youths had fallen by each other's hands. The eldest of the three could not count sixteen years of age.

The bey is said to have behaved with great courage and presence of mind on this occasion. He was severely wounded in the hand, by one of their knives, called *yatagans*, which he had seized in hopes of wresting it from one of them. In warding off another blow, he received a wound in his cheek, the mark of which is still visible.

The bey was much affected at this misfortune. The young men, until the very last, declared, that the desperate design was only entered into in the hopes that their brutal oppressor might suffer for it. The bey is said to have indicated to the sapatapa great displeasure at his cruel treatment of the slaves, many complaints of which had reached his ears, which he had not been before inclined to believe.

When Mahamed Bey died, he left two sons, of whom little notice has been taken.

On the death of Aly Bey, in 1782, seeing that it would be vain to strive against the stream of fortune which ran strongly against them; they were the first who saluted their cousin Hamooda as their prince.

The names of these two princes are Mahmood Bey, and Ismail Bey. Ever since the death of their uncle, and for many years before, they have lived at Bardo, the residence of the bey, distant about four short miles from the capital. They are, according to all accounts, of a quiet and inoffensive character, and have never interfered in the affairs of the state. The eldest is married to his cousin, sister of the present bey, by whom he has two sons, already mentioned among those who may succeed to the throne. The other, Ismail, i s married to a Sardinian

renegado, by whom, it is believed, he has no issue. It will also be recollected that Aly Bey, when he died, left, besides Hamooda, two other sons, Mahamed Bey, since dead, and Osman Bey, who is living. Osman is married, and has two sons, the most promising of all the young beys, and the most likely to succeed the present prince.

Of the five daughters whom Aly left, two were married to his prime minister Mustafa Cogia, one to his nephew Mahmood, another to Ismail Kaiya, a late captain pasha of the Grand Seignior; the fifth remains unmarried from choice. Mustafa and the kaiya have left no issue by these princesses.

Mustafa *Cogia* (or the secretary) was a Georgian slave, who obtained his freedom from his master on account of his fidelity, and the many useful services he had rendered him. On Hamooda's accession to the throne, Mustafa was still continued in place; and to his prudence and good counsel we may ascribe, in a great measure, the respectable state of the bey's affairs.

After the death of his brother-in-law Mustafa, the bey, fond of managing his own affairs, never named a successor to him. He acts in all things himself as prince and minister. The seals of the state he put into the hands of one of his Georgian slaves, who from holding that office is called sapatapa.

We have before observed, that the court of Hamooda Pasha Bey is formed of slaves and renegadoes: it may, therefore, not be uninteresting to inquire into the characters of the leading men among them.

At the court of Hamooda, the sapatapa figures in the first sphere. He is a Georgian slave, who, in his younger days, was, on account of his beauty, presented to the bey. Besides being keeper of the seals, he is head of the body guard, and, under the prince, commander of the army. The sapatapa is changed in his appearance, from what he must have been in his youth. He is now corpulent and heavy; his face, the true picture of his mind, expresses insolence and discontent. He is cruel, revengeful, jealous, intriguing, and avaricious; and abounds with all that low cunning, so unavoidably attached to slavery. He appears to be about sixty years of age.

Since the late victories over the Algerines, he is allowed to sit down in the bey's presence. This is one of the highest honours that can be conferred on a man who still continues a slave, notwithstanding many efforts to procure his freedom, which the bey, from some unknown reason, refuses to grant. Being a slave, he is unmarried.

As a statesman, the sapatapa has never displayed any talents. As a soldier, he has been fortunate, but in the field of action has shewn no signs of ability; and his courage, by all accounts, has merited no great praise.

The sapatapa is immensely rich, which may be one of the reasons why the bey refuses him his freedom. His slaves are numerous, ill fed, ill paid, and worked harder than any others; and when a ransom is offered for any of them, his avarice knows no bounds. His mercenary spirit has greatly injured commerce. He is a great and ruinous merchant and speculator, and few of the country dare to vie with him in the markets of Tunis, or even in those of France and Italy.

The next character in the state is Soliman Kaiya, another Georgian slave. He is second in the command of the army, and also conductor of the camps which go to collect the tribute and dues of the bey, on the frontiers of the state. His character is an exact contrast to that of the slave before mentioned. He is a man of a noble appearance, and great suavity of manners. He is open, liberal, brave even to rashness, and more humane than could be expected from a man reared among barbarians. Every art that can possibly be used to ruin him with the bey has been tried by the sapatapa, who is jealous of his good qualities; but Soliman, prudent as well as brave, knows his situation, and avoids every snare which is laid to entrap him.—The bey is also too well convinced of the talents of Soliman, and of the services he has rendered, to listen to any thing which might injure him. Had he been brought up in a Christian country, and studied military tactics, it is likely that he would have become both a great general and a great man. In the field, he is more a courageous soldier than a prudent officer; and what he achieves, with the rabble under his command, is more

the result of animal courage than of good generalship. Soliman is a man of about thirty-six years of age.

Another leading character at the court of Hamooda Bey is Mariano Stinco, a favourite slave, who has the superintendance of the rest. He is by birth a Neapolitan; but many years ago was captured, and brought into Tunis. All attempts to convert him to the Mussulman faith have proved abortive; he still remains a Christian. He is also employed as a private secretary and interpreter by the bey, when he receives any letters from the consuls, which he is at a loss to understand.

The guardian basha, or head guard over all the slaves, is a Neapolitan renegado of infamous character. This fellow was at one time employed in a place of trust at Naples; but abusing the confidence placed in him, he, with some accomplices, committed a robbery to a considerable amount, and fled from the country. Information of him having been obtained, he was pursued from place to place, until he landed at Tunis; where, to save his head, he changed his faith and his name.

The guardian basha is one of the cleverest men, and one of the greatest villains, in the regency; there is no possible crime which he has not committed. The late bey thought of profiting by his intellects, and employed him about his person; but his old disease again seized him—he made false keys, and pilfered from the treasure of his master. For this he was put under the bastinado, and received fifteen hundred strokes; after which he was thrown into chains, and condemned to the galleys. The French consul solicited the bey for him, to serve as a dragoman; which was reluctantly granted. In this situation he remained for some time; but having often the opportunity of guarding his master to Bardo (for in this country a dragoman has the same signification which a janissary, or guard, has in the Levant), he succeeded in again ingratiating himself at court; a matter of no great difficulty, where the generality are nearly as bad as himself. He at last obtained the situation of guardian basha. In this post he has amassed a large sum of money; but the bey often lays a hand upon his purse, and borrows a portion of his spare cash. A very sharp eye is kept upon him; and should he ever dare to try escaping to Europe, his fate is certain. From several small imposts, such as a tax upon all wine sold in the capital, and by cheating the poor slaves of their maintenance, his income surpasses 40,000 piastres annually. When any slave is fortunate enough to make his escape, the guardian basha is made to pay a sum of more than three times the amount of the ransom that would have been demanded.

The bey of Tunis can, at all times, upon a short warning, call to the field from forty to fifty thousand men of his militia; more than three-fourths of which are cavalry. He has also in his service, about six thousand Turks. These, in this country, are reckoned much better soldiers than the natives, are more feared by the Moors, more courageous, and more cruel.

It has been mentioned before, that the troops of the bey are more like an armed rabble than a regular army. They are only fit to oppose those with whom they have to fight, who are no better than themselves; and would be defeated, in every encounter, by a regular army of one-tenth of their numbers.

The army of the bey which went against the Algerines in the spring of 1807, consisted of upwards of fifteen thousand cavalry, and ten thousand infantry, besides his Turks. They, in the *run-away* (for it never came to a battle), in the month of March, seized with panic, abandoned the field and fled in every direction, with such precipitation, that the Algerines, without the least trouble, took entire possession of their camp, baggage, and fifteen thousand camels laden with provisions and stores of every description.—Many reached Tunis on horseback, without ever stopping, or even daring to look behind them, imagining the enemy at their heels; and several thousands, in their alarm, rode their animals with such speed that they fell down under them dead. Had the Algerines profited by their victory, they would have rendered themselves masters of Tunis without much difficulty; for, in the capital, the alarm was so great, that it is thought very little resistance would have been made. But, fortunately for the bey, the dey's troops were

so much astonished at the easy conquest of so fine a camp, and so much booty, that they became suspicious of some ambuscade, and preferred retiring with their spoil to the risk of farther pursuit.

This dastardly conduct of the bey's people is said to have arisen from a fear that they were betrayed. Great jealousy reigned in the camp between the two chief leaders.—They disputed between themselves who should be bey of Constantine, which as yet they had not taken. During this dispute, an advanced guard of the Algerines came to reconnoitre. Each party of the Tunisians, suspicious of the other, believed themselves betrayed, and in spite of every persuasion, betook themselves to flight.

The bey with wonderful speed repaired his losses, and again, in July, took the field with his army. On the 13th of that month they were at a distance of only fifteen miles from the army of the dey. The heat was excessive, and the bey's troops were not only fatigued, but also without water. The sapatapa, to whom the bey had given the chief command of the army, made a halt until the next day, during which he sent out a party in search of water. For this purpose he ordered the tents to be pitched, formed his camp, with the cavalry on the skirts, and the infantry in the centre, and placed four of his sixteen field-pieces at each angle. The advanced guard was then sent forward for water, which they knew was to be found at a river about half-way between the two armies. In their way, they fell in with a party of the enemy, which frightened them to such a degree, that they retreated in the most disorderly manner to the camp. Here the whole army took the alarm, and in the greatest confusion began to fly. Indeed, the cavalry set off, and the infantry were preparing to follow. The sapatapa, at this crisis, distracted with the confusion around him, knew not on what course to determine. His troops were flying in every quarter, and from the immense clouds of dust occasioned by the cavalry, he could not discover whether those who advanced were friends or foes, or what might be their numbers. It was the cry of all around him that they were friends; but a Greek slave who had charge of the artillery, convinced that they were the Algerines, contrary to the orders of the commander-in-chief, applied the match to one of the pieces. Fortunately, this shot killed the horse of one of the first assailants, and did some other trifling damage. The Algerines, in their turn, became frightened, pulled up their horses, and receiving a discharge from the remaining three guns, which the Greeks commanded, loaded with round and grape shot, wheeled round, and also took to flight. The bey's cavalry, who were yet at no great distance, seeing this, recovered from their fears, and returning to their duty, pursued the Algerines to their camp.

In the morning of the 14th, the two armies came in sight of each other, on the margin of the river before mentioned, but kept at a safe distance. A kind of irregular fighting continued from day-break till sun-set, without injury on either side; and they appeared more inclined to menace each other than to come to close action. In the evening the Algerines fired a gun without ball. This is understood among these warriors to be a signal that they are inclined to leave off till the morning. No more shot was fired, and the battle of this day was concluded.

Some of the bey's cavalry, however, whom Soliman Kaiya had under his command, being seen on the mountains at sun-set, the Algerines, fearing that it was the intention of the Tunisians to surround them before the morning, again took alarm; fled during the night with as great precipitation as the bey's troops had done in the spring, and left behind them the whole of their stores, camp, and camels. The camels are said to have amounted to ten thousand. The Tunisians took also the whole of the Algerine artillery, consisting of twenty field-pieces, and four mortars. But, being contented with what they had gained with so little fighting, they refused to avail themselves of the prospect which opened to them of taking Constantine; an opportunity which they may never again enjoy. Its gates were open for their reception, and some of the boldest of the cavalry even rode into the city. The sapatapa, willing to secure the victory he had so *gloriously* gained, returned satisfied to Tunis, to enjoy the fruits of his *heroism*. It was

now too late in the season for the Algerines to form another camp, and they did not again take the field. In these engagements, it will not excite wonder that very few men were killed, taken prisoners, or even wounded. The distance at which they fought rendered their warfare comparatively harmless.

Of the conduct of the sapatapa during these several encounters, different reports are circulated. Some say that he shewed great signs of cowardice; but others, who were on the spot, affirm that his conduct displayed more cool courage and humanity than was expected from him, and that the reason why he so long prevented the Greek slave from discharging the artillery, was, that some of his own men were between him and the enemy; a circumstance which the machiavelian Greek did not think of sufficient importance to deter him from firing. After the battle he gave the choice to the prisoners, either of entering the bey's army, or of returning quietly to their own country.

CHAP. VI.

The geography of the kingdom of Algiers.—Manners of the people.—Their tombs and baths.—Their religion, laws, and medical absurdities.—Singular mode of bathing and shampooing the Christians.—Extraordinary instances of jealousy, revenge, and meanness.—Their local advantages.—Tyranny of the deys.—Recent wars with the powers of Europe.

The kingdom of Algiers comprehends part of the ancient Mauritania, particularly that which was called Mauritania Cæsariensis, and the ancient Numidia. It forms one of the most considerable districts of that part of Africa which lies on the northern coast, and which in later ages has been denominated Barbary. The country derives its name from the metropolis, which is called by the Turks Algezair, or *The Island*, because there was an island before the city, to which it was afterwards joined by a mole. Its length is 460 miles, from sixteen minutes west longitude, to nine degrees sixteen minutes east longitude. The breadth of the kingdom is very unequal in different parts; for in the vicinity of Tlemsan it is not more than forty miles; near the sources of the rivers Sigg and Sheliff it is about sixty miles; to the east of Algiers its breadth is much more considerable, particularly in the meridians of Boujeiah and Bona, where it extends above one hundred miles. The Algerine dominions beyond the Zell, or more advanced parts of Atlas, are very precarious, and not easily defined: so that the northern skirts of the Sahara, or desart, seem to be the proper boundaries on that side. Algiers may therefore be considered in general as bounded on the north by the Mediterranean; on the east by the river Zaine, which divides it from Tunis; on the west by Tirnut and the mountains of Trara, which separate it from Morocco; and on the south by the Sahara, or Numidian desert. The extent of the whole kingdom is estimated at 4262 geographical square miles. It contains three principal divisions:—the province of Tlemsan, or Tremecen, to the west; Tideri to the south; and Constantine to the east. The western province comprehends the towns of Oran, Mustyganuim, Tremecen, Mascara, Shershall, and Tehez, besides several inconsiderable places. The principal rivers of this province are the Maloa, the Salt River, Tafua, Sigg, Hebra, Massafran, and Sheriff. The southern province has no towns along the coast, but in the interior of the country the chief towns are Belida and Medea. The mountains are branches of the Atlas, the Bougereah, the Anwall mountains, on the river Yisser, and those of Jur-Jura and Felizia. The rivers are—the Haratch, Hamaeze, Regya, Budwowe, Corsoe, Merdas, and the Yisser, of which the last is most considerable.

The Algerines inhabiting along the sea coasts are a strange mixture of various nations, but for the most part Moors and Moresives, driven from Catalonia, Arragon, and other parts of Spain. The Jews, the Turks, and the Berebbers, whom we have already described, form the greater part of the population. In former times the towns were crowded with Christian slaves taken at sea, and some of the streets were occupied by Christian merchants.

The innumerable and wandering tribes who encamp in the outskirts and wildernesses of the kingdom are a miserable race. Their adours, or encampments, are a perfect emblem of distress and uncleanliness; and their tents are so poorly furnished, that a hand-mill to grind their corn, a few earthen pitchers in which they keep their oil and flour, and a few mats to sit and lie upon, are all the household goods they contain. Yet they are sufficiently large to contain two or three families, parents, children, servants, horses, cows, goats, and dogs. The last of these animals is necessary to watch, and bark the approach of lions, foxes, and other beasts of prey, and to drive away serpents and other noxious animals. The shaik, or cheyk's, tent is only distinguished from the rest by its height, and being pitched in the centre of the rest. These huts are supported by two large posts, and form a kind of pavilion, the door of which is made of the boughs of trees. The middle is a small square which divides the apartments of the Moors from the places allotted to their beasts; in the centre is the hearth, on which they bake their cakes, boil their rice, and prepare their other food; and round the sides are spread mats of palm trees, which serve for beds and tables. The tents are covered with sheep's hides, black, white, or speckled; and every thing is mean, filthy, and loathsome.

Their dress is as mean as their food: that of the men consists only of a haick, or coarse piece of cloth four or five ells long, which is wrapped about their shoulders, and comes down to their ancles, to which they add a cap of the same cloth, or some rag which they twist about their heads. The shaik's dress is a shirt and a cloak all of one piece, which come down to the calf of his legs, and a cowl upon his head of a finer sort of cloth. Girls as well as boys go quite naked till they are about eight years of age, when they tie a rag or two about them, rather for ornament than decency. While they are suckling, the mothers carry them, though they are often twins, in a bag tied behind their backs, when they go to fetch water or wood, but they generally are able to walk before they are six months old.

The capital of the kingdom, Algiers, is the constant residence of the dey, the post of the main body of the Turkish soldiery, and the station of the gallies. It lies in thirty degrees thirty minutes of north latitude, and three degrees five minutes of east longitude. It was originally built by Juba II. the father of Ptolemy, who gave it the name of Julius Cæsarea, as a public and perpetual acknowledgment of the favours he had received from the emperor Augustus. The situation of the city is between the provinces of Tenez and Bugia, or Bujeyan; it is washed towards the north by the Mediterranean sea, and is about a league in circumference, forming a grand amphitheatre from the declivity of the hill on which it stands to the sea-shore. The sea commands a magnificent and perfect prospect of the houses, and their terraces, the latter of which are regularly washed or painted white, and present at a distance the appearance of a bleacher's ground covered with linen. The height of the walls is only thirty feet on the interior side, owing to the steepness of the declivity, but the lower sides and ends looking towards the sea are not less than forty feet in elevation. They are twelve feet thick, and flanked with square towers, and are supported by additional outworks. They are surrounded by a ditch twenty feet wide and seven deep, and mounted with a very considerable number of heavy cannon. The city has six gates, each of them guarded by an outwork. The whole city is overlooked by a ridge of hills on the northern side, which run almost on a level with the bab cassaubau, or uppermost gate. Upon it are built two strong forts, one of which, from its five acute angles, is called the Star castle; it stands about a furlong from the gate just mentioned, and commands the Sandy bay,

and the mouth of the river Elved. The other, called the Emperor's castle, stands about half a mile south from the cassaubau gate, and commands the Star fort, the whole ridge of the Sandy bay, and the mouth of the river Rabat on the south of the city. Such is the situation and strength of Algiers to the landward; but it is much better fortified and capable of making a much better defence towards the sea-side.

The strongest defences of the town are situated in the mole which was built by the celebrated Cheridin, the son of Barbarossa. Until his time the port of Algiers lay quite open, and had more the appearance of a road than of a harbour. As soon as Cheridin became master of the place he began to build and fortify it, and compelled the Christians to labour with so much assiduity, that he saw it completed in three years, without the slightest expence. It is built on the small island that faces the town, in form of a large semicircle, extending itself from the dowan, or mole gate, to one of the extremities of the island, and from the other extremity of it towards the walls of the town, leaving a handsome opening into the haven, where the largest vessels may ride in safety from the violence of the waves. The mole is about one hundred paces in length from the castle that defends it, to the mole gate above-mentioned, and about six or seven wide, having on one side a stone quay, and on the other a sandy rocky bank from end to end. The whole is defended at one angle by an old round castle, formerly built by the Spaniards, when they were masters of the place. It is called the fanal castle, or light-house fort. It stands upon the solid rock, and the fire is carefully maintained in it for the security of the ships. It has three batteries of fine cannon. At the south end of the island is another fort, consisting of three batteries, to defend the entrance of the harbour, which is so capacious as to contain a good number of large ships, and is seldom or never without merchantmen, corsairs, and other vessels riding in it. The misfortune is, that when the wind sets in from the northward, which is quite across the road, it causes such a swell in the harbour, that they commonly fall foul on rocks, which obliges them to lash the ships close together. The slaves of the deylik are employed the whole year in bringing large blocks of stone from a neighbouring quarry, and laying them on the sand, to secure the mole from the impetuosity of the waves; a labour which must be continually repeated, because the sea gradually washes those stones away, and makes such a constant supply necessary.

The embrasures of the castle and batteries here are all employed; the cannon is of brass, and their carriages, and other utensils, kept in good order. The battery of the mole gate, upon the east angle of the city, is mounted with several long pieces of ordnance; one of which has seven cylinders, each of them three inches in diameter: half a furlong to the W. S. W. stands the battery of the fisher's gate, called also the sea gate, which consists of a double row of cannon, and commands both the entrance into the port and the road. There stand besides two or three forts more along the sea-coast; the one on the south side of the city, called the castle of the renegadoes; the other two on the north side; viz. Settect-aco-leet, a regular pentagon, and able to annoy an enemy either in their landing, or lodging themselves on the Bakiras, or adjacent plain; the other, called the English castle, inferior in extent and strength, which commands the high road to River's gate, on the same direction.

The town is computed to contain 95,000 Mahometans; there are also a few renegadoes, 15,000 Jews, and 2000 Christian slaves, besides European and other strangers. There is but one handsome street, which reaches from the east to the west end, and is wider in some parts than in others, but in all much broader than any of the rest. It has on the widest part handsome shops, and the chief merchants' houses, and the markets for corn and all provisions are kept in it. All the other streets are so narrow, that two persons can hardly walk a-breast; and the middle being so much lower than the sides, which form a kind of parapet, or passage for the water which runs through them, added to their usual uncleanliness, makes it very disagreeable to walk through them; especially as camels, horses, mules, and asses are continually passing and repassing, to

which you must give way at the first warning, by squeezing yourself against the houses. It is still more dangerous to meet with a Turkish soldier in the streets; for the wealthiest Christian must take care to give him the way, and stand close till he has passed, or be in danger of feeling some shocking effect of his brutal resentment. The narrowness of those streets is commonly thought to be designed as a shelter from the heat. But a better reason may be found in the frequent earthquakes it is subject to, since the fronts of almost all the houses are propped up by pieces of timber from one to the other across the streets.

The houses, which are computed to amount to about 18,000, are built of brick or stone, and mostly square, with a large paved court in the middle, not unlike our common inns. The galleries round the court are supported by columns, and over them runs a second range supported in the same manner. The folding doors to the apartments are commonly of the height of the ceilings; and over the uppermost gallery are the terraces, which serve them either for walking or drying of linen. Some have pleasant gardens, and generally a neat summer-house on the terrace, to shelter them from the weather whilst at their work, or gazing towards the sea whether their corsairs bring them any prizes. Their very chimnies contribute to adorn the houses, are always kept clean and whitewashed, and rise in form of a cupola on the four corners of the terrace. The apartments have no windows towards the streets, except some small grated ones, to admit a little light and air into their pantries, and the servants' chambers, which are built along the great stair-case, but do not open to it; so that all the light the rest of the rooms have is only from the folding doors and small windows that open to the inner court. They are all obliged to white-wash their houses inside and outside at least once a year, but commonly do it against the approach of their grand festivals; and this is all the elegance you find in them; for as to their furniture it is plain and mean, consisting only of a few utensils, mostly of earth or wood, and a mat and two quilts, laid over two or three sticks, to serve them for a bed. As there are no squares or gardens in the town, but the houses are contiguous, we may walk from one end of it to the other over those terraces, as ladders are raised on purpose, where the houses are of an unequal height; and it is common for them to visit their neighbours, and spend their evenings in frolic with each other upon them. Yet thefts are seldom known; because a stranger that is caught in any house, without having first sent in his name, is sure to be severely punished. But though the houses of private people are so mean within, there are many belonging to persons in high and public stations, which are quite elegant, and paved with marble; the pillars are of the same material, and the ceilings finely carved, painted, and gilt.

The most magnificent of all is the dey's palace, which stands in the heart of the city. It is a spacious stately edifice, surrounded with two noble galleries, one over the other, supported with marble pillars, and has two spacious halls, in one of which the dowan meets every Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday. The barracks for the Turkish soldiery, five new structures of which were added to the old ones in 1650, are likewise very grand structures, and kept very clean by the slaves that attend them, at the charge of the government. Every barrack contains six hundred Turkish soldiers, each of which has a spacious apartment allotted to him; and all the courts of these barracks have fountains to wash in before they go to prayers.

It is to be observed that married men, who are mostly renegadoes, are excluded the benefit of these barracks, and obliged to provide themselves lodgings at their own expence in some other parts of the town; and so are likewise the single men that will not conform to the regulations of these public buildings. In either case they may hire private houses, or, which is more usual, take up their quarters in one of the four fondicas or albergas of town.

These are large commodious edifices, belonging to private persons, consisting of several large courts, in which are large warehouses, and a variety of apartments to let; and, on account of their conveniences for men and goods, are also much frequented by the Levantine merchants; for neither

Algiers, nor any other town in the kingdom, has inns, taverns, or other public places, like the caravanseras in Turkey, for the entertainment of strangers. Those few Christians, who resort thither upon any business or accident, either take up with some persons to whom they are recommended, or with the consul of their nation, who is always ready to accommodate them with an apartment in his house or his table, if they are persons of distinction.

As to the Greeks and other mean travellers, there are plenty of cook-shops, and public wine-houses, kept by the slaves of the deylik, for their accommodation. The Jews likewise keep such houses and apartments, to let for the use of those of their own nation.

Their mosques are very numerous, about one hundred and seven in all, and some of them very grand; and as these are mostly situated along the sea side, they add much to the beautiful prospect of the city. The baths are also in great number, it being customary for the Turks to resort to them, not only before the time of their five daily prayers, which their religion obliges them to make, but at all other times of the day, when their affairs will permit. Some of them are very large and sumptuous, finely paved with marble, and elegantly furnished with all other conveniences; others are small and mean, suited to the lower rank; but all of them are built much after the same manner. The women have likewise their particular baths, attended by persons of their own sex, into which no men are allowed to set foot upon any pretence whatever. And yet it often happens, that these pretended inviolable sanctuaries of female chastity are turned into nurseries of intrigue and lewdness, notwithstanding the dreadful fate that infallibly attends the offenders, if discovered, and the frequent instances of such discoveries. A dreadful instance of Turkish revenge upon an intrigue of this kind, happened in 1680, of which we shall give our reader a short abstract: Seremeth Effendi, an old wealthy Turk, settled in Algiers, after having married four wives there, fell in love with, and married a fifth, just turned of twelve years of age, but so beautiful and witty as to engross his whole affection, though her tender age, and his extraordinary corpulence had rendered it impossible to consummate his marriage, as it could not be done without imminent danger of her life. His singular affection for her, however, raised the jealousy of the other four to such a height, that they resolved at any rate to ruin this new favourite; which they easily compassed during his attendance on the dey at some neighbouring war. The first step they took, after having gained her confidence, was to inspire the young female with a violent passion for a handsome young slave, a Spaniard by nation, and a concealed Jew, but a great favourite of Seremeth. After which they assisted her in introducing him in a female dress, among her other attendants, into one of these baths, where they had all the opportunity they could wish to indulge their mutual affection; but, upon their lord's return from the war, they betrayed the whole intrigue to him. Seremeth, upon the first hearing of this fatal secret, fell into the most violent transports of fury and resentment; but, upon further inquiry, quickly discovered that the accusers had been no less faulty than the accused; so that his resentment against his new bride gradually cooled into pity, whilst it flamed more furiously against his other faithless wives, on whom alone he resolved to wreak his whole revenge. He looked upon himself the less injured by the former as he had not yet consummated his marriage with her; and therefore thought that divorcing her, and marrying her to his Spanish slave would in a great measure save his honour. The misfortune was, that the dowan, by some means or other, became acquainted with the whole affair; and, what was still a greater aggravation, that the Spaniard was a Jew; for they thought it equally execrable that a Jewish slave should dare to mix his blood with that of a Mussulman woman, or that she should consent to it. Upon which they condemned him to be burned alive in the Jewish burying ground, and her to be drowned as usual, which was accordingly done, in spite of all the entreaties of Seremeth, and the efforts of the dey himself to prevent it, who had now conceived a great passion for the unfortunate victim.

Seremeth, now more exasperated than ever by this sad catastrophe, against his four

wives, resolved to glut his revenge by inflicting a much more inhuman one upon them; but, assuming a milder aspect, first decoyed them to his country seat, and having secured his most valuable and portable effects, in order to go and end his days in the deserts of Couco; he acquainted some deputies from that kingdom then at Algiers with his design, who gladly engaged to assist him in it. Accordingly, on the day before their departure, he took them with him to his country seat, where he caused his four wives to be stripped of all their ornaments, which he distributed among those strangers. He next caused them to be led into a dungeon, where he had the night before confined a negro slave, who had been privy to their intrigues, and there ordered them all to be impaled alive upon four stakes prepared for that purpose, after having first seared the offending part with a hot iron. The negro slave was next quartered alive, and one of his quarters hung about the neck of each of them; which done he locked up the dungeon, and left them to expire in the most dreadful torments, whilst he and his new associates took horse, and by a speedy march quickly reached the mountains of Couco, where he was out of all danger from the Algerine government, who did not receive the news of this dreadful tragedy till he was far beyond their reach.

Seremeth had taken care that a young female slave should be a witness of the whole scene, that she might inform them of it, but left her locked up in the chamber of his villa, where she could not be released till the next morning. As soon as the dey was apprised of the circumstances by a messenger sent on purpose, he dispatched an officer, who breaking into the dungeon found two of the wives already dead, and the other two just expiring, whose agonies he put an end to by his sword. They were afterwards buried in a manner suitable to their rank.

The women are permitted to be attended by female slaves. Young men are frequently introduced in their habits, and the very dress of the women contributes to conceal the cheat. Those baths which belong to the men are commonly attended by such robust waiters, and the ceremony of sweating and rubbing is performed with such unmerciful violence, that unless a stranger takes care to have with him an interpreter, he is sure to undergo considerable pain and extreme fatigue.

"We were carried," says Mr. Bernier, "into a saloon finely illuminated, and covered with mats, where they undressed us, and afterwards covered us with two napkins, the one tied about us like a petticoat, and the other like a mantle on our shoulders. From hence we were led into another chamber, where we remained some time in a comfortable warmth, the better to prepare us for the sudden excess of heat in which we were to pass. From hence we proceeded to the grand saloon of the bath, which is a spacious dome paved with white marble, having several closets round it, in which persons are secretly washed and rubbed. We were bid to sit down upon a circular marble seat in the middle of the hall, which we had no sooner done than we became sensible of so vast an increase of heat, that we soon sweated through our napkins. After this each of us separately was led into a closet of a mild temperature, where, after laying a white cloth on the floor, and taking off our napkins, they laid us down, leaving us to the farther operation of two naked robust negroes. These negroes being newly come from Biledulgerid, and consequently not only strangers to the lingua Franca, but even speaking Arabic different from that at Algiers, I could not signify to them in what manner I would be treated, for they handled me as roughly as if I had been a Moor inured to hardship. Kneeling with one knee upon the ground, each took me by the leg, and fell to rubbing the soles of my feet with a pumice stone to defricate the callosities. After this operation on my feet, they put their hands in a little camblet bag, and rubbed me all over with it as hard as they could. The distortions of my countenance might easily give them to understand what I endured, but so far from pitying me, that they rubbed on, smiling at each other, and sometimes vouchsafing to give me an encouraging look, indicating by their gestures the good it would do me. Whilst they were thus currying me, they likewise almost drowned me by throwing warm water upon me with large silver

vessels, which were in the bason under a cock fastened in the wall. When this was over, they raised me up, putting my head under the cock, by which means the water flowed all over my body; and, as if this was not sufficient, my attendants continued plying their vessels. Then having dried me with very fine white napkins, they each of them very respectfully kissed my hand. I construed this ceremony as a sign that all my torment was over, and was going out to dress myself, but one of the negroes grimly smiling stopt me, whilst the other one returned with a kind of earth, which they began to rub all over my body, without consulting my inclination. I was as much surprised to see it take off all the hair as I was pained in the operation; for this inflammatory earth is so quick in its effect, that it burns the very skin if it be left on the body. This being finished, I went through a second ablution, after which one of them seized me behind the shoulders, and setting his two knees against my buttocks made my bones crack, that, for a time, I thought they were entirely dislocated. Nor was this all, for, after whirling me about like a top to the right and left, he delivered me to his comrade, who used me in the same manner; and then, to my no small joy, opened the closet door. I imagined that I had been a long time under their hands, but these servants are so nimble and dextrous at these operations, that, on consulting my watch, I found it had lasted but half an hour. The consul had met with no more favour than myself. We reprimanded the interpreter for having left us in such a dilemma, but he told us, that at our coming into the house we should have given the master directions about our treatment, for that we had undergone no more than what is usual. The interpreter gave a quarter of a piastre for each, in honour to the character of the consul, that being three quarters more than the established rate. Accordingly the master seemed as if he could never thank us enough, and desired us to give him our company very often; but our first reception had been too rough to be repeated."

Besides the public baths, of which there are about sixty, they have six others, which they likewise call basios; but are no better than large stinking prisons, in which they lock up their slaves at night: in each of these they have a chapel for the free exercise of their religion; and every slave is allowed three small loaves, and a little mattress and rug for his bed; to these basios they must all repair at some stated hour in the evening; and, on the next morning, they are again let out to go to their respective labours. There are likewise some handsome edifices without the walls of the town, which are no small addition to its beautiful prospect; such as the hall where the officers of the marine hold their assemblies, at the foot of the mole; the habitation of a marabout is in high veneration among them, and situate on the declivity of the hill; a handsome square building, with a cupola, after the Turkish manner; and, above all, a great number and variety of tombs belonging to their great men. Most of them are adorned with chapels and oratories, which are resorted to by men and women every Friday: near which are also the cells of the marabouts, who ply there on those days, to assist the comers in their prayers for the deceased, and receive some pieces of money, or other presents, in return for their charity.

The city of Algiers had formerly neither wells nor fountains to supply it with water, but was forced to save that which fell from the sky in cisterns, till the last century; when a Moor, from Spain, discovered a way of conveying as much of it, by the help of two aqueducts, as supplied a hundred fountains with it, at proper distances from each other. This water, which is universally allowed to be excellent, is brought thither by a long course of pipes and conduits from a great variety of rivulets, which have their source on the adjacent mountains; and likewise supply their country seats, and adjoining gardens and orchards with it.

Around Algiers the hills and vallies are every where beautified with gardens, groves, and country seats, where the richer class of people resort during the summer season.—These villas are little white houses, finely shaded with a variety of fruit trees and other verdure, which yield a delightful prospect towards the sea. The gardens are stocked with plenty of fruit trees, melons, and pot-

herbs, and watered by a multitude of fountains or rivulets; and the whole presents a scene of beauty, fragrance, and fertility, strikingly contrasted by the ferocious and turbulent character of its possessors.

Those who go to the conduits to drink, or fill their pitchers, must not depend upon their rank, but patiently wait their turn, except a Turk, who is sure to take the precedence of all others; nor must a Jew offer to serve himself while there is a Moor or a slave present. The city gates, which are five in number, are always open from day-break to sun-set. The mole gate is towards the east, and at its entrance are five bells, brought from Oran in 1708, as a trophy of that important conquest; for such it may justly be said to be, both for the security of the country, and the several advantages of its commerce. In 1717 the dey had sold these bells to a Leghorn Jew, who had accordingly put them on board a vessel bound for Italy. But the dey receiving information that there was silver in the bells, which the Jew had the art of extracting from the coarser metal, and being no chemist, he credited the information, telling the Jew that he did not wonder at his willingness to buy them, and dispatch in getting them on board, since there was such a large mixture of silver in the composition. The Jew demonstrated to him, that the value of bells consisted chiefly in their formation; that they were never melted down, unless cracked, or otherwise unserviceable; and that, in such a case, it was not possible to extract the little silver which was imagined to be mixed with the other metal in order to improve the sound. But the dey was inflexible, and the Jew was obliged to return the bells, and take back his money. It was afterwards resolved, that they should be perpetually kept at the entrance of the mole gate, as a monument of victory over the Spaniards.

The habit of the Algerine Turks is very modest, and very different from that of the Moors. The dey, and great men, wear a gauze shirt with very wide sleeves. Their breeches are also wide, and of fine cloth, or cotton, during the great heats, which they tie with a running string. The lower part is very narrow, and reaches to the calf of the leg. They wear a kind of waistcoat without sleeves, and over that a vest reaching to their ancles, with very small silk, silver, or gold buttons, and having a gold, silver, or silk edging round the neck, the button-holes, and down each side of their vest. Their sleeves are narrow, like those of our waistcoats, buttoned like the fore-parts, which, in the hot weather, are turned up. They have also little pockets both within and on each side of the breast of this garment, for their watches and papers. They fasten it about the waist with a sash, in which they place several knives, whose handles are of agate, or some other precious stone, embellished with silver. Their uppermost garment is a caffetan, or robe as long as the vest. These were formerly of silk, or gold and silver tissue; but, at present, the best are only of a fine cloth. The sleeves of these caffetans are very wide, enriched with embroideries, and gold and silver loops, reaching to the elbow. They wear no stockings, except in case of infirmity, it being thought a disgrace for a Turkish soldier to be seen with any. Their slippers are of yellow, or red Morocco leather, narrow at the toe, having a small horse shoe instead of a heel. They throw them off at their entering into any apartment of distinction. Their turban is very different from that of the Levantines: it is a little thin red cap, very curiously wrapt round with several ells of muslin, which they call turbend, whence the word Turban is derived. This turban is universally allowed to be more convenient and graceful than those of the Turks of the Levant, which is wide and flat at the top, pinked, or twisted, and the whole of a very unbecoming size.

The old among the Turks, or those who are in employments of dignity, wear their beards cut to a point. The hair on their cheeks is shaved to preserve its regularity, and that on their head, because of the heat of the turban. An aged Turk, or one of distinction, without a beard, would expose himself to the public ridicule.

The young Turks wear neither beard nor turban, but only whiskers, and a little cap of the finest cloth. Several of them, especially those who frequent the sea, wear only a large pair of cotton, or cloth breeches, a very

short vest, with a sash tied about them, and a little jacket.

Bankrupts are capitally punished at Algiers, the Turks being strangled, the Moors hanged, and the Jews burnt; as for Christians, their deficiencies must be made up by their consul, or the body of their nation.—Such as make their escape without payment are accounted bankrupts; for when any are under an incapacity of discharging their creditors, to avoid the penalty of the law they must surrender themselves and all their effects to their discretion.

No present of pure liberality should be made to either Turks or Moors, lest it introduce a custom, which, when the advantage is on their side, is insisted upon as a law, both at Algiers and all over the Levant. This has laid the consuls under the inconveniencies of making many presents to those in the administration, when their predecessors had some private end in setting the example. If a stranger, on any particular occasion, makes a present to a Turk or a Moor, he constantly demands it on the like occurrence, and his successors look upon it as an established perquisite of their employment.

The practice of extortion is so burdensome, and so frequent, that liberality cannot be too much upon its guard. In the year 1691, in the reign of Hagi Chaban Dey, a Greek merchant, who resided at Algiers, used almost every year to make a voyage to Tunis or Egypt, retailing his cargo. A countryman of his dying, left him his executor, and, among other pious legacies, a certain sum for charitable uses. One day the merchant passing by a Moor, who was sitting in the street upon a piece of mat, lame and almost blind, asked charity of the merchant. He was the more inclined to give because of his industry in making thread laces, when incapable of other work. He dropt him his handful of aspers, which unusual sight so transported the beggar, that he followed the merchant upon his crutches, calling out upon heaven to shower down its blessings upon him. The beggar did not leave following his benefactor till he discovered his house, and afterwards took post in a place where the merchant must daily pass by him. Next day the Moor implored charity, and the Greek repeated it, which gained him great reputation and a crowd of customers. The Mahometan priests were not wanting to proclaim the virtue which God had given to this charitable Greek, who finding the sweets of a charity which cost him nothing, continued his daily benevolence till the time of his departure for Egypt. The beggar still kept his post, but missing his benefactor, he made enquiry after him, and had the mortification to hear that he was out of the kingdom.—When his clerk passed by he used to lift up his hands and pray for his master's happy return; which happened five or six months after. The beggar was overjoyed to see him, and when the merchant, in return for his compliments, was going to bestow his charity on him, declined it, saying it was better to pay him all his arrears at once. The Greek told him he did not know what he meant by arrears. To which the other replied, that he had been absent near six moons, and consequently that there was about one hundred and eighty rials due. The Greek did not know whether the fellow's impudence deserved most to be laughed at or chastised. But the Moor laid his complaint before the dey, and the Greek merchant was sent for to make his defence. The Moor alleged that the merchant had, for the continuance of a whole month, daily given him a rial; but that this charity had greatly increased his customers, and been a fund of riches; and that as to himself, upon such a daily income, he was very glad to leave off working, which was so painful to him, having almost lost his sight; that the merchant went away without giving him the least notice that his pension was to cease; that he had still kept his post, praying to God for his return; besides, that, relying on his accustomed liberality, he had contracted some debts for his support; but, upon demanding his arrears, the merchant had laughed at him, and threatened to chastise him. The Greek did not disown the truth of the premises, but insisted that alms being a voluntary action its continuance depended upon the will of the donor. After a discussion of the affair in council, the merchant was condemned to pay the beggar a rial for every day since his departure to the day of the decision, with a

piastre over and above, as a compensation for his reproaches. He empowered him at the same time to declare, that it was his intention never to give him any alms or gratuity for the time to come. This the merchant many times protested, adding, that such a sentence would not soon be forgotten.

At Algiers there are no theatres, music-houses, games, or shews, public or private. Half of their time is spent in drinking coffee and smoking, in the company of their own wives, concubines, and slaves. All games are prohibited except chess and drafts, nor are they allowed to play for money at these; so that the whole loss and gain is a few dishes of coffee, or sherbet, and a little tobacco.

Their Ramadan, or lent, is a kind of carnival for their youth; but much more decent than that of Christians, whose balls and masquerades they hold in the utmost contempt. As they neither eat nor drink during the whole day, at sun-set the young men sally out of their houses, and wander about the town with guitars and drums, singing and shouting; and, at intervals, eating and drinking. But such as are more reserved, or of better character, never join in such frantic mirth, keeping at home as usual.

The inhabitants of the kingdom of Algiers are very avaricious; and they are ready to confess it. They have a common saying, that the Christians represent an Algerine by a man with one eye blinded by a dollar, whilst a knife is thrust into the other, which he submits to for the sake of the money. They are so very sober and abstemious that very little suffices them. But with this appearance of virtue they retain an old custom, that every master of a family hoards up an hidden treasure.

Christians generally imagine that this hoard is the effect of their belief in the metempsychosis or transmigration of souls, in hopes of enjoying that treasure in the other world. A better cause may be assigned: on any real exigencies of the state, and even on contrived ones, the dey seizes on all the ready money he can find, without any instance of restitution. Besides, Algiers being subject to frequent revolutions, an inhabitant, who is obliged to fly from the prosecutions of the victorious faction, hopes by this means to preserve his treasure, if he finds it impossible to carry it off, by acquainting a son, relation, or faithful friend, with the place where it is hidden. Neither is there any other way to secure a livelihood for their children, in case of misfortunes. For when a man is strangled, which is no uncommon circumstance, all his effects fall to the government. On such occasions the pitre-melgi, or receiver of casual revenues, orders the foundation of the criminal's houses to be searched, and their fields to be turned up.

The furniture, even in the houses of the most wealthy persons, is very inconsiderable. They have no hangings, scrutoires, pictures, chairs, side-boards, looking-glasses, or such inventions of luxury. The walls are only white-washed. The best chamber has only a carpet or a mat of rushes or palm-leaves. The natives leave their slippers at the door, the streets here being always very dirty. In the middle of the chamber there is an alcove about a foot high, covered with a carpet and cushions, where they sit in the day-time, and sleep at night. At one end of the chamber, which is generally very long, there is a linen curtain without rings, but only tied from one side to the other; within which is their bedding and other utensils not wanted in the day-time. And in the same place is a painted chest for their clothes, and other implements; those which are daily worn hanging on pegs against the wall. The windows and doors have also curtains of a very thin linen, edged with ribbands. These curtains are also without rings, being only fastened on each side. Near the windows are niches for holding the table utensils and other smaller articles.

Little or no plate is to be seen here; nor do they use forks. The spoons are of box; the vessels of earth, except some large pewter dishes or basons. They generally dine without a table, setting the dishes on a mat, which is afterwards taken away. Persons of the greatest distinction use a low round table covered with a plate of wrought pewter. They use no table cloth, but a napkin which goes round the table serves the whole company. A few who pretend to elegance have silver forks, but handle them

in the most aukward manner. The women, who are not satisfied with their natural charms, have a custom of rubbing the ends of their fingers with the herb gueva, which yields a fine blue tinge, and black their hair and eye-brows with antimony reduced to an impalpable powder. These are their choicest cosmetics. Some, in order to excite their husbands or gallants to a more violent propensity to love, give them the powder of the root surnag *(eringo)*, which grows on the west side of mount Atlas, and is, by them, accounted of such wonderful efficacy, that only for a maid to m—— w—— upon it deprives her of her virginity.

Children are taught to read and write at the same time, which is the custom all over the Levant. The masters at first delineate their lessons with a pencil, and the scholars trace them with a pen, being instructed at the same time in the pronunciation, till their hand is settled, and gives a true proportion to their letters. The little irregularities of the boys bring them under the bastinado. As they all sit upon mats cross-legged, with their feet naked, their master fastens their feet in a falaca, an instrument made on purpose, which keeps them close together; then ordering them to be lifted almost perpendicular, he gives them as many strokes with a ruler or stick, as their offence deserves. They exclaim against our practice of whipping boys, as not only indecent and scandalous, but an abominable crime, and an incentive to what is called Socratical love, to which they have a natural propensity. So that should any school-master take upon him to introduce that discipline, his innovation would be severely punished.

When the women decline, and become unfit for the embraces of the men, they are despised, and cursed even by their very children: at best, they are kept as some worn-out domestic animal, in the corner of a yard, or any noisome place, and there fed with the scraps of the table. Children are very respectful towards their fathers, but as indifferent towards their mothers; because men, purely out of love or vanity, marry women of any nation or religion, free or slaves. It is a general custom for men to divorce their wives whenever they become aged; of which the following story is an entertaining instance:

One Clement, a native of Avignon, being taken very young by the Algerines turned Mahometan, under the name of Ibrahim. When he was of age he became a soldier, and looking on himself as an original Turk, his whole endeavours were bent to shew himself worthy of the name. He lost an eye in battle, and, in his riper years, betook himself to trade, in which he acquired a considerable fortune, and settled at Bona, where he married, and lived very creditably. The advantage of the match was far from being on his side, because, as they say of the renegadoes, he had still a tincture of the Christian. His wife became infirm and past child-bearing. The jointure which Ibrahim had settled upon her at her marriage, not being an easy competency, she told her husband, that she was sensible of her being now grown too old to be the subject of pleasure; that it was her intention to recommend to him for a wife a very beautiful young woman, such a one as he must certainly like, though her parents were poor, upon condition of being maintained in the house during life, and not turned off, according to the custom of many husbands. Adding, that she would do what she was able in household business; and thus she should not be exposed to distress, nor he encumbered with a useless burden. Ibrahim being of a sanguine constitution, and still young enough for a second marriage, thanked his wife for her contrivance, promising to maintain her in health or sickness, till the time of her death. This provident woman immediately went to make proposals for the marriage in Ibrahim's name. The girl's parents were surprised at the honour proposed to them, and that a Turk of the soldiery, who was daily increasing his riches by trade, should condescend to accept of their daughter. But Ibrahim's wife, who had always been a great friend to the mother, explained the whole affair, and the marriage was accordingly concluded. The old woman found herself greatly disappointed; for having the management of the house, she was also for having that of the young wife, and, on some

occasions, was for giving her a lesson. This, the young one's spirit would not submit to, and in order to secure the power in her own hands, she prevailed upon her husband to discard the widow. But Ibrahim dearly paid for his ingratitude some years after. His young wife soon forgot the meanness of her own birth, and that her husband was only a Christian renegado, living at such an expensive rate, that Ibrahim was privately reproved by the principal inhabitants of Bona. It was a very wrong step in you, said they, to look for a wife among the dregs of the people, who is for living as grand as any other. Should your affairs take an unhappy turn, where is your resource? Where have you any relations able to protect you? You would be despised and utterly ruined. There is only one way to prevent any such disaster, which is, that being a man of character and wealth, you may divorce your present wife, and marry another of a powerful family. This advice proceeds entirely from our friendship for you; the consequence is in your power. This speech flattered Ibrahim's vanity. He thanked them all, but particularly one, who seemed more cordial and insinuating than the rest, and under the pretence of friendship was aiming at his money: telling him, that he referred the matter entirely to his judgment. Accordingly, his young wife was soon divorced to make room for the daughter of his counsellor, who obliged Ibrahim to settle a large jointure on her. This he did without any hesitation, being flattered by his alliance with one of the principal families of the town. She was scarcely received in Ibrahim's house, till, dissatisfied with the presents he made her, which were far from being small, she would have the choice of every arrangement relating to dress, jewels, and equipage, which his regard for her readily procured. This splendor raised the envy of her equals, who were continually complaining to their husbands, that it was a shame for the wife of a renegado to make a better figure than they. This brought a fresh remonstrance upon Ibrahim. He was told that he must lessen his wife's pride, and that it was improper for him to affect any extraordinary magnificence. For otherwise, his wife's vanity might be attended with the worst of consequences. Ibrahim, relying on the protection of his father-in-law, was so far from conforming to this advice, that he even made several expensive additions to his wife's grandeur. This so enraged the other women, that they quarrelled with their husbands as paltry wretches, to whom money was dearer than their wife's honour. Ibrahim's father-in-law was made acquainted with these abuses, with intimations of some malpractices in Ibrahim against the government. He, who aimed at nothing but his son-in-law's money, admonished him severely, telling him, that the dey himself was set against him, and that, unless he saved himself by flight, he did not know how long his head might be upon his shoulders; that he would clandestinely assist his escape, but that it was proper previously to put his wife in possession of her jointure, and all her other effects, to which Ibrahim, making a virtue of necessity, cheerfully consented. When the father-in-law had thus accomplished his designs, he advised him to conceal himself till his affairs should be made up with the dey. But upon his absconding, he was accused of treason and irreligion, and his effects confiscated. He himself fled to Colo, a settlement of the Marseilles African company, where, having first abjured the Mahometan imposture, he was sent over into France.

The next officer in dignity and power to the dey is the aga, or general of the janissaries, who enjoys his dignity only two months. He is then superseded by the chiah, or next senior officer. During these two months the keys of the metropolis are in his custody; all military orders are issued in his name; all military punishments are inflicted before his palace; and on his retirement he retains his former pay, but is excluded from voting in the dowan. The shortness of the period during which they retain their power only adds to their rapacity, and individuals of rank in the army are accused of crimes, that they may be induced to bribe the agas, in the hope of purchasing their pardons or effecting their escape. The next in eminence to him is the secretary of state, who registers all public acts; and subordinate to these are thirty chiah bashaws, or colonels, who are chiefly employed as am-

bassadors to the neighbouring states. In the next degree of rank are eight hundred bolluk bashaws, or eldest captains, who always aspire to the situation of bashaw; and next to these are four hundred oldak bashaws, or eldest lieutenants on half pay, who frequently succeed by seniority, which, except in the case of the dey, is usually observed to the highest honours of the state; and as an emblem of the vigour with which they *flog* their enemies, they wear a leather strap hanging from the collar of the upper garment to the middle of the back. Other military officers are the rekilards; the peys, who are the four oldest soldiers, and nearest to preferment; eight soulaks, who form part of the body-guard of the dey, and are next in succession to the peys and the keyts, or military men of inferior rank, who collect the taxes from the adowars of the wandering tribes, some of whom are absurdly denominated *governor*.

The votes in the divan are entirely influenced by the wishes of the dey and his dependants. The aga, the chiah bashaws, and the most servile and ignorant of the members, all acquiesce in the measures of the government, and enforce their opinions by a brutal violence of speech, and hideous gestures.—Nor has it been unusual to cause their opponents to be strangled, and to supply the vacancies by their own friends and flatterers.

The religion of the Algerine Moors resembles that of the rest of the Moorish kingdoms in Barbary. The Marabouts neither shave their heads nor beards, and wear a plain long robe, with a short cloak thrown over it. Besides the other peculiarities which we have already recorded of these individuals, they share with the inhabitants in deeming it a defilement to carry the koran below their girdle—to let their urine sprinkle on their clothes—to write with a pen instead of a pencil—to read or possess printed books—to purchase pictures or statues—to use bells, or listen to their sound without stopping their ears—to exchange a Turk for a Christian—to refrain from repeated bathing or washing—to strike the ground with their foot when they play at foot-ball—to eat snails, which they esteem sacred—to chastise their children in any other part than the soles of their feet—and to sleep with the door of their chamber shut. Among their other superstitions they keep what may be termed the Algerine lent, eight months in the year; and reverence and relieve, as favourites of heaven, the most infatuated lunatics. With all these pretensions to piety, charity, and feeling, they are rather gratified than ashamed, by the imputation of sensual crimes too horrible to be mentioned. Their cruelty is equal to their voluptuous propensities.

Women guilty of adultery have a halter tied about their necks, with the other end fastened to a pole, by which they are held under water till they are suffocated. The bastinado is likewise used upon small offenders; and is given either upon the belly, back, or soles of the feet, according to the nature of the crime, or oftener to the pleasure of the cadi or judge, who likewise appoints the number of strokes to be given, which amount sometimes to two or three hundred, according to the indulgence he can obtain from him, either by bribery or friends. And though, in many cases, the offender dies under them, for want of one of those powerful advocates, yet this punishment is neither regarded as capital, nor the judge called to an account for inflicting it in that inhuman degree. But the most dreadful of all punishments are those which they inflict on the Christians and Jews for offences; such as speaking against Mohammed, or Mahomet, and his religion; for which they must either turn Mohammedans, or be impaled alive. Those who afterwards apostatize are still more severely tortured, and are either burned or roasted alive, or thrown down from the top of the city walls, where they are caught by iron hooks, some by the ears, others by the ribs, arms, or other parts of the body, and hang several days in the most exquisite torture. Killing a Turk in a scuffle, and fomenting a rebellion against the state, are likewise punished with impaling or burning; and those slaves who attempt to make their escape are tortured to death in the most cruel manner, at the discretion of their masters. Moors found guilty of robbery, or burglary, have their right hand cut off, and hung about their necks, and are

made to ride through the city on an ass, with their faces towards the tail. They retain among them the inhuman punishment of sawing in sunder, which is done by tying the condemned person between two broad boards of the same length and breadth, and beginning at the head.

The janissaries are duly paid every two moons; and they are allowed to buy their provisions one-third cheaper than any other inhabitants. They not only treat the Jews and Christians with haughtiness and insolence, but the Moors also, though of the same religion with them; so that the wealthiest of these is forced to give the way to the meanest Turkish soldier. However, it is plain that they have not yet been able with all their forces to subdue them all, there being a much greater number of them, as well as of the Arabs, and other nations, who, either by reason of their advantageous situation among inaccessible mountains and deserts, or their vicinity to other kingdoms, have not only bid a constant defiance to the Turkish yoke, but dare even venture to make frequent incursions into several territories that are wholly subject to it; and it is to suppress these, as well as to extort the taxes from the rest, that they keep such a number of second-hand forces in the three districts; which are, however, mostly under the command of Turkish officers.

All these military officers, as well as the civil ones, from the dey himself, down to those of the lowest rank, have no other settled salary than the soldiers closed pay, so called, because it admits of no further augmentation, and amounts to eighty saims for every two moons: they come and receive it duly at the hall of the dowan: but every office has some perquisites annexed to it besides, which rise and fall; such as proceed from imports, exports, anchorage, the sales and ransoms of slaves, and other commercial duties. To these we may add certain donations, begun at first to gain some private ends, but since become into a settled custom; presents made to the dey, or the dowan, by foreign courts, or private persons, to obtain a post or favour, or mitigate a punishment.—The person who pays the former salary is the only person that is excepted; his pay amounting to two thousand patacas for officiating in that post, which lasts but two months; after which he returns to his closed pay. Those Turks that have been raised to the rank of mazoul aga, or to such employments as exempt them from farther services, as well as those who have been wounded or maimed in the service, have their full pay continued as long as they live, and may settle in what part of the kingdom they please; but if they quit the service without any real cause, before they have attained to that rank, they forfeit half of their's without recovery, which seldom happens, it being reckoned dishonourable to do so, as well as for a soldier to have his pay lessened for a misdemeanor.—Every soldier, besides his pay, is allowed to follow some handicraft, merchandize, or other calling he likes, or to live quietly at his own home; but must be ever in readiness to attend the service of the state when called to it. The discipline of the Turkish soldiery in time of war is generally strict and severe; and there is one thing in it that is highly commendable, that expressly forbids all kind of plundering during the whole time of an engagement; which law is so strictly observed, that they leave that advantage to the Moors and slaves, as not only below the dignity of a Turkish soldiery, but as an action that brands them with the utmost infamy. They have their cavalry, infantry, and artillery, as we have in Europe. Their army is commanded by an aga, who hath a chaya and two chiaous under him; all of them appointed by the dey. The infantry all march on foot, officers and soldiers, except the bey, aga, and chaya, each soldier carrying only his sabre and musket, without any other incumbrance; the state furnishing horses to every tent, which holds twenty fighting men, to carry their provisions and other conveniencies. The cavalry is also distributed into tents of twenty men each, but is provided with a greater number of horses and Moors, for foraging and other services. The route, or order of marching, is regulated by the commanding officers, till they come into an enemy's country; when the bey, having ordered the horse and foot to unite, forms them into squadrons and battalions, each under their proper officers and standards. The

van is composed of a body of infantry; the wings of two squadrons a little towards the rear: the rest of the infantry in two files, with the baggage in the middle; and two squadrons, forming two wings behind, together with a small battalion of foot behind them, make up the rear. When they engage, the baggage is left under a strong guard, and a large body of infantry leads the van, with two wings of cavalry, supported by others at some distance. The main body makes the centre, behind which both horse and foot retreat to rally, and out of which fresh men are draughted to reinforce the van. The post of the auxiliary Moors is near the wings, to attack as opportunity offers, or the bey commands. One thing that makes them fight more desperately against the Christians than any other enemy is, that those that are taken by them are never exchanged, or redeemed, but are looked upon as dead to the state; and their effects accordingly seized by it, if they have neither children nor brothers to claim them. The Algerines are still more formidable at sea; and are, indeed, more so than any other power along the coasts of Barbary; and, though they are not allowed any concern in the affairs of state, yet they are held in great esteem, on account of the prizes they continually bring, which are one chief source of the public revenue, and a means of procuring them respect from the Christian powers for the security of their trade.

The following description of a wrestling match, by a resident of Algiers for more than sixteen years, though expressed in homely language, is worthy of insertion:—

"In Algiers, as well as in other places, on Friday, their sabbath, in the afternoon, they generally take their recreation. And amongst their several sports and diversions they have a kind of wrestling, which is performed about a quarter of a mile without the gate, called *bab el wait*, the western gate. There is a plain just by the sea-side, where, when the people are gathered together, they make a ring, all sitting on the ground expecting the combatants. One of the wrestlers comes boldly in, and strips all to his drawers.—Having done this, he turns his back to the ring, and his face towards his clothes on the ground. He then pitches on his right knee, and throws abroad his arms three times, clapping his hands together as often, just above the ground; which having done, he puts the back of his hand to the ground, and then kisses his fingers, and puts them to his forehead; he then makes two or three good springs into the middle of the ring, and there he stands with his left hand to his left ear, and his right hand to his left elbow; in this posture the challenger stands, not looking about, till some one comes into the ring to take him up; and he that comes displays the very same postures, and then stands by his side, in the manner before mentioned.—Then the trier of the play comes behind the *pilewans* (for so the wrestlers are termed), covers their naked backs and heads, and makes a short harangue to the spectators.

"After this the *pilewans* face each other, and then both at once slap their hands on their thighs, then clap them together, and then lift them up as high as their shoulders, cause the palms of their hands to meet, and with the same motion dash their heads one against another three times, so hard, that many times the blood runs down. This being done, they separate and traverse their ground, eyeing each other like two game-cocks. If either of them finds his hands moist he rubs them on the ground, that he may have a better grasp; and they will make an offer of closing twice or thrice before they do. They will come as often within five or six yards one of the other, and clap their hands to each other, and then put forward the left leg, bowing their body, and leaning with the left elbow on the left knee for a little while, looking at each other with ferocious aspects. Then they walk a turn again; then at it they go; and as they are naked to the middle, so there is but little holdfast; there is much ado before one hath a fair cast on his back; they have none of our Devonshire or Cornish skill. He that throws the other goes round the ring, taking money of many that give it him, which is but a small matter, it may be a farthing, a halfpenny, or a penny of a person, which is much. Having gone the round, he goes to the trier, and delivers him the money so collected, who in a short time returns it again to the conqueror,

and makes a short speech of thanks. While this is doing, two others come into the ring to wrestle.

"But at their *byrams*, or feasts, those which are the most famous *pilewans* come in to shew their parts, before the dey, eight or ten together. These anoint themselves all over with oil, having on their bodies but a pair of leathern drawers, which are well oiled too; they stand in the streets near *bab el wait* (the above gate) without which are all their sports held, spreading out their arms, as if they would oil people's fine clothes, unless they give them some money; which many do to carry on the joke. They are the choice of all the stout wrestlers, and wrestle before the dey, who sits on a carpet spread on the ground, looking on; and when the sport is over, he gives two or three dollars to each. After which the dey with the bashaw mount their horses, and several *spahys* ride one after another, throwing sticks made like lances, at each other; and the dey rides after one or other of them, who is his favourite, and throws his wooden lance at him; and if he happens to hit him, the *spahy* comes off his horse to the dey, who gives him money. After all which diversions, they ride to the place where the dey has a tent pitched, and they spend the afternoon in eating and drinking coffee, and pleasant talk, but no wine. The dey usually appears in no great splendour at Algiers; for I have seen him oftentimes ride into the town from his garden on a mule, attended only by a slave on another."

It is their custom to go on Fridays at least half an hour before the imaum. As soon as they enter they say a short prayer of two rikats; after this they sit down and continue their prayers, repeating them by heart, or reading in some holy book; chiefly in that which is called *Dahil Hhiratz*.

A chapter or more verses from the koran is then repeated in the same position.

2d Position: The whole upper part of the body is inclined, with the hands resting on the knees; they then with a loud voice say, "Allahouakibar! God most great!"

3d Position: Rising again they say, "Semeo Allahou limann Hamidahhou. God listens when praise is given to him."

4th Position: Prostrated, with the knees, hand, nose, and forehead on the ground, they say, "Allahouakibar! God most great!"

5th Position: Sitting down on the heels, and with the hands placed on the thighs, they say, "Allahoukibar! God most great!"

7th Position: Rising upon their feet, and, if possible, without touching the ground with their hands, they say, "Allahouakibar! God most great!"

Thus the first rikat is finished; after it a second is begun.

The second rikat is like the first, with the difference, that at the seventh position they sit down on their heels as at the 5th, repeating "Allahouakibar! God most great!"

To which they add, "Vigils are for God; so are prayers and alms. Welfare and peace to thee, O prophet of God; may the mercy and blessing of God be also upon thee. Welfare and peace to us and to all the just and virtuous servants of God. I attest that there is no god but one God, and that Mahomet is his servant and his prophet."

If the prayer is to contain but two rikats, the following addition is repeated in the same posture, after the prayer just mentioned.

"And I attest that it was he that called Mahomet to himself; and I attest the existence of paradise, of hell, and of Sirat, and of the balance, and of eternal happiness, which will be bestowed on those who do not doubt it, and that in truth God will raise them from the dead. O my God! bestow thy blessing of peace on Mahomet, and on his tribe, as thou hast bestowed thy blessing on Ibrahim (or Abraham); and let Mahomet, and the tribe of Mahomet, be blessed as thou hast blessed Ibrahim, and the tribe of Ibrahim. Grace, praise, and exaltation of glory, are in thee and for thee."

The sirat is a bridge over hell, as fine as the edge of a sword; the just will pass it with the rapidity of lightning, to enter paradise; the reprobate will fall from it into the gulfs of hell.

The balance is that in which the good and bad actions of men are weighed.

Conclusion or Salutation.

Sitting and turning the face to the right and afterwards to the left, the salutation is

repeated to both sides: "Assalamou aaléikom. Peace be with you."

This forms a perfect prayer; but if it is to contain three rikats, the addition and conclusion only are recited at the end of the third rikat, which is exactly like the second. If the prayer is to have four rikats, in this case, after the second and without addition, the two last must be recited like the two first; and afterwards the addition and conclusion follow the fourth.

Before the canonical prayers are begun, they make the following address:

"God most great! God most high! I attest that there is no other god than Allah; I attest there is no other god but Allah; I attest that our lord Mahomet is the prophet of God. I attest that our lord Mahomet is the prophet of God. Come to prayers. Come to prayers. Come to the asylum (or to the temple) of salvation. Come to the asylum. God most great! God most high! There is no other god than God!"

This address is also uttered five times a day from the minarets of the mosques, to summon the faithful, or to apprise at least the people of the hour of prayer. Every one may say his prayers on the spot where he finds himself, except that of Douhour on Fridays, which must be made at the mosque in public. To the convocation in the morning, after the second *a-ï-a-el-fidah*, they add, "Es salátou hharoïún minn en náoum. Prayer is better than sleep. Es salátou hharoïún minn en náoum. Prayer is better than sleep."

The man who is charged with these cries is called Elmuedden. Another muedden is in the mosque, who repeats or sings the address, and *Allahouakibar* at every one of the positions of the rikats, as also the conclusion *Assaláṃou aaléikom.*

After each of the canonical prayers they make use of a chaplet; at the first bead they say, "Sobhána Alláhi! O holy God!" At the second bead, "Alhámdo Lilláhi! Praise be to God!" At the third, "Allahu akibar! God most great!" And in this manner they say their devotions over the ninety beads of the Mahometan chaplet.

As it is not permitted to a Mussulman to ask of God, in established prayers, any goods of this world, they generally after having honoured the chaplet, fold their hands, and lifting them up like a man who had to receive something from above, pray for any thing they desire; and after having finished this prayer, they pass their right hand over their beard and say, Alhámdo Lilláhi! Praise be to God!" This formula finishes the scene.

Before the Friday prayers the imaum makes a sermon to the people.

In their sickness each patient is always attended by persons of the same sex. The physicians are ignorant, indolent and superstitious; at the point of death they have to turn the expiring person with his eyes to the east; repeat a prayer to Mahomet, and after washing the body deck it with a white shirt, a pair of white drawers, and socks, a silk robe, and a turban of the same material. In that dress it is carried on a bier to the burying-place, attended by the relations and friends; the women cover their faces with a veil, which they wear for several weeks; and the men suffer their beards to grow unmowed for thirty days. If the corpse be that of a person of distinction, the bier is followed by a retinue of domestics, one of whom carries his sword and another his lance. The bearers are richly dressed; the procession is preceded by monks or marabouts, followed by a concourse of horses and camels bearing the relatives, friends, and dependents of the deceased. The tombs are frequently superb. Among the curiosities in the burying-ground is the tomb of lady Cave, daughter of count Julian, a woman of exquisite beauty, who was ravished by Roderic the last king of the Visigoths in Spain. In revenge of this injury she united the Saracens with an army of 400,000 men, who soon subdued the whole kingdom, and held it in subjection during many centuries. The tombs of the common people are only stones laid above their graves in the form of a coffin. Those of the dey's and pachas are distinguished by a turban; of the military officers and agas by a pike; and rais, or naval captains, by an ensign staff. The tomb of Hali Teu is a peculiar object of Algerine devotion, for as he died a natural death, a circumstance unusual among the barbarians, he is worshipped as a saint.

CHAP. VII.

The history of Algiers, from the accession of Barbarossa to the present time.—Singular examples of murder, cruelty, and assassination.—Treaties with the English.—Treachery and duplicity of the Algerines.—Their system of slavery, and their provocations to Great Britain.—The English government at length resolves to chastise their iniquity.

The history of Algiers is destitute of interest till the accession of Barbarossa. The Greeks, the Romans, the Vandals, and the Arabs were, as we have mentioned, the successive masters of the coast. The Marabouts, or holy men, assumed for a time the government of the country, and the present kingdom of Algiers was divided into four departments, of which Algiers was the principal. The four first monarchs laid so good a foundation for a lasting balance of power between their little kingdoms, that they continued for some centuries in mutual peace and amity; but at length the king of Tremecen having ventured to violate some of their articles, Abul-Farez, king of Tenez, declared war against him, and obliged him to become his tributary. This king dying soon after, and having divided his kingdom among his three sons, new discords arose, which the king of Spain taking advantage of, a powerful fleet and army were sent against Barbary, under the count of Navarre, in 1505. This commander soon made himself master of the important cities of Oran, Bujeyah, and some others; which so alarmed the Algerines, that they put themselves under the protection of Selim Eutemi, a noble and warlike Arabian prince. He came to their assistance with a great number of his bravest subjects, bringing with him his wife Saphira, and a son then about twelve years old. This, however, was not sufficient to prevent the Spaniards from landing a number of forces near Algiers that same year, and obliging that metropolis to become tributary to Spain. Nor could Selim prevent them from building a strong fort on a small island opposite to the city, which galled their corsairs when sailing in or out of the harbour. To this the Algerines were obliged to submit till the year 1516; when, hearing of the death of Ferdinand, king of Spain, they sent an embassy to the famous corsair Barbarossa, who, with his brother, was invited thither to defend them from the Spanish yoke, for which they agreed to pay a gratuity answerable to so great a service. These two brothers, named Horuc and Hayradin, were the sons of a porter in the isle of Lesbos. The elder obtained the additional name of Barbarossa from the red colour of his beard; and it afterwards became the common surname of both. The strong bent of their natural disposition led them, when youths, to associate with pirates, among whom they became distinguished by their undaunted courage and spirit of enterprise. After acting with these freebooters for some time, their superior talents raised them to the command of a vessel, with which they proved so successful, that Horuc Barbarossa became the admiral of a considerable fleet of corsairs, and his brother Hayradin bore the second command. With this force they infested the ocean as pirates, and enriched themselves and their followers with the spoils which they procured on the Mediterranean sea, and in the Levant.

On Barbarossa's approach to Algiers, he was met by prince Eutemi, attended by all the people of that metropolis, who looked for deliverance from this free-booter, whom they accounted invincible. He was conducted into the city amidst the acclamations of the people, and lodged in one of the noblest apartments of Eutemi's palace, where he was treated with the greatest marks of distinction. Elated beyond measure with this kind reception, Barbarossa formed a design of becoming king of Algiers; and fearing some opposition from the inhabitants, on account of the excesses he suffered his soldiers to commit, murdered Eutemi, and caused himself to be proclaimed king; his Turks and Moors crying out as he rode along the streets, "Long live king Horuc Barbarossa, the invincible king of Algiers, the *chosen of God* to deliver the people from the oppression of

the Christians; and destruction to all that shall oppose or refuse to own him as their lawful sovereign." These last threatening words so intimidated the inhabitants, already apprehensive of a general massacre, that he was immediately acknowledged king. The unhappy princess Saphira, poisoned herself, to avoid ravishment by this new king, whom she unsuccessfully endeavoured to stab with a dagger.

Barbarossa was no sooner seated on the throne, than he treated his subjects with such cruelty, that they used to shut up their houses and hide themselves when he appeared in public. In consequence of this, a plot was soon formed against him; but being discovered, he caused twenty of the principal conspirators to be beheaded, their bodies to be buried in a dung-hill, and laid a heavy fine on those who survived. This so terrified the Algerines, that they never afterwards durst attempt any thing against either Barbarossa or his successors.

In the meantime, the son of Eutemi having fled to Oran and put himself under the protection of the marquis of Gomarez, laid before that nobleman a plan for putting the city of Algiers into the hands of the king of Spain. Upon this, young Selim Eutemi was sent to Spain to lay his plan before cardinal Ximenes; who, having approved of it, sent a fleet with 10,000 land forces, under the command of Don Francisco, or, as others call him, Don Diego de Vara, to drive out the Turks, and restore the young prince. But the fleet was no sooner come within sight of land, than it was dispersed by a storm, and the greatest part of the ships dashed against the rocks. Most of the Spaniards were drowned; and the few who escaped to shore were either killed by the Turks, or made slaves.

Barbarossa now acquired the city of Tremecen; defeated an effort of the young king to take the place, and sallied out to chastise his insolence. But the inhabitants, exasperated by his cruelties, determined to prevent his re-entrance, and acknowledged their lawful prince. In this distress he retired to the citadel outside of the town, resolving to sustain a vigorous defence till he should be able to escape with his dependants and his treasure. In this attempt he for a while succeeded, but his flight was discovered, and he was so closely pursued, that to amuse the enemy he caused the most valuable articles of his treasure to be scattered along the road, expecting that they would retard or stop their pursuit to gather up so irresistible a temptation. His stratagem, however, was defeated by the vigilance of the Spanish commander, who obliged his troops to march on till they pursued him to the banks of the Huexda. Barbarossa had just crossed the river with his vanguard, when the Spaniards came up with his rear on the other side, and cut them all off; and then, crossing the water, overtook him at a small distance from it. Here a bloody engagement ensued, in which the Turks fought like lions; but, being overpowered by numbers, they were all cut to pieces, and Barbarossa slain, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and four years after he had raised himself to the royal title of *Jigel;* two years after he had acquired the sovereignty of Algiers, and scarcely a twelvemonth after the reduction of Tremecen. His head was carried to Tremecen on the point of a spear; and Abuchen Men proclaimed king, to the joy of all the inhabitants of that city. He was succeeded at Algiers by Hayradin who possessed neither the talents nor the vices of his brother; and after a mild but inglorious reign, the government devolved on Hassan, a Sardinian renegado. He had scarcely ascended to the government when Charles V. of Spain, at the instigation of the pope, and attended by a superb retinue of courtiers, sailed with a fleet consisting of one hundred and twenty ships, and twenty gallies, having on board 30,000 chosen troops, and every requisite for assault. The greater part of the Algerine forces were at this time dispersed in various parts of the kingdom for the purpose of enforcing tribute, and the whole garrison consisted of 800 Turks, and 6000 Moors.

Charles, resolving upon a general assault, kept a constant firing upon the town; which, from the weak defence made by the garrison, he looked upon as already in his hands. But while the *dowan,* or Algerine senate, were deliberating on the most proper means of obtaining an honourable capitulation, a mad

prophet, attended by a multitude of people, entered the assembly, and foretold the speedy destruction of the Spaniards before the end of the moon, exhorting the inhabitants to hold out till that time. This prediction was soon accomplished in a very surprising and unexpected manner: for, on the 28th of October 1541, a dreadful storm of wind, rain, and hail, arose from the north, accompanied with violent shocks of earthquakes, and a dismal and universal darkness both by sea and land; so that the sun, moon, and elements, seemed to combine together for the destruction of the Spaniards. In that one night, some say in less than half an hour, eighty-six ships and fifteen gallies were destroyed, with all their crews and military stores; by which the army on shore were deprived of all means of subsisting in these parts. Their camp also, which spread itself along the plain under the fort, was laid quite under water by the torrents which descended from the neighbouring hills. Many of the troops, by trying to remove into some better situation, were cut in pieces by the Moors and Arabs; while several gallies, and other vessels, endeavouring to gain some neighbouring creeks along the coasts, were immediately plundered, and their crews massacred by the inhabitants.

The next morning Charles beheld the sea covered with the fragments of so many ships, and the bodies of men, horses, and cattle, swimming on the waves; at which he was so disheartened, that, abandoning his tents, artillery, and all his heavy baggage, to the enemy, he marched at the head of his army, though in no small disorder, towards cape Malabux, in order to re-embark in those few vessels which had outweathered the storm. But Hassan, who had caused his motions to be watched, allowed him just time to get to the shore, when he sallied out and attacked the Spaniards in the midst of their hurry and confusion to get into their ships, killing great numbers, and bringing away a still greater number of captives; after which he returned in triumph to Algiers, where he celebrated with great rejoicings his happy deliverance from such distress and danger.

The unhappy Spaniards had scarcely reached their ships, when they were attacked by a fresh storm, in which several more of them perished; one ship in particular, containing seven hundred soldiers, besides sailors, sunk in the emperor's sight, without the possibility of saving a single man. At length, with much labour, they reached the port of Bujeah, at that time possessed by the Spaniards. Here the emperor dismissed the few remains of the Maltese knights and their forces, who embarked in three shattered galleys, and with much difficulty and danger reached their own country. Charles himself staid no longer than the 16th of November, when he set sail for Carthagena, and reached it on the 25th of the same month, severely instructed in the vanity of human greatness. In this unfortunate expedition upwards of one hundred and twenty ships and gallies were lost; three hundred colonels, and other land and sea-officers, 8000 soldiers and marines, besides those destroyed by the enemy on the re-embarkation, or drowned in the last storm. The number of prisoners were so great, that the Algerines sold some of them, by way of contempt for an onion per head.

In the ensuing year the existence of the city was endangered by a desperate enterprize. One Gascon, a bold Spanish adventurer, formed a design of suprizing the whole piratic navy in the bay, and setting them on fire in the night-time, when they lay defenceless, and in their first sleep. For this he had not only the permission of Philip II. but was furnished by him with proper vessels, mariners, and fire-works, for the execution of his plot. With these he set sail for Algiers in the most proper season, viz. the beginning of October, when most, if not all, the ships lay at anchor there; and easily sailed near enough, unsuspected, to view their manner of riding, in order to catch them napping, at a time when the greater part of their crews were dispersed in their quarters. He came accordingly, unperceived by any, to the very mole-gate, and dispersed his men with their fire-works; but, to their great surprise, they found them so ill-mixed, they could not with all their art make them take fire. In the meantime, Gascon ventured, by way of bravado, to go to the mole-gate, and give three loud knocks with the pommel of his dagger, and to leave it fixed in the gate by its point, that the

Algerines might have cause to remember him. This he had the good fortune to do without meeting with any disturbance or opposition; but it was not so with his men; for no sooner did they find their endeavours unsuccessful, than the noise of their hasty retreat was heard by the guard posted on the adjacent bastion, from whom the alarm was quickly spread through the whole garrison. Gascon, now finding himself in the utmost danger, sailed away with all possible haste; but he was pursued, overtaken, and brought back a prisoner to Mahomet; who no sooner got him into his power, than he immediately caused a gibbet of considerable height to be erected on the spot where Gascon had landed, ordering him to be hoisted up, and hung by the feet to a hook, that he might die in exquisite torture; and, to shew his resentment and contempt of the king his master, he ordered his commission to be tied to his toes. He had not, however, hung long in that state, when the captain who took him, accompanied by a number of other corsairs, interceded so strongly in his behalf, that he was taken down and put under the care of some Christian surgeons; but two days after, some Moors reporting that it was the common talk and belief in Spain, that the Algerines durst not hurt a hair of Gascon's head, the unfortunate Spaniard was hoisted up by a pulley to the top of the execution wall, and let down again on the hook, which in his fall catched him by the belly, and gave him such a wound that he expired without a groan. Thus ended the expedition of John Gascon, which has procured him a place among the Spanish martyrs; while, on the other hand, the Algerines look upon his disappointment to have been miraculous, and owing to the efficacious protection of the powerful saint, whose prayers had before raised such a terrible storm against the Spanish fleet.

The history of Algiers for a series of many years presents only one continual succession of sanguinary deys, and repeated scenes of torture, poisoning, and other atrocities.—Were we to delineate a picture of every individual to whom the deylik was confided, it would exhibit an uninterrupted repetition of the most horrid acts of tyranny: assassinations among the great, wretchedness and oppression among the poor, acts of inhuman vengeance against the relations and partisans of the different princes who were massacred, and confiscations, imprisonment, and persecution. At the end of a month, or even a week, the reigning prince has shared the fate of his predecessors, and a new revolution has brought the same scenes of madness and cruelty. The deys in succession from Hassan were Mahomet, Ochali, Ali Tartez, or Scaldhead, Ramadan Sardo, Hassan Venedick, a Venetian renegado, Jaffer Aga, Mimmi Arwaud, and in 1592 Abdallah Hidir. The conduct and fate of all these individuals were so precisely similar to that of Barbarossa, that to describe their character and atrocities would be only to repeat the history of that prince. The ruthless dey Ibrahim had long insulted and violated the Algerine women, and they formed a conspiracy with his wife and several janissaries, in a project of revenge. Their emissaries suddenly entered the precincts of the palace, but the affrighted dey had the good fortune to reach his apartment, and barricade himself in his chamber with two Christian slaves, his pages. The place being adorned with a variety of fire arms, which had been presented by Christian princes, he ordered those pages to take them down, and fire among the assailants at every breach they made in the door, by which several of them were killed and wounded; so that, finding the attack too hot at the door, they ran up to the terrace over his chamber; and, having made a large aperture in it, kept pouring handgrenades into it till they had quite dispatched him, after he had reigned a little above a month. Such was the fatal end of Ibrahim Dey, who was then residing at Algiers; and such is the precarious and hazardous state of that elective dignity, and arbitrary government.

The name of the person who was dey in the beginning of the year 1724, was Mehemed, son of Assan, aged about thirty-six, tall, lusty, and robust. In his youth he was an herdsman in Egypt; could neither read nor write, his deportment was very coarse and brutal, and he was greatly addicted to the scandalous vice of sodomy. He was never

married, and before his elevation was treasurer.

On the 18th of May 1724, this Mehemed Pacha Dey having, according to his custom, taken a walk to the mole, and inspected the castles, as he was returning into the town, about ten o'clock in the morning, was assassinated by five or six Turks, who waited for him in a barrack, before which he was to pass, and which stood higher than the marine gate. A Turk fired at him from the terrace, which ball went in between his two shoulders, and came out at his belly.—Upon this signal, the whole ambuscade rushed out, and made a general discharge upon the dey, who fell down without speaking a word. The guards hastened to the palace, (leaving the assassins to murder a chaoux and a secretary who were related to the dey) to make themselves masters of it, and proclaim an associate of theirs. But the treasurer, who was with the dey, had been too nimble for them, though wounded in the head with a sabre, and had prevailed on the Noubagis, or guards of the gate, to take their arms, and proclaim a dey of their own party. This they readily did to the aga of the spahis, a confidant of the late dey. They had scarcely put the caffetan upon him, and placed him in the chair, when the assassins appeared.—But the guards stopt their impetuosity by pointing their muskets at them, and threatening to fire, if they did not withdraw, adding, that Abdi Aga was proclaimed dey.—However, the conspirators replying that it should not be, and they would nominate another, these guards shewed some fidelity, and fired upon them, killing three upon the spot, and the others ran away, intimidated from any farther attempts.

The gates of the palace were thrown open, and Abdi Aga was proclaimed dey by the chaoux, in the large market before it, while other chaoux were dispatched to acquaint the foreign ministers of his inauguration.—He received the usual compliments of homage from all persons, and every thing was quiet before night.

The Algerines, sensible of the importance of Oran, made it the residence of the western bashaw, fortified the walls, and placed beneath his command, in 1732, for the defence of the fortress, a garrison of two thousand *cololis*, or renegadoes, who have married in the Moorish or Arabian families; and fifteen thousand Moors. Notwithstanding these precautions, the Spaniards took it in 1732, and gave it the name of Ceuta.

The successive deys, who, from the death of Mehemed to the year 1774, were not distinguished by any spirit of military enterprise, were content to enjoy the spoils obtained from the piracies of their subjects, and the pleasures afforded by the seraglio. The existence of these miserable individuals was for thirty years so dangerous and critical, that the jealousies and intrigues of the beys and the dowan generally terminated in a few weeks or months, in the murder of one and the election of another. The tyranny of the dey himself is mercy and benevolence compared with the oppressions and extortions of the subordinate agas, marabouts, and bashaws. The assassinations among the wealthy; the wretchedness and debasement among the poor; the continual massacres; the confiscations, torture, and persecutions, are unexampled in the history of mankind; and are in some instances too horrible and indecent for relation. Of many of the unfortunate individuals who were elected dey, and perished by poison, the bastinado, or suspension by the ribs, little information has been collected; and the only names that for twenty years were recorded with precision, were those of Ali Ibrahim, Ali Bey, and Yusef Elumah.

In 1749, at the time when the capture of the Frederic, a British ship, produced a negociation between the Algerines and the English government, Yusef Elumah possessed the throne.

In 1761 the deylik devolved to Muley Hadgi, whose son and grandson succeeded him. The latter of these deys died of a quinsey, in February 1816, and the government was conferred on Issem, the present dey, a man of vigorous mind, but ferocious manners, and too prone to indulge in the pleasures of the seraglio.

In 1775 the king of Spain once more attempted to repress, or to destroy, so dangerous and insulting an enemy; and his preparations were so mighty that alarm was excited

in the minds of his more powerful neighbours. The state of Algiers, however, expected and prepared for this attack. Their dey was a man of ability, and left nothing undone to make the place secure. He procured some Christian engineers to construct new batteries, and strengthen the old works. Though the fortifications are considerable, and covered by an enormous artillery, an enemy has still greater obstacles to encounter in the nature of the climate, and of the adjoining country: the heat of the weather, with the scarcity of water, and the lightness and sandiness of the soil, rendering the subsistence and operations of an army extremely difficult. To these obstructions may be added a still greater, in the dangerous nature of a most turbulent sea, and of an open inhospitable coast, which, for a long extent, affords no shelter to the fleet, which must indispensibly cover and support an army in such an enterprize. The Algerines are not destitute of a bold and daring militia, but have a still greater resource in the courage and numbers of the native Moors, and numerous tribes of Arabs, who overspread their extensive territories, and who, on whatever terms they may be with Algiers, entertain a mortal aversion to the Spaniards. At this period all Spain seemed to be in motion: the ports were all crowded and in action; transports of all nations were collected; numerous bodies of troops arrived every day on the shores of the Mediterranean; and every kind of military machine, for defence or destruction, were plentifully stored on board the different fleets at Carthagena, Cadiz, and Barcelona. The transports were ballasted with bricks, which might afterwards supply the means of constructing fortifications; and a number of carpenters, smiths, bricklayers, and mechanics, necessary for such a purpose, were accordingly shipped. The whole force assembled at Carthagena, and consisted of seven sail of the line, eight ships of 40 guns, thirty-two large frigates, and twenty small armed vessels, with four hundred transports, and 19,000 seamen and marines. On board this navy were infantry to the amount of 20,000 men, and 4,000 cavalry, all composed of the most distinguished regiments and best troops in Spain, with a prodigious artillery, amounting in all, for the field and for battery, to 400 pieces, and 2000 men belonging to the train. This formidable force was provided with such immense quantities of stores, provisions, and necessaries, as seemed calculated for the establishment and support of a great and numerous colony. Several men of war were also equipped, and in readiness in different ports to support this armament in any emergency. The marine was commanded by Don Pedro Castegan, and the land forces by count O'Reilly, who had for some time stood very high in estimation in the Spanish service. Such a force seemed to the natives of Europe sufficient to overwhelm all Africa. The fleet was detained for some time by contrary winds, and did not arrive in the bay of Algiers till the beginning of July, when the commanders found every appearance of a resolute and vigorous defence. They were some time undetermined in what manner to effect a debarkation; at length a part of the fleet was employed to divert the attention of the enemy by a false attack upon some points of the town, while the remainder were drawn off to cover the troops in their landing. The ships that attacked the forts were repulsed with considerable loss, but the first debarkation of the troops was successfully effected. About 8000 men were landed by eight o'clock in the morning, and the remainder followed with great expedition. The false attacks had not deceived the Algerines, and the Spaniards found all the neighbouring hills covered with formidable bodies of Moors, who, though not drawn up in military order, shewed the greatest eagerness to engage them.

The general's intention was to take possession of a hill which commanded the landing place, and immediately threw up such works as would have rendered it a secure place of arms. By this means a safe communication would have been established with the fleet, their artillery would have kept the enemy at a proper distance, the preparations for the siege would have been conducted with due leisure, and the arrangements accordingly properly laid. To ensure success to this design the general had ordered the troops of the first division to form immedi-

ately upon the beach, and strictly forbade their advancing on the enemy until the second debarkation should be effected, and the whole army, supported by artillery, should be drawn up in order of battle. This scheme, however well laid, was overthrown by that inherent aversion which subsists between the Spaniards and Moors; an aversion that, in its effects, seems to equal the natural antipathy which is supposed to render certain animals incapable of enduring each others' sight without instantaneous efforts of mutual destruction.

The first division, with a rashness and contempt of command that disgraced all discipline, and in which the commanders were equally culpable, and much more to be condemned than the soldiers, who quitted the security which their station under the guns of their fleet afforded, and, disdaining to wait for their fellow-soldiers, rushed to the attack, and found themselves in a few minutes desperately engaged with the Moors, who, equally eager for the encounter, gave them a reception which they little expected from troops so undisciplined and irregular. The consequences of this unfortunate act could not be retrieved. The succeeding troops, as fast as they landed, ran of necessity to the succour of their friends, whom they saw overwhelmed by the numbers and courage of the enemy, and were themselves soon involved in the same circumstances, and equally in want of support. The engagement lasted with the greatest fury on both sides for thirteen hours, when the Spaniards were at length obliged to retire with great loss under the cover of their ships; and, notwithstanding the excessive fatigues they had undergone in the course of the day, they found it necessary to take immediate advantage of the night for a re-embarkation. The loss of the Spaniards amounted to 1500 slain, and 4000 wounded.

In the year 1784 the bombardment of Algiers was repeated by the Spaniards. The fleet consisted of four sail of the line furnished by the court of Madrid, two by the court of Naples, one by the knights of Malta, and two by the court of Lisbon. These last did not join Don Antonio Barcelo, the commander in chief, till he was already arrived before the piratical capital. Besides the larger ships, the fleet contained an infinite number of smaller vessels, to the amount of near one hundred and fifty. The Spanish admiral sailed from the port of Carthagena on the 22d of June, and his attacks were repeated from the 12th to the 20th of July. The preparations and exertions, however, of the Algerines were vigorous and well-directed, and Don Barcelo did not deem it expedient to give a general assault. In the meantime the piratical state, irritated by its repeated sufferings, made, in the close of the month of September, a vigorous attack on the fortress of Oran, and which, as we have seen, they did not long possess.

In the 4th year of Hali's reign, as Mr. Thomas Thomson, our English consul at Algiers, was going to the hall where the captains of ships usually meet, was insulted by a young Moor, supposed to have been in liquor, by jostling him on the mole, which is very narrow, instead of giving him the way; and, upon his being asked whether he intended to push him over it, and whether he was not justified in disputing the way with him, answered him, with great insolence, that no dog of a Christian was above him, gave him a box on the ear, and, throwing him upon his back, clapped his knee furiously upon his breast. The captain of the port, who happened to be in sight, called out to him; upon which he left him and fled, whilst he helped the consul up, and led him to the assembly of the sea officers. The admiral being there apprised of what had happened, expressed his utmost concern at the insult, and went and complained of it to the dey in the strongest terms; but, having a regard for the young offender, whose father was an eminent merchant, endeavoured to extenuate the fault, and begged that he might not be punished with death. The dey, though he promised to spare him so far, yet insisted that some punishment should be laid upon him, for the satisfaction of the consul and the determent of others.

A bastinado being agreed on between them, Mr. Thomson was sent for to see justice done on the offender; and the young Moor was brought in by the grand provost, to whom the dey sternly said, "Thou vil-

lain what hast thou done?" The young fellow, with little or no concern, answered, "What have I done! I have only beaten a Christian dog for taking the wall of me, and giving me abusive language." The dey, in a passion, asked him, "Whether it was true that he had treated the English consul in the shameful manner complained of?" which he as impudently acknowledged; and asked him, "Whether that was all he was brought before him for?" The dey was so exasperated by his reply, that he condemned him to receive 2200 bastinadoes, which were accordingly given him before the consul.

The first 1000 strokes, which were given him on the soles of his feet, brought them so far off, that they only hung by a small ligament: but as a great number would soon have dispatched him out of his misery, the dey, to make as severe and deterring an example of him as possible, ordered him back to prison to recover himself; and, on the morrow, by nine o'clock, the remaining 1200 strokes were given him on his posteriors; upon which he lost his speech and his senses: but, as he was not quite dead, he was remanded back to his prison, there to be left, without any relief, to expire in the most dreadful agonies for his drunken folly, as a warning against such future insults.

In the second year of the government of Memmi Arnaud, sir Osborn, lord mayor of London, being informed that some of the Algerine cruizers had engaged and sunk one of the ships belonging to the Turkey company, sent the Grand Seignior a letter of complaint, expressing his regret at the violation of long established articles of peace. On September following, the queen wrote a letter to the Grand Seignior on the same subject; with the addition of a complaint against the bashaw of Tripoli, who had captured an English ship called the Jesus. The Grand Seignior immediately transmitted an express order to the bashaw for the restitution of the ship and its cargo, and a command to the viceroys to salute and respect the English flag.

In the year 1749 the prince Frederic packet boat, bound from Lisbon to Falmouth, was taken by four Algerine cruizers; carried into Algiers, and plundered of effects to the amount of £25,000; and after having been detained for twenty-three days, the vessel was suffered to depart. The outrage occasioned commodore Kepple to be sent out with seven ships of war: he took on board several presents for the dey, of which the gift had been promised but neglected. So inactive and injudicious were the governments of Europe at this period of our history, that the various courts, instead of chastising their insolence and rapacity, repeatedly sent to their atrocious governors the most valuable and splendid bribes. One of the first consequences of a treaty of peace, concluded with George I. was the ransom of the captains and crews of thirty-seven English vessels, who had been taken captives and subjected to the severest infliction of cruelty and insult. A similar act of humanity was performed in 1738 by George II. when one hundred and fifty-two individuals were released from their laborious and degrading bondage.

In 1760 a ratification of all the preceding treaties was ratified by George II. but few of its conditions were performed; and the ships of England sailing through the straits, or in the Mediterranean sea, were insulted and plundered with impunity. The English ministers were for some time too deeply engaged in our memorable contest with the American colonists, to support our rights, or revenge our injuries; the rest of Europe regarded the depredations of the pirates with unmanly terror, or inhuman indifference: and the evident folly and imbecility of their conduct is forcibly described in the manifestoes of the French.

The depredations of the Algerines on the trading vessels of the American states, had been for a series of years so repeated and extensive that the president took advantage of the conclusion of the treaty of peace with England, to devote his naval force to the chastisement of these barbarians. He therefore dispatched five frigates under the command of captain Decatur, with full authority to blockade the port of Algiers, or to obtain from the dey a satisfactory convention. They arrived before Algiers on the 10th of August 1815, and the denunciation of the commander so much alarmed the dey, that he gladly consented to pay the sum of 50,000

dollars. They then proceeded to Tunis and Tripoli, and levied on the beys the sum of 160,000 dollars. They likewise concluded with the Algerines an amicable convention which secured respect to the American flag. They also paid an additional sum of 30,000 dollars as the brig Agile taken by the Algerines and sent to Tripoli. The armament had scarcely returned from before Algiers when they resumed their piratical excursions with tenfold vigor. It rendered their power so dangerous and alarming, that Great Britain was at length aroused to justify her rights; to revenge the insults and injustice she had sustained; to support the cause of the Christian nations; and chastise the crimes of avarice, cruelty, and infidelity.

The aggressions of the Algerines had by this time increased in proportion to our forbearance. The most serious evils were sustained by respectable individuals, and even the voyages in the Mediterranean became extremely dangerous. A ship on its return from Lisbon, in which the wife of Mr. Perry of the *Morning Chronicle* was a passenger, was carried in Algiers by the pirates; and though the vessel, crew, &c. were subsequently released, it hastened the death of that lady, who had been abroad for the recovery of her health. Similar circumstances are recorded by several respectable witnesses, and particularly by the brave and intelligent captain Croker of the royal navy, who in his letter to a member of parliament, has, in a plain and simple manner, but with an honest warmth that does the highest credit to his feelings, detailed some of the atrocities at Algiers, of which he was a spectator no longer ago than July (1815). Captain Croker commanded the Wizard sloop of war, which was ordered to Algiers by lord Exmouth, and on that service beheld the attack of a small Dutch squadron by the pirates, who were, however, fortunately too weak for its capture, or, in the sufferings of the captive crews, captain Croker would have had to witness even more misery than it was otherwise his fate to encounter. What he did see, however, was quite sufficient; for the very next day after his arrival at Algiers, on enquiring into the purport of a paper which he saw in the hands of the British vice-consul, he found it to be a subscription for the relief of nearly three hundred Christian slaves, just arrived from Bona, the most eastern part of Algiers, after a journey of many days. These poor wretches having been brought with the usual ceremony to the dey's feet, were ordered to their different destinations; such as were able to go to their bani, or prison, were sent there; but the far greater number were objects for the hospital, which Spain, in her better days, humanely established for the relief of the Christian slaves in Algiers, being the only one in that city. When captain Croker enquired into the particulars of the capture of these wretched people, he found, on the authority of all the consuls in Algiers, that they were a part of three hundred and fifty-seven who had been taken by two Algerine pirates, carrying English colours, by which stratagem they were decoyed within their reach. Landed at Bona, these unhappy people had been driven to Algiers like a herd of cattle. Such as were no longer able to walk had been tied on mules, and many who had become still more enfeebled, were murdered without ceremony! On their journey fifty-nine expired! One youth fell dead the very moment they brought him to the feet of the dey; and within six days from their arrival at Algiers, nearly seventy men were delivered by death from the inhumanity of these monsters in human shape.

Captain Croker was on a subsequent day at the quarries, where he saw the Christian slaves and the mules driven promiscuously to the same labour by their Algerine masters, and was struck with indignation and surprise when they referred him to the British consul, to prove that many of them were actually made slaves whilst under English passports, granted for the express purpose of supplying our armies with grain.

From the same testimony it appears, that when the island of Ponza was surrendered to Britain, the great addition of the British garrison and squadron occasioned considerable anxiety for the maintenance of the inhabitants themselves, as well as of their new masters. Under this pressure, the British commander encouraged a spirit of commerce

in the natives, by granting them passports to different places, to procure grain for the use of the island, and as a further protection, to carry the British flag. Yet, when met by the Algerines, they threw the British flag into the sea, and dragged them into captivity; nor was our consul-general able to obtain their release. Captain Croker was surrounded by these miserable men, who, with tears, inquired if England *knew their fate*, or if they were to expect mercy from a generous nation.

A similar case is that of two brothers of the name of Tereni, natives of Leghorn.—These gentlemen, returning from England to their own country, although in possession of a passport from general Oakes, were taken by the pirates, robbed of 2000*l.* worth of property, and carried into slavery. Their fate was made known in London, and the secretary of state directed the British consul to use his influence for their release; but all that he has been able to obtain for them is permission to live under his protection, on the condition of paying a dollar a month for exemption from working in the mines.

There were at this moment in irons and in slavery at Algiers, the captain and crew of a Gibraltar trader. Their little vessel was taken and confiscated, and our consul was repeatedly refused their release, although he many times offered *proofs of their being British subjects.*

On the same respectable testimony rests the following description of the bani or prison of Algiers, where many Christian victims are at this moment wasting out their lives in hopeless misery. This wretched receptacle is placed in one of the narrow streets of Algiers. On entering the gate there is a small square yard for the slaves to walk about; in this place they are locked up on every Friday; and as on that day they do not work, they are allowed nothing but water by the Algerine government. From this place captain Croker ascended by a stone staircase into a gallery, around which were rooms with naked earthen floors and damp stone walls. Each of these rooms is furnished with an iron-grated window and a strong door, and two of them contain twenty-four things resembling cot-frames, with twigs interwoven in the middle. These are *hung up one above another* round the room, and those slaves alone are admitted to the luxury of such a bed as can pay for it. Captain Croker is at a loss for a comparison for this loathsome prison and these abominable cells; *if they had light*, he thinks they would most resemble the houses in which negroes in the West Indies keep their pigs! The stench was so intolerable, the captain and his whole company could scarcely endure it; one gentleman nearly fainted.

The food of the slaves consists of two black loaves of half a pound each, which are their daily bread; they are allowed neither meat nor vegetables, those excepted who work at the Marina, who get ten olives a day, and such as are in the Spanish hospital, which that government supports as well as it is able. This hospital was also visited by captain Croker, who saw its floors covered with unhappy beings of every age, and of both sexes, men at the age of sixty, and children who could not be more than eight, the whole of whom had their legs swelled and cut in such a horrible manner as seemed to defy recovery. There, among several Sicilian females, he saw a poor woman, who burst into tears, and told him that she was the mother of eight children, and requested him to look at six of them, who had been slaves with her for *thirteen* years! "We left these scenes of horror," writes captain Croker, "and in going into the country, *I met the slaves returning from their labour. The clang of the chains of those who are heavily ironed, called my attention to their extreme fatigue and dejection, they being attended by infidels with large whips!*"—The women are procured by descents on the Italian coasts; their fate is most horrible in *every* sense, as well as that of their children, whether girls or *boys*!

Whatever produces forbearance, on the part of Great Britain, to outrages in which at least her honour is implicated; it is not purchased by any extraordinary respect on the part of the infidels. The influence of the British consul is certainly greater than that of the consul of any other nation, for it extends to his being able to avoid insult to his person and establishment—and barely

that. A Turk came to rob the garden of the present consul, and was secured until he heard from Algiers respecting his punishment. The next day an order arrived for *all* the consuls to leave their country houses and reside in the city: this they refused to do, and they were unexpectedly permitted to remain.

As to the treatment of less respected nations, a short summary will suffice. The Danish consul was taken to the Bani, and irons put upon him until Denmark paid some tributary debt! The Swedes were obliged to furnish artists for making gunpowder! The French government, in 1815, sent them a builder for their navy! The Spanish vice-consul was seen by captain Croker working in irons with the other slaves! And all this was endured from a banditti, whom an American expedition of half a dozen ships of war had reduced into complete humiliation—a government of four thousand janissaries; for, except in extraordinary emergency, neither Arab nor Moor is entrusted with arms.

To shew how simple the sufferance is upon which all this evil rested, the destruction of the janissaries alone would end the system. From these ruffians the dey is chosen; one butcher generally rising upon the murder of another, and his popularity and safety at home is always in proportion to the extent and success of his atrocity towards the Christian world.

It would be wrong to take leave of captain Croker without quoting his manly and affecting appeal to the gentlemen of fortune who visit the Mediterranean for pleasure:—"I own," says this gallant and humane officer, "I cannot but wish that some of those English gentlemen, who travel in search of pleasure in the Mediterranean, would pay Algiers a visit even for one week; I am sure they could not fail to feel like me the degradation to which the Christian name is exposed, and to endeavour, on their return home, to exert their abilities and influence in a cause which no one doubts to be meritorious; but which actual inspection would make every man feel to be a solemn, religious, and moral duty."

The ironmongers' company finally reimbursed a commercial firm in Mogodore the ransom of a British seaman. That act of humanity it seems is due to the posthumous charity of a Mr. Thomas Bretton, a Turkey merchant, who left 26,000*l.* to the company, the proceeds of one half of which were to be applied to the deliverance of British captives in Barbary. According to Mr. Jackson, it would be more than sufficient to answer every demand for the wrecked seaman; and as to Algiers and Tunis, whatever may be the fact, as they do not acknowledge to the detention of native British subjects, it is presumed that the bequest of Mr. Bretton is not affected from those quarters. Without being acquainted with the particular directions of the will, it would be impertinent to question the worshipful company of ironmongers, but the affair, simply as stated by Mr. Jackson, would imply no anxiety on the part of Mr. Bretton's legatees to find objects for his bounty.

On the 30th of April, the city of Tunis was disturbed by the sudden insurrection of 3000 Turkish soldiers, who were deluded by the machinations of Dely Ali, one of their principal officers. He suddenly assumed the dignity of bashaw, and exhorted the troops to replace the existing authorities by an elective Turkish government. The insurgents obtained possession of the town and goletta, and compelled the divan to pronounce the deposition of Mahamud Bashaw, and of the dey, Sidi Assen, proclaiming in their place Sidi Mustapha, the brother of Mahamud, and Semain Bey, his uncle. They refused, however, to accept the authority thus conferred, and a great part of the troops having proceeded against the goletta without returning, the remaining forces, discouraged and perplexed, seized Dely Ali, disarmed him and cast him into a dungeon. The troops who had captured the goletta plundered the houses of the kaya, the Christians, and the Jews, established in that place, and were preparing to set fire to the arsenal and all the shipping, but the sudden and miraculous appearance of the English frigate Euphrates, which cast anchor in the port (May 2d, 1816), totally prevented the execution of their project, and saved from the flames the Spanish, English, and French ships,

which were in the harbour. Apprehensive of exemplary punishment, the insurgents hastened their departure, and at eleven o'clock in the morning they embarked, to about the number of seven hundred, setting sail with a favourable north-west wind in the direction of Constantinople. Sidi Assen arrived by land at the same moment, and with a large body of cavalry. He found nothing but the smoking traces of plunder or conflagration; and the authors of the revolution, notwithstanding their failure, retained the consolation of having saved and carried off the most bulky and valuable corsairs of the regency. On the morning of the 3d of May, Dely Ali and one of his accomplices were strangled, and their bodies cast into the sea. The atrocities which had thus been committed by the dependents and favourites of the emperor of the Turks, were shortly afterwards far surpassed by the massacre of Bona, which at length awoke the English ministry to adopt the most prompt and vigorous measures of punishment and retribution.

The brig Surprise sailed from Glasgow, December 16, 1815, on a voyage to St. Thomas and Jamaica, with a valuable cargo of dry goods, having on board a crew of seventeen persons and three passengers. Soon after leaving the Clyde, they experienced heavy gales of wind until they entered the latitude of Madeira. About three o'clock in the morning of December 25, the vessel struck upon rocks, and was soon after grounded; a heavy sea beating over her. The passengers and crew, except two who were drowned in the attempt, reached the shore in the boats. The appearance of armed Arabs on the shore a few hours afterwards, shewed that they were on the coast of Africa, in the desert.—

In the afternoon Mr. Black, the only individual who has obliged the public by a narrative of this event, accompanied on shore captain Ross, and Mr. Walker, the second mate. They had not travelled far, when they were met by two horsemen, one of whom, after saying a few words, laid hold of Mr. Black's collar, but was extricated with the assistance of Walker. The Arab then presented his musquet, and the party, finding resistance useless, were carried off to the wreck. The two robbers were joined by two others and three camels. They all left the wreck before twelve, and travelled into the interior: on his march, Mr. Black discovered, to their mutual astonishment, that Mr. W. Black, his nearest relative, was in the same predicament with himself, and that they were to travel in company. Their treatment, on the arrival at the adouar to which the robbers belonged, was by no means cruel, but the filth, the nastiness, the inquisitive impertinence of the natives, and the vermin, were exceedingly tormenting; though the tent in which they resided was that of shaik Abraham, chief of the tribe Ahylala, and of his brother Sidi Baruk. After being conveyed to Wedinoon they wrote to the British consul, explaining their situation, and the latter finding that the Sidi Isheme had purchased these prisoners, sent him to negociate a ransom with his new slaves. They were now compelled to march to Talent, the residence of Sidi Isheme, and, after a frightful and dangerous journey, they arrived at a miserable structure lately occupied by cattle, dirty, and worse than the black hole at Wedinoon. The accommodations were commensurate with the building, and they passed their days in filth and inclemency till March the 27th, some receiving tolerable food, and others but little, and that which had been spoiled by dirt and rain. In the meantime Mr. Wiltshire, the British vice-consul at Mogodore, interested himself in promoting their ransom, which he was authorised to effect by the ironmongers' company, though on terms above their usual allowance, which is one hundred pounds for each person. The cost was five thousand dollars. At length they reached Mogodore; and on the 12th of October Mr. Black, with five others, arrived in England. His fellow-sufferers were conveyed to Algiers, and have been restored to their friends and to their native land, in consequence of the victory obtained and the treaty concluded by lord Exmouth.

CHAP. VIII.

Lord Exmouth concludes a treaty with the Dey, which is violated by the latter.—His Lordship temporises, in conformity with his instructions.—Absurd designs of the continental sovereigns.—Lord Exmouth is dispatched to fight the cause of justice and humanity.—Bombardment of Algiers,—Conclusion of a treaty with the Dey.—The British ministry are cajoled.—Concluding reflections.

THE apparent termination of all future hostilities with the French nation enabled the English ministry to dispatch lord Exmouth with a fleet of five frigates, of which the principal objects were the protection of Naples, the possession of Gaeta, and the intimidation of Algiers. On his arrival before the latter city, in November 1815, the dey, alarmed and unprepared for any resistance to a force so powerful, readily complied with the proposals of lord Exmouth, and confirmed the former treaties; but according to a usual and disgraceful custom, demanded and received several valuable presents, which were afterwards returned by one of the most atrocious acts of treacherous inhumanity that has distinguished the annals of these infamous barbarians. The stipulations of the convention were unknown to the people of Algiers or Tunis; but rumours were dispersed by the emissaries of the dey, that several conditions had been obtained by lord Exmouth which would destroy their trade, and prevent their piracies. They therefore formed a desperate conspiracy which was secretly, sanctioned by the dey, and on the 23d of May, a few months later than the conclusion of the treaty, they commenced a brutal and sanguinary massacre. In the meantime, little suspecting the occurrence of an event so horrible, but provoked by the capture of some English vessels in defiance of the treaty, lord Exmouth returned from cruizing off the coast of Sicily to demand some additional securities, and severer terms. His lordship went on shore on the 24th of May, when the account of the massacre at Bona had not reached his ears, to prescribe to the dey (who had lately concluded a treaty of conciliation with the Neapolitans and Sardinians) the condition, that the Algerines should in future treat the sailors and passengers who might fall into their hands, not as slaves, but as prisoners of war. The resentment of the divan, and of the Turkish militia, whom the dey consulted, rose to the highest pitch. Lord Exmouth and his suite found it an enterprise of much hazard to regain in safety the beach and their boats. The family of the English consul was forcibly driven from his country house, and subjected to cruelty and insult; and two of his inmates were brought into Algiers with their hands tied behind their backs.

The next day, while the batteries were replenished with artillery and men, the dey made a proposal to the admiral to let the whole affair be dormant for six months, in order to consult the Grand Seignior respecting a demand so directly contrary to the Algerine constitution. The overture was rejected, and the English admiral threatened the most terrible attack should the government persevere in its refusal.

Both sides prepared for the combat, and the Turkish militia swore to bury themselves under the ruins rather than suffer their dey to be reduced to depart from the *laudable* customs of their ancestors. Lord Exmouth did not regard it as expedient to provoke this spirit to a higher frenzy of enthusiasm. His instructions were not so positive or precise as to authorise the full performance of his threats, though his force was considerable, and the Algerines were totally unprepared for a regular resistance. The arrogance of the dey increased in proportion to his lordship's forbearance; and the latter, uncertain of the intentions of our ministers, was compelled to grant the following stipulations:—1st, The dey will be allowed six months in which to consult the Grand Seignior for his opinion and advice; 2d, A number of chests, containing pieces of eight, and constituting the ransom of the subjects of Naples, Sardinia, and Tuscany, at one thousand piastres per head,

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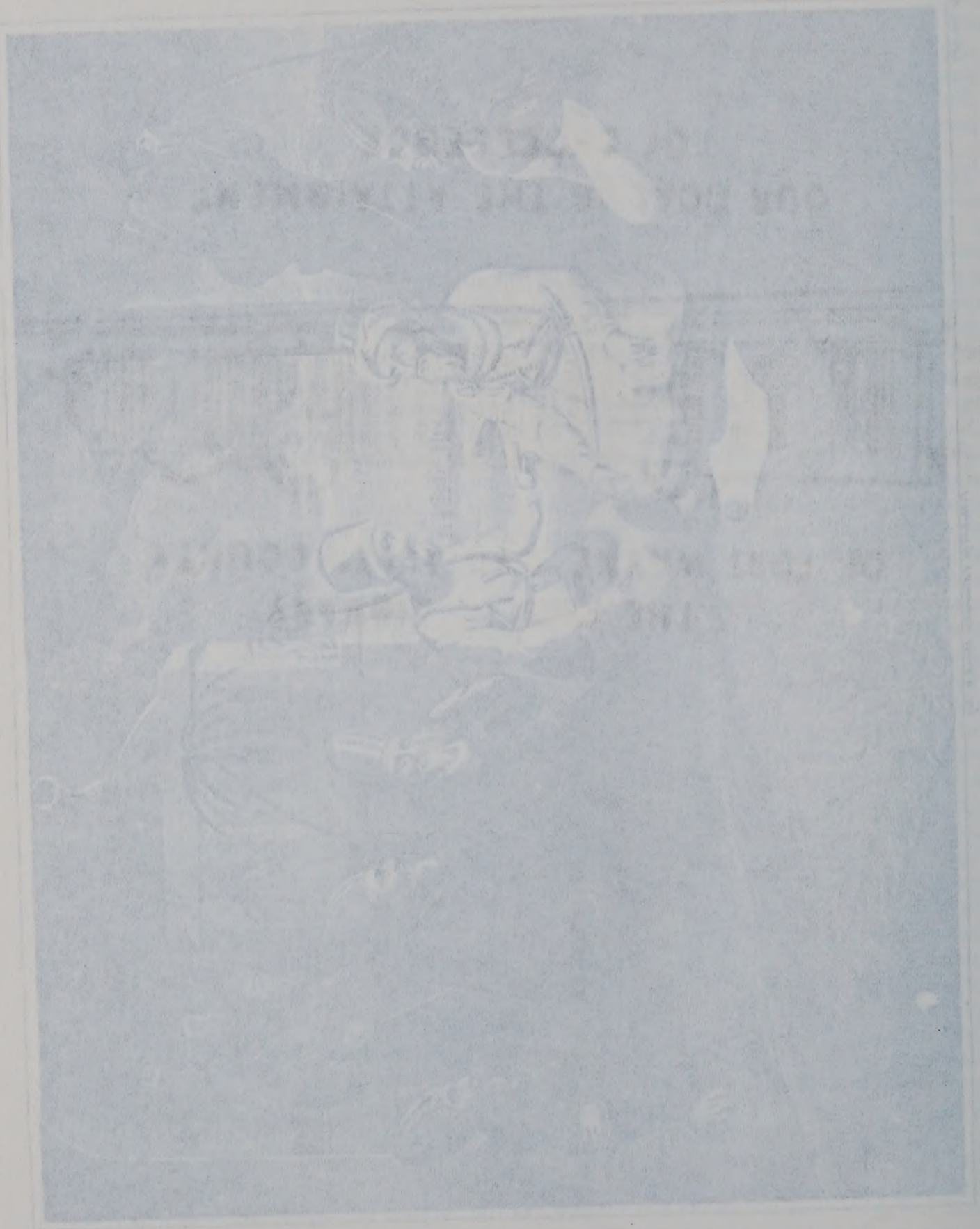
The Dey of Algiers consulting his council



having been delivered to the British squadron in April, will be immediately landed; 3d, The amicable loan of an English frigate will be granted to convey to Constantinople the annual tribute, and to solicit the opinion of the Grand Signior. This request is granted in consequence of the statement of the dey, that he would not willingly employ the Algerine vessels on that occasion, from his dread of the Dutch and American squadrons cruising off the coast. The dey, on his side, engaged to maintain perpetual peace with the kingdom of Hanover; and the English admiral set sail again with five ships of the line, four heavy and four light frigates. Previous to his departure, the arrangements were confirmed on both sides by mutual presents.

The melancholy massacre at Bona had, previous to his departure, been committed, and was known to the dey, who carefully concealed the important fact from the knowledge of lord Exmouth. The barks of different nations, on the 23d of May 1816, were, as usual, off Bona, fishing for coral. At day-break a cannon-shot was heard, and at the same moment a number of armed men, to the amount of five thousand, some of them on horseback, issued from the town, and fell upon the seamen of the barks who were on shore, massacring all without the slightest distinction of flag or nation. About one hundred of the vessels, with their crews, fell a prey to the Algerines, and three hundred men were murdered in the unexpected attack of the barbarians. The brother of the English vice-consul residing at Bona saved himself by flight, after receiving a dreadful wound; and the vice-consul expired under the stroke of an assassin. The dey of Algiers was evidently a party to the aggression, as the cannon of the fortress of Bona kept a regular fire on the barks. All the Christians, to the number of nine hundred, were put in irons: they were threatened with instant death, and subjected to every species of cruelty and insult. Some hours after they were set at liberty, and they all took to flight with their vessels in every direction.

The events at Tunis, and the atrocities at Bona, at length excited the European powers to coalesce in one general alliance for the humiliation of a power so formidable and rapacious. The ministers of France, Spain, Naples, Great Britain, and Holland, entered into a treaty, by which they mutually engaged to commence a decisive and effective invasion upon the states of Barbary. It was ratified in June by all the sovereigns, in their quality of grand-masters of the several military and religious orders in their dominions.

The powers engaged not only to put an end to the *white* slave trade, which the African governments carried on with insolence and impunity; but in order to prevent the return of acts of violence, they declared that they would establish there the form of government that should afford the best guarantee. The treaty consisted of 133 articles, and the sublime porte agreed to remain neuter, on condition of receiving guarantees for its European possessions. The pope announced his intention to give to the grand-masters of the military orders a suit of armour, and a banner, and the whole of the allied forces were fixed at 45,000 men.

Fortunately for the cause of justice and humanity, a project so futile in its design, and so desperate in its execution, was anticipated by the energy and decision of the British cabinet. The courage of the population, the attachment of the Turks to the established power, and the difficulties presented by the various forts, woods, and defiles, to the advances of an enemy, would have required, even should the confederates have succeeded, an enormous expence of blood and treasure. It would have been impossible to command or to intimidate the inhabitants of the interior; and operations on land would have occasioned an inhuman, sanguinary, and wasteful series of conflicts, for a chimerical and mistaken object. The only just and expedient policy was that which we adopted. We refrained from interfering with the organization of a government which, however tyrannical and capricious, is congenial to the feelings and habits of the people; we remembered that to dethrone the dey would only lead to the accession of another despot; and, confiding in our immense superiority of naval strength, we were certain that the Algerine govern-

ment would be terrified or chastised, without the aid of land forces, into a full compliance with our intended stipulations. How completely these ideas were justified, and these intentions fulfilled, will best appear from the circumstances detailed in the ensuing narrative, which describes an expedition conducted and completed with a vigour, a promptitude, and a success, worthy in all respects of the policy and the wisdom by which it was projected.

The commander to whom this important and unexampled enterprise was entrusted had long been distinguished by the energy, the rapidity, and the success of his naval exploits, but from the injustice of his patrons, or his own inclinations, the greater portion of his professional life had been spent in casual encounters, in desultory cruises, or in the subjugation of enemies almost incapable of resistance; but the present opportunity was worthy of his loftiest ambition, and demanded the most vigorous and strenuous exercise of those professional abilities which he had so frequently displayed in less important conflicts.

Early in August lord Exmouth sailed for Gibraltar, but remained at that place no longer than was necessary for the purchase of provisions, and the addition to his armament of several gun-boats. His squadron consisted of the Queen Charlotte, 110 guns; Impregnable, 96; Superb, 74; Leander, 50; Severn, 40; Glasgow, 40; Granicus, 36; Hebrus, 36; Heron, 18; and eight smaller vessels. Captain Van de Capellan had been dispatched by the Dutch government to cooperate with the hostile demonstrations of the British armament, and arrived before Algiers with the Melampus, 44 guns; Frederica, 44; Dagerand, 30; Diana, 44; Amstel, 44; and Ecendragt, 18. An unexpected calm, succeeded by strong easterly winds, prevented the united squadron from anchoring off Algiers till the 27th of August. Immediately after his arrival in the bay lord Exmouth transmitted, by means of a flag of truce, a written proposal, which intimated that the late atrocities at Bona had dissolved the amicable connection of the two countries, and demanded an immediate consent to the following stipulations:—

1. The liberation of all Christian slaves without ransom.

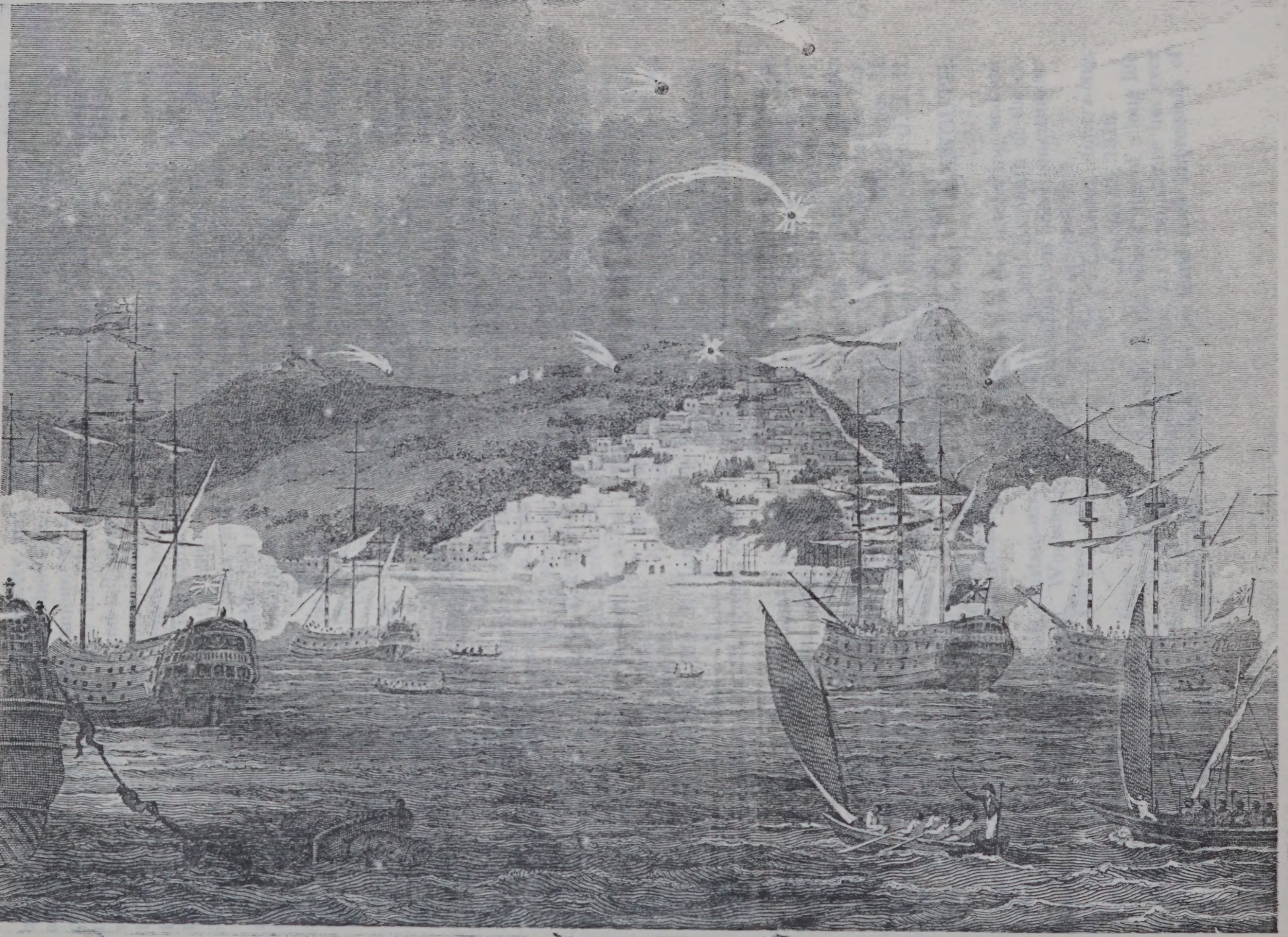
2. The restitution of all the money which had already been received for the Sardinian and Neapolitan captives.

3. A solemn declaration from the dey, that he bound himself in the same manner as the beys of Tripoli and Tunis, to respect the rights of humanity, and in future wars to treat all prisoners according to the usages of European nations.

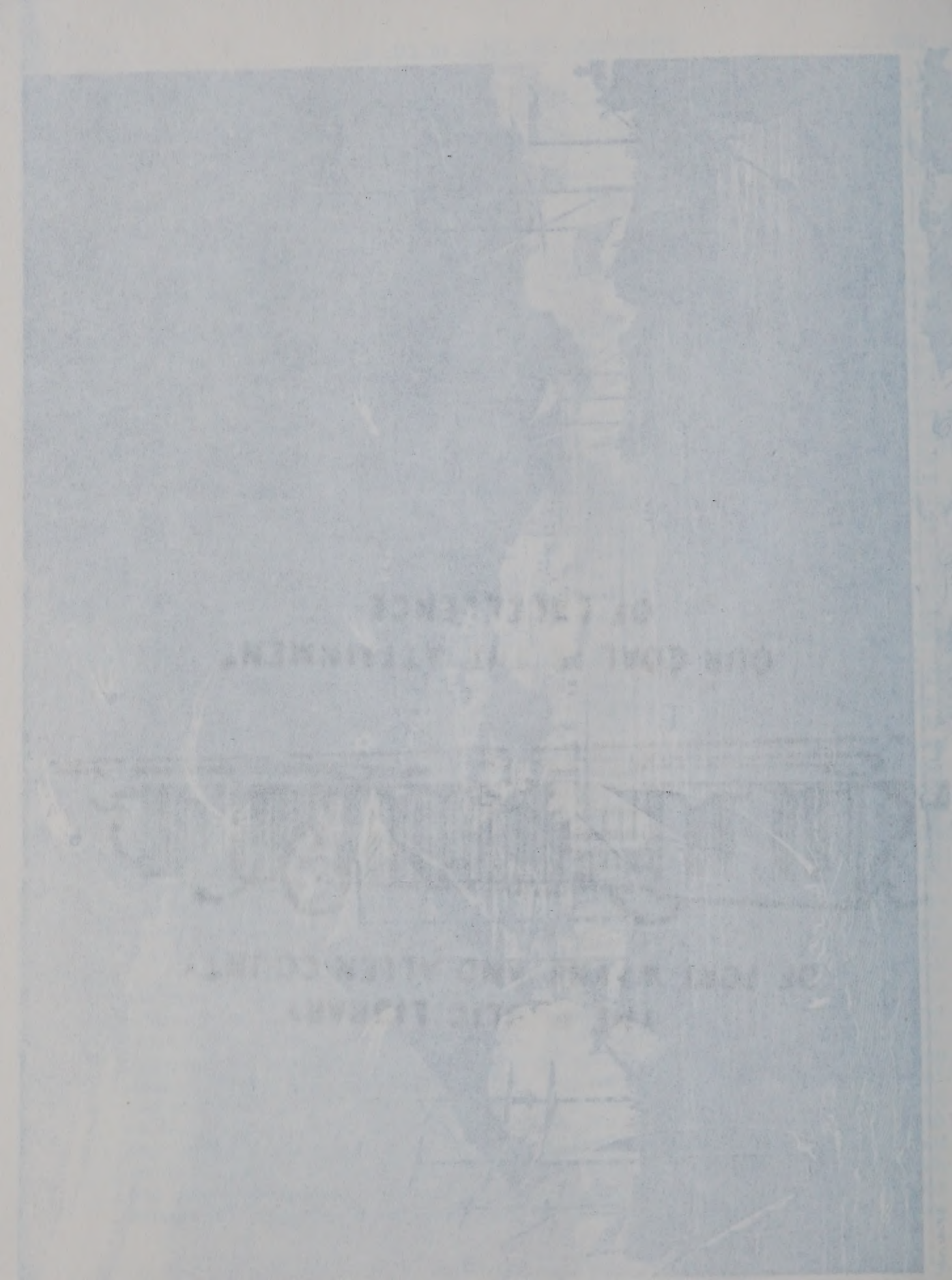
4. Peace to be concluded with his majesty the king of the Netherlands on the same terms as with the Prince Regent.

His lordship demanded an immediate answer, but his stipulations were rejected, and the fleet bore up at twelve o'clock on the 28th of August to commence a cannonade. The Melampus closed in with the nearest ship, and at sixteen minutes past two o'clock lord Exmouth, with the Queen Charlotte, bore up before the wind. A terrible and sanguinary bombardment now commenced, of which it would be impossible to present a more distinct, energetic, and vivid description, than that contained in the official statement of lord Exmouth. The bombardment ended in the destruction of half Algiers, and the burning of its ships. They consisted of four large frigates of 44 guns; five large corvettes, from 24 to 30 guns; all the gun and mortar boats except seven, amounting to thirty; several merchant brigs and schooners; and a great number of small vessels of various descriptions. The pontoons and lighters, the store-houses and arsenal, with all the timber, and various marine articles, were partly destroyed; and a considerable number of mortar-beds, gun-carriages, stores, and casks, were conveyed on board some English transports.

It is impossible to express the rage, the fury, and the sufferings, of the miserable Algerines. The city presented one universal and terrible scene of conflagration, bloodshed, and self-destruction. The unfortunate individuals, on whose houses the bombs and rockets produced effect, were crushed to death by the falling of the buildings; and crowds of citizens, burnt or laid prostrate by the English fire, bestrewed the streets, and the porticoes of the mosques. The number



Lord Exmouth's Fleet bound



of unfortunate victims to the cruelty and avarice of the dey, and who lost their lives, or were severely wounded, amounted to more than 3000 persons. The inhabitants with a degree of indifference and self-security, arising from their superstitious belief in the doctrine of fatality, had neglected to retire from the city, or to send their families and furniture to a distance from the scene.

The loss of the English was great, and might have been thought deplorable, had not the necessity and justice of the enterprise required the most prompt and sanguinary operations. The following is a list of the individuals killed or wounded in the attack:

Queen Charlotte.—Wounded—Frederic J. Johnston, lieutenant, dangerously; George M. King, lieutenant, slightly; J. S. Jago, lieutenant, slightly; Mr. Joseph Grimes, secretary to commander in chief, slightly; Mr. Maxwell, boatswain, slightly; Mr. George Markham, midshipman, severely; Mr. H. Campbell, midshipman, severely; Mr. E. Hibbert, midshipman, severely; Mr. E. Stanley, midshipman, slightly; Mr. R. H. Baker, midshipman, slightly; Mr. S. Colston, secretary's clerk, slightly; captain F. Burton, royal marine artillery, severely; lieutenant. P. Robertson, royal marines, slightly.

Impregnable.—Killed—Mr. J. Hawkins, midshipman. Wounded—Mr. G. N. Wesley, mate, contusion; Mr. H. Quinn, contusion.

Superb.—Killed—Mr. Thomas Howard, mate; Mr. Rob. C. Bowen, midshipman. Wounded—Chas. Ekins, esq. captain, slightly; Philip T. Home, first lieutenant, severely; J. M'Dougall, lieutenant, slightly; Geo. W. Gunning, acting lieutenant, severely; Mr. W. Sweeting, midshipman, severely; Mr. J. H. Wolsey, midshipman, slightly.

Minden.—Wounded—Mr. Chas. C. Dent, mate, slightly; Mr. Chas. C. Grub, midshipman, slightly.

Albion.—Killed—Mr. Mends, assistant-surveyor; Mr. Jardine, midshipman. Wounded, captain Coode, severely; Mr. Harvey, midshipman, severely.

Severn.—Wounded—Mr. James Foster, midshipman, arm amputated; Mr. Chas. Caley, ditto, contused foot. Mr. Wm. Ferrar, midshipman, wounded hand and contusion; Mr. Daniel Beattie, ditto, contusion; Mr. W. Catler, midshipman, wounded knee.

Leander.—Killed—Captain Wilson, royal marines; lieutenant Baxter, royal marines; Mr. Lowdon, midshipman; Mr. Calthorpe, midshipman; Mr. Hanwel, midshipman. —Wounded.—Henry Walker, lieutenant, slightly; J. S. Dixon, lieutenant, slightly; Mr. Ashington, midshipman, severely; Mr. Cole, midshipman severely; Mr. Mayne, midshipman, severely; Mr. Sturt, midshipman, severely; Mr. Pickett, clerk, slightly; Mr. Dixon, midshipman, slightly.

Glasgow.—Wounded—P. Gilbert, lieutenant, contusion of chest; Mr. Robert Fulton, master, contusion of face, and knee; A. Stephens, lieutenant, royal marines, leg; Mr. Duffil, midshipman, severely; Mr. Harvey, midshipman, severely; Mr. Baird, midshipman, severely; Mr. Heathcote, midshipman, left foot; Mr. Keay, midshipman, severely.

Granicus.—Killed—W. M. Morgan, lieutenant, royal marines; Wm. Renfrey, lieutenant, royal marines; Mr. Robert Pratt, midshipman. Wounded—H. A. Perkins, lieutenant, slightly; Mr. L. Mitchell, midshipman, severely; Mr. L. T. Jones, midshipman, slightly; Mr. G. R. Glennie, midshipman, dangerously; Mr. Dacres F. Wise, midshipman, slightly.

Hebrus.—Killed—Mr. G. H. A. Pocock, midshipman. Wounded—Mr. A. S. Symes, midshipman, lower jaw.

Infernal.—Killed—G. J. P. Bissett, lieutenant, royal marine artillery. Wounded—John Foreman, lieutenant, slightly; Mr. G. Valentine, boatswain, slightly; Mr. Morgan Hopkins, clerk, severely; Mr. James Barber, midshipman, severely; Mr. James M. Cross, midshipman, slightly; Mr. J. J. H. Andrews, midshipman, slightly.

(Signed) EXMOUTH.

The following is the interesting and animating report by lord Exmouth of the exploits of himself and his brave companions.

TO J. W. CROKER, ESQ.

Queen Charlotte, Algiers bay, August 28, 1816.

SIR,—In all the vicissitudes of a long life of public service, no circumstance has ever produced on my mind such impressions of

gratitude and joy as the event of yesterday. To have been one of the humble instruments, in the hands of Divine Providence, for bringing to reason a ferocious government, and destroying for ever the insufferable and horrid system of Christian slavery, can never cease to be a source of delight and heartfelt comfort to every individual happy enough to be employed in it. I may, I hope, be permitted, under such impressions, to offer my sincere congratulations to their lordships on the complete success which attended the gallant efforts of his majesty's fleet in their attack upon Algiers of yesterday; and the happy result produced from it on this day by the signature of peace. Thus has a provoked war of two days existence been attended by a complete victory, and closed by a renewed peace for England and her ally, the king of the Netherlands, on conditions dictated by the firmness and wisdom of his majesty's government and commanded by the vigour of their measures.

My thanks are justly due for the honour and confidence his majesty's ministers have been pleased to repose on my zeal, on this highly important occasion. The means were by them made adequate to my own wishes, and the rapidity of their measures speak for themselves. Not more than one hundred days since I left Algiers with the British fleet, unsuspicious and ignorant of the atrocities which had been committed at Bona; that fleet on its arrival in England was necessarily disbanded, and another, with proportionate resources, created and equipped; and, although impeded in its progress by calms and adverse winds, has poured the vengeance of an insulted nation, in chastising the cruelties of a ferocious government with a promptitude beyond example, and highly honourable to the national character, eager to resent oppression or cruelty whenever practised upon those under their protection.

Would to God that in the attainment of this object I had not deeply to lament the severe loss of so many gallant officers and men; they have profusely bled in a contest which has been peculiarly marked by proofs of such devoted heroism as would rouse every noble feeling, did I dare indulge in relating them.

Their lordships will already have been informed, by his majesty's sloop Jasper, of my proceedings up to the 15th instant, on which day I broke ground from Gibraltar, after a vexatious detention by a foul wind of four days.

The fleet, complete in all its points, with the addition of five gun-boats fitted at Gibraltar, departed in the highest spirits, and with the most favourable prospect of reaching the port of their destination in three days; but an adverse wind destroyed the expectation of an early arrival, which was the more anxiously looked for by myself, in consequence of hearing, the day I sailed from Gibraltar, that a large army had been assembled, and that very considerable additional works were throwing up, not only on both flanks of the city, but also immediately about the entrance of the mole: from this I was apprehensive that my intention of making that point my principal object of attack, had been discovered to the dey by the same means he had heard of the expedition. This intelligence was, on the following night, greatly confirmed by the Prometheus, which I had dispatched to Algiers some time before, to endeavour and get away the consul.—Captain Dashwood had with difficulty succeeded in bringing away, disguised in midshipman's uniform, his wife and daughter, leaving a boat to bring off their infant child, coming down in a basket with the surgeon, who thought he had composed it, but it unhappily cried in the gateway, and in consequence the surgeon, three midshipmen, in all eighteen persons, were seized and confined as slaves in the usual dungeons. The child was sent off next morning by the dey, and as a solitary instance of his humanity, it ought to be recorded by me.

Captain Dashwood further confirmed, that about forty thousand men had been brought down from the interior, and all the janissaries called in from distant garrisons, and that they were indefatigably employed in their batteries, gun-boats, &c. and every where strengthening the sea defences.

The dey informed captain Dashwood he knew perfectly well the armament was destined for Algiers, and asked him if it was true; he replied, if he had such information

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Engraved by R. PAGE.

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LORD EXMOUTH.

he knew as much as he did, and probably from the same source—the public prints.

The ships were all in port, and between forty and fifty gun and mortar boats ready, with several more in forward repair. The dey had closely confined the consul, and refused either to give him up or promise his personal safety; nor would he hear a word respecting the officers and men seized in the boats of the Prometheus.

From the continuance of adverse winds and calms, the land to the westward of Algiers was not made before the 26th, and the next morning at day-break the fleet was advanced in sight of the city, though not so near as I had intended. As the ships were becalmed, I embraced this opportunity of dispatching a boat under cover of the Severn, with a flag of truce, and the demands I had to make, in the name of his royal highness the Prince Regent, on the dey of Algiers (of which the accompanying are copies) directing the officer to wait two or three hours for the dey's answer, at which time, if no reply was sent, he was to return to the flag ship; he was met near the mole by the captain of the port, who, on being told the answer was expected in one hour, replied, that it was impossible. The officer then said he would wait two or three hours; he then observed, two hours was quite sufficient.

The fleet at this time, by the spring up of the sea breeze, had reached the bay, and were preparing the boats and flotilla for service, until near two o'clock, when, observing my officer returning with the signal flying that no answer had been received, after a delay of upwards of three hours, I instantly made the signal to know if the ships were all ready, which being answered in the affirmative, the Queen Charlotte bore up, followed by the fleet, for their appropriate stations; the flag, leading in the prescribed order, was anchored in the entrance of the mole, at about fifty yards distance. At this moment not a gun had been fired, and I began to suspect a full compliance with the terms which had been so many hours in their hands. At this period of profound silence, a shot was fired at us from the mole, and two at the ships to the northward then following: this was promptly returned by the Queen Charlotte, who was then lashing to the mainmast of a brig, fast to the shore in the mouth of the mole, and which we had steered for, as the guide to our position.

Thus commenced a fire as animated and well supported as, I believe, was ever witnessed, from a quarter before three until nine, without intermission, and which did not cease altogether until half-past eleven.

The ships immediately following me were admirably and coolly taking their stations, with a precision even beyond my most sanguine hope; and never did the British flag receive, on any occasion, more zealous and honourable support. To look further on the line than immediately around me was perfectly impossible, but so well-grounded was my confidence in the gallant officers I had the honour to command, that my mind was left perfectly free to attend to other objects, and I knew them in their stations only by the destructive effect of their fire upon the walls and batteries to which they were opposed.

I had about this time the satisfaction of seeing vice-admiral Van Cappellen's flag in the station I had assigned to him, and soon after, at intervals, the remainder of the frigates, keeping up a well supported fire on the flanking batteries he had offered to cover us from, as it had not been in my power, from want of room, to bring him in front of the mole.

About sun-set I received a message from rear-admiral Milne, conveying to me the severe loss the Impregnable was sustaining, having then one hundred and fifty killed and wounded, and requesting I would, if possible, send him a frigate to divert some of the fire he was under.

The Glasgow, near me, immediately weighed, but the wind had been driven away by the cannonade, and she was obliged to anchor again, having obtained rather a better position than before.

I had at this time sent orders to the explosion vessel, under the charge of lieutenant Fleming and Mr. Parker, by captain Reade of the engineers, to bring her into the mole; but the rear-admiral having thought she would do him essential service if exploded under the battery in his front, I sent orders

to this vessel to this effect, which were executed. I desired also the rear-admiral might be informed, that many of the ships being now in flames, and certain of the destruction of the whole, I considered I had executed the most important part of my instructions, and should make every preparation for withdrawing the ships, and desired he would do so as soon as possible with his division.

There were awful moments during the conflict, which I cannot now attempt to describe, occasioned by firing the ships so near us, and I had long resisted the eager entreaties of several around me, to make the attempt upon the outer frigate, distant about one hundred yards, which at length I gave into; and major Grossett, by my side, who had been eager to land his corps of miners, pressed me most anxiously for permission to accompany lieutenant Richards in this ship's barge. The frigate was instantly boarded, and in ten minutes in a perfect blaze. A gallant young midshipman, in rocket boat No. 8, although forbidden, was led by his ardent spirit, to follow in support of the barge, in which he was desperately wounded, his brother officer killed, and nine of his crew. The barge, by rowing more rapidly, had suffered less, and lost but two.

The enemy's batteries around my division were about ten o'clock silenced, and in a state of perfect ruin and dilapidation; and the fire of the ships was reserved as much as possible, to save powder, and reply to a few guns now and then bearing upon us, although a fort on the upper angle of the city, on which our guns could not be brought to bear, continued to annoy the ships by shot and shells during the whole time.

Providence at this interval gave to my anxious wishes the usual land wind, common in this bay, and my expectations were completed. We were all hands employed warping and towing off, and by the help of the light air, the whole were under sail, and came to anchor out of reach of shells, about two in the morning, after twelve hours incessant labour.

The flotilla of mortar, gun, and rocket boats, under the direction of their respective artillery officers, shared, to the full extent of their power, in the honours of this day, and performed good service; it was by their fire all the ships in the port (with the exception of the outer frigate) were in flames, which extended rapidly over the whole arsenal, store-houses, and gun-boats, exhibiting a spectacle of awful grandeur and interest no pen can describe.

The sloops of war which had been appropriated to aid and assist the ships of the line, and prepare for their retreat, performed not only that duty well, but embraced every opportunity of firing through the intervals, and were constantly in motion. The shells from the bombs were admirably well thrown by the royal marine artillery; and although thrown directly across and over us, not an accident that I know of occurred to any ship.

The whole was conducted in perfect silence, and such a thing as a cheer I never heard in any part of the line; and that the guns were well worked and directed will be seen for many years to come, and remembered by these barbarians for ever. The conducting this ship to her station, by the masters of the fleet and ship, excited the praise of all. The former has been my companion in arms for more than twenty years. Having thus detailed, although but imperfectly, the progress of this short service, I venture to hope that the humble and devoted services of myself, and the officers and men of every description I have the honour to command, will be received by his royal highness the Prince Regent with his accustomed grace. The approbation of our services by our sovereign, and the good opinion of our country, will, I venture to affirm, be received by us all with the highest satisfaction.

If I attempted to name to their lordships the numerous officers who, in such a conflict, have been at different periods more conspicuous than their companions, I should do injustice to many; and I trust there is no officer in the fleet I have the honour to command, who will doubt the grateful feelings I shall ever cherish for their unbounded and unlimited support. Not an officer nor man confined his exertions within the precise limits of their own duty; all were eager to attempt services, which I found more diffi-

cult to restrain than excite; and nowhere was this feeling more conspicuous than in my own captain, and those officers immediately about my person. My gratitude and thanks are due to all under my command, as well as to vice-admiral Capellan, and the officers of the squadron of his majesty the king of the Netherlands; and I trust they will believe that the recollection of their services will never cease but with my life. In no instance have I seen more energy and zeal, from the youngest midshipman to the highest rank; all seemed animated by one soul, and of which I shall with delight bear testimony to their lordships, whenever that testimony can be useful.

I have confided this dispatch to rear-admiral Milne, my second in command, from whom I have received, during the whole service intrusted to me, the most cordial and honourable support. He is perfectly informed of every transaction of the fleet, from the earliest period of my command, and is fully competent to give their lordships satisfaction on any points which I may have overlooked, or have not time to state. I trust I have obtained from him his esteem and regard, and I regret I had not sooner been known to him.

The necessary papers, together with the defects of the ships, and the return of killed and wounded, accompany this dispatch; and I am happy to say captains Ekins and Coode are doing well, as also the whole of the wounded. By accounts from the shore, I understand the enemy's loss in killed and wounded is between six and seven thousand men.

In recommending my officers and fleet to their lordships' protection and favour, I have the honour to be, &c.

EXMOUTH.

The following letter from a witness of the action was transmitted to the author:

H.M.S. Leander, Motherbank, Sept. 28, 1816.

I must inform you, that this ship anchored at Algiers at the moment the Queen Charlotte did, and both commenced firing together. His highness the dey, it would seem, was deluded by a false confidence in his means of defence, and ignorance of our naval character. He permitted us to take up our position without molestation, intending (it is since confessed) to board us from his flotilla, whilst we were furling sails; thirty-seven boats were all fully manned and prepared for the service; but, to their utter confusion, means had been prepared to clew them up, instead of furling them, so that we began their dreadful havoc and destruction before they could supply the few strokes of the oar which would have brought them along-side our ships. The tremendous broadsides of the Queen Charlotte and Leander pouring upon them instantly sent them to the deep, leaving scarcely a wreck behind, but the harbour covered with people swimming from destruction. The mole was filled with spectators on our entrance, where the terrific broadsides of the Queen Charlotte instantly spread desolation; and as crowds rushed to the great gate for succour and safety, the Leander's guns, which commanded the principal street, there carried death and destruction. Three times were the batteries on the mole cleared, and thrice were they manned again. The dey was everywhere offering pecuniary rewards to those who would stand against us; eight zequins were to be given to every man who would endeavour to extinguish the fire. At length a horde of Arabs were driven into the batteries, under the inspection of the most devoted of the janissaries, and the gates closed upon them. I have never seen men so animated as the Leander's were; the hearty and repeated cheers sent forth on every occasion, when the houses were tumbling about the enemy, not only animated the men on deck, but those who were most severely wounded re-echoed them. The brave captain Chetham, who excited the admiration of the whole fleet, by the noble position he had taken, and the masterly style in which he brought his ship in, was everywhere, and most singularly escaped. Lord Exmouth sent an officer, in the middle of the action, to thank him for his support. 'I shall never forget,' said his lordship to lieutenant Monk, while shaking him by the hand, 'that the Leander was the first ship to volunteer to second me; and had I chosen throughout the

navy, I could not have had a more zealous and able supporter; tell your captain, and all the officers and men, that I shall ever feel grateful to them.' Many of the wounded returned to their quarters after being dressed, and many anecdotes could be related of their devotion to their country. All the passage they had been trained to their guns, and they were seen to take aim and fire as deliberately as if they had been exercising.—Nothing but the most singular interposition of Divine Providence could have saved the ship from total destruction: without a sail to set, the rigging cut to pieces, every spar injured, and the ship a perfect wreck, she was drifting on the rocks, when the wind suddenly veered round, and gave the boats an opportunity of coming to her assistance. The wounded are doing amazingly well; seventy-six brave fellows have been already restored to the service. I believe it is not generally known that our worthy admiral (Milne) received a severe contusion of the thigh by a cannon-shot—he suffered much pain, but his modesty, as conspicuous as his merit, prevented its being mentioned. It may be worthy of remark, that one of our youngsters (a midshipman) was so fatigued, that he slept most soundly for an hour, on the quarter-deck, during the heat of the action. J. M.

Copy of the minutes of the battle of Algiers, from the log-book of his majesty's ship Leander, captain Edward Chetham.

At day-light on the 27th of August 1816, in company with the fleet, observed the city of Algiers bearing W.S.W. About eight *a. m.* light airs, inclining to calm; admiral and squadron in company. Observed a French frigate working out of the bay.—H.M.S. Severn hoisted a flag of truce, and dispatched a boat towards the city. At ten exercised at quarters, and loaded the guns; hoisted out all the boats, and prepared them for service. At noon, the French frigate joined, her captain went on board the commander-in-chief, where he remained a short time, and returned to his ship. Observed the Severn's boat, with the truce, pulling out from the city. At 2. 30. lord Exmouth made the signal-general, "Are you ready?" which was immediately answered, "Ready." He then made the signal for the fleet to bear up—bore up Leander, within her own length of the commander-in-chief, standing in for the mole—beat to quarters—made every preparation for anchoring; observed the enemies batteries crowded with men, and their gun-boats prepared to board. At 2. 40. the boat employed as a truce returned to the Queen Charlotte; clewed up our sails, following the motions of the commander-in-chief, who, at 2. 45. anchored abreast of the mole, and within half-pistol-shot. At 2. 47. Leander anchored in her station, close a-head of the Queen Charlotte, in five fathoms water, when the enemy opened a most tremendous fire, which was instantly returned by the broad-sides of the Queen Charlotte and Leander—the fleet anchoring in the stations assigned them, and opening a vigorous fire. Observed the effect of our fire had totally destroyed the enemy's gun-boats and row galleys, and defeated their intention of boarding. The battle now raged with great fury; officers and men falling very fast, and masts, yards, and rigging, cutting in all directions. At 3, observed the enemy's colours shot away in some of their batteries, which were very soon re-hoisted, and their fire obstinate. At 3. 50. an officer of the Hebrus came from the commander-in-chief, with orders to cease firing, to allow the enemy's frigate moored across the mole to be set on fire, which was done in a gallant style by a boat from the Queen Charlotte. At 3. 55. a vigorous firing was re-commenced on both sides. Our flat boats throwing rockets with good effect, some magazines were observed to explode. At 4. 10. the enemy's frigate burning with great rapidity, and drifting near us, the commander-in-chief sent an officer to direct us to haul out clear of her. At 4. 15. the commander-in-chief made the signal for barges and pinnaces. Sent our boats to Queen Charlotte, under the command of lieutenant Monk.—At 4. 30. lieutenant Monk returned with orders from the commander-in-chief to keep the boats in readiness to assist the Leander. Perceiving the ship on fire to be drifting past us, kept our station. At 6. 30. observed the city on fire in several places, and the mole-head and other batteries near us almost

demolished; the enemy remounting guns, we continuing a smart cannonading. At seven, found the batteries abreast of us to slacken, but were greatly cut up from batteries on the starboard row. Run a hawser to Severn, and hove our broadside to bear on them. At twenty-five minutes past seven, the whole of the enemy's ships on the mole were observed to be on fire—our masts, yards, sails, and rigging, at this period, so entirely cut to pieces, as to prevent us, if necessary, setting a sail on the ship—officers and men falling fast, and a great proportion already killed and wounded; but our fire continued with unabated fury; enemy's fire considerably slackened; ships on fire drifting near us; hauled on our spring fast to Severn, but found it shot away; made it fast again, and cut the small bower, to haul out of the way of the ships on fire. At 9. 45. the fleet hauling and towing out, but from the state of the masts, sails, and rigging, found our own exertions ineffectual to hawl or tow out; our hawser, which was fast to Severn, being gone, and no other ship near us. Lowered the gig, to send lieutenant Saunders (1st lieut.) to inform lord Exmouth of our situation; but the boat was sunk, and the jolly-boat, which that officer and crew then embarked in, was also sunk a short distance from the ship, but the crew were picked up by the flat-boat, and proceeded to the commander-in-chief, who immediately ordered assistance to be sent to the Leander. At 10. 30. cut the stern cables, some boats towing us, also a hawser fast to Severn, with a light air off the shore, which enabled us to move out slowly, and clear the ships on fire. The enemy recommenced a heavy fire of musquetry upon us, and some few large guns at intervals fired grape and canister to dislodge their small-arm men. At 11. 25. the Leander ceased firing, drawing fast out into the bay. Light breezes, and cloudy, with thunder and lightning. At midnight, answered the signal for the fleet to anchor. Light breezes and very dark weather, wind S. W. illumined by the mole, arsenal, and Algerine navy in flames. Anchored with the best bower in 46 fathoms water. At day-light mustered ship's company by ship's books, and found that 16 were killed, and 120 wounded; found our bowsprit, fore, main and mizen-masts very badly wounded, fore and main yards shot away, main and mizen topmasts shot away; main-top-sails, yard, and the standing and running rigging so completely cut up, that we had scarce a rope to make use of; our sails just as bad; employed clearing the wreck. At 9. 30. acting-captain Mitchell came on board from the commander-in-chief, to thank captain Chetham for the admirable position taken up by the Leander, and for her conduct during the conflict."

As soon as the fire of the Algerines was silenced, and their fleet destroyed, lord Exmouth transmitted the following denunciation to the dey:—

His majesty's ship Queen Charlotte, Algiers Bay, Aug. 28, 1816.

Sir—For your atrocities at Bona on defenceless Christians, and your unbecoming disregard to the demands I made yesterday, in the name of the Prince Regent of England, the fleet under my orders has given you a signal chastisement, by the total destruction of your navy, storehouses, and arsenal, with half your batteries.

As England does not war for the destruction of cities, I am unwilling to visit your personal cruelties upon the inoffensive inhabitants of the country, and I therefore offer you the same terms of peace, which I conveyed to you yesterday in my sovereign's name: without the acceptance of these terms you can have no peace with England.

If you receive this offer as you ought, you will fire three guns, and I shall consider your not making this signal as a refusal, and shall renew my operations at my own convenience.

I offer you the above terms, provided neither the British consul, nor the officers and men so wickedly seized by you from the boats of a British ship of war, have met with any cruel treatment, or any of the Christian slaves in your power; and I repeat my demand, that the consul, and officers and men, may be sent off to me, conformable to ancient treaties.

I have, &c. EXMOUTH.

To his highness the dey of Algiers.

The fortunate and glorious results of this sanguinary victory are recorded in the subjoined report:

Queen Charlotte, Algiers Bay, August 30, 1816.

GENERAL MEMORANDUM.

The commander-in-chief is happy to inform the fleet of the final termination of their strenuous exertions, by the signature of peace, confirmed under a salute of twenty-one guns, on the following conditions, dictated by his royal highness the Prince Regent of England:

I. The abolition, for ever, of Christian slavery.

II. The delivery, to my flag, of all slaves in the dominions of the dey, to whatever nation they may belong, at noon to-morrow.

III. To deliver also, to my flag, all money received by him for the redemption of slaves since the commencement of the year, at noon also to-morrow.

IV. Reparation has been made to the British consul for all losses he may have sustained in consequence of his confinement.

V. The dey has made a public apology, in presence of his ministers and officers, and begged pardon of the consul, in terms dictated by the captain of the Queen Charlotte.

The commander-in-chief takes this opportunity of again returning his public thanks to the admirals, captains, officers, seamen, marines, royal marine artillery, royal sappers and miners, and the royal rocket corps, for the noble support he has received from them throughout the whole of this arduous service, and he is pleased to direct, that on Sunday next a public thanksgiving be offered up to Almighty God for the signal interposition of his Divine Providence, during the conflict which took place on the 27th between his majesty's fleet and the ferocious enemies of mankind.

The conclusion of this treaty was of the utmost consequence to the interests of mankind, and peculiarly grateful to the Christian and philanthropist. Slavery, on the northern coast of Africa, and in the Mediterranean, had been reduced to a system; and so unblushingly assumed the mask of religion, that to murder Christians, or to make them slaves, was deemed an act of devotion to God and Mahomet. That regular traffic was now suppressed by the skill, the valour, and the promptitude of the British admiral; and the number of slaves released from bondage, as related in the estimate subjoined, will evince the urgent necessity of this formidable and sanguinary enterprise.

Number of liberated slaves at Algiers.

Neapolitans, Sicilians, and the sons of English fathers and Neapolitan mothers	1,100	
Sardinians and Genoese	62	
Piedmontese	6	
Romans	174	
Tuscans	6	
Spaniards	226	
Portuguese	1	
Greeks	7	
Dutch	28	
English	18	
French	2	
Austrians	2	
		1,642

Liberated at Tunis.

Neapolitans and Sicilians	524	
Sardinians and Genoese	257	
		781

Liberated at Tripoli.

Neapolitans and Sicilians	422	
Sardinians and Genoese	144	
Romans	10	
Hamburghers	4	
		580
Total		3,003

The more we consider the late victory over the Algerines, the more we are inclined to rank it amongst the most splendid of our naval achievements. From a comparison made with our other great naval victories, it appears that, taking into our view the number of men employed in those and in this, the loss in killed and wounded exceeds the proportion in any of them. We take, for instance, the two victories of the 1st of June and Trafalgar, in each of which we had 17,000 men engaged; in the first we had 1,078 killed and wounded, in the second 1,524. In this action we had, including the

Dutch frigates, 6,500 engaged, and the loss in killed and wounded was 863. Some, however, seem unwilling to rank a victory over this piratical power in the first line of our naval achievements. But let us take into our consideration the manner in which this piratical power was prepared; that if the whole extent of its means and population are not to be compared with those of the European powers, yet that all those means, and all its troops and seamen, were assembled and concentrated in one point: and let us contemplate the point in which they were so united. Algiers rises with an awful abruptness above the water's edge to a great height. The batteries are one above another, strongly constructed and fortified. Sweeping from the western extremity is a tongue of land, which defends the entrance into the inner part of the harbour, and also the approach to it. Along the whole of this tongue of land was a range of strong batteries, which ships must pass to take their station near the town, with the view of bombarding it. Our fleet passed along this line. The Impregnable, from getting closer, was exposed not only to the fire of the batteries immediately opposite, but to other batteries rising behind and above them, a circumstance which will account for the enormous loss she sustained. At a distance behind the Impregnable, but parallel with the tongue of land, were our mortar and rocket boats, which were enabled to throw rockets, not only against the batteries immediately in front, but over them to the batteries in the rear. As we ranged along the line, to take our station, the enemy did not fire, either not thinking that we should venture so near the city, or wishing to tempt us as close as possible, to render their fire more destructive. The Queen Charlotte took her station off the extreme point of the tongue, by which she enfiladed the whole line of batteries along it. So near was she, that every person could be distinctly seen, and voices heard from the shore. The most advanced of the Algerine navy was a brig, to which the Queen Charlotte lashed herself; closer in with the shore, in the bosom of the harbour, were two Algerine frigates, and the rest of the Algerine navy behind them. The fury and tremendous nature of the bombardment continued with little intermission from near three till near eleven; the Algerines fighting all the time with the utmost desperation, but yet with great skill and effect. About ten it was deemed advisable to take a larger offing during the night. It was extremely dark; but the darkness was illuminated by a violent storm of lightning, with thunder, which came on suddenly, and by the incessant fire of the batteries.—Nothing, say private letters, could be more grand and awful. A land breeze sprung up about half-past ten, which carried us out of reach of the batteries. The result is known, and never, we repeat, was an expedition crowned with more complete success, or the wishes of the nation more fully satisfied.—We think we have thus stated sufficient reasons for justifying us in classing this amongst the most splendid of our achievements. The power was a piratical one indeed; but his means were great, his valour obstinate, and his science in working the batteries perfectly European. If the power of a small state be so concentrated as to form a post, from which it has hitherto defied, and securely preyed upon the greatest nations, surely the conquest of such a post becomes a first rate triumph in a military point of view, and adds to that beneficial reputation, which hereafter enables the politician to command by a word, without a blow. The fame of an officer must depend not upon the general strength of the state, but upon that of the particular force against which he is successful. Let the service against Algiers be tried by this criterion; let batteries, rising from the water in a triple range, be compared with the frail materials which were laid against them, and this victory, fully considered, will deserve no less admiration than those which have brought more important enemies to our feet.

The influence of this display of British prowess on the regencies of Tunis and Tripoli was decisive and immediate, and was displayed in a singular instance of prompt humanity. Captain G. L. De Haan, of the Hanoverian merchant vessel John Hermann, of Embden, was taken on the 25th of September by a Tripolitan ship of war, which would not respect an English-Hanoverian

flag, and the vessel was taken to Tripoli, with the flag of Hanover hoisted as a trophy half-way up the fore-top gallant mast. The English consul perceiving this insult, ordered the flag to be taken down, went to the bey, and was followed by the captain and the crew. On their united representation they were set at liberty, and several salutes were fired from the Algerine ships when the Hanoverians re-hoisted their flag. The captain of the corsair was seized and bound, and then hung up for more than half an hour, at the same height as he had hung the ensign.

The conduct of the dey of Algiers, though he carefully abstains from any piratical act against England which may justify our resumption of hostilities, indicates the most deliberate spirit of deep revenge. He has lately issued the most positive directions that no supply of any description, eggs in particular, shall be transported from his territories to any of the English possessions in the Mediterranean sea. The trade, which was in former times exclusively in the hands of the English, from Algiers to the various islands, has been transferred to France, a circumstance severely felt by the Maltese merchants. During the attack of the British on Algiers, the captain of a French ship was an idle spectator of the scene, and refused to render assistance or information. The dey was highly gratified by this indication of respect, and seized the opportunity of assuring Louis that he should obtain the advantages from which the English would be, in future, excluded. The French, however, are not content with the enjoyment of the trade, but treat us with ridicule for fighting the battles of the pope and the king of Naples, to the detriment of our merchants. It is indeed too evident, that in the negociations of the British cabinet, these advantages are frequently lost which have been obtained at an enormous expence of blood and treasure. To adopt our own language on the subject of the continental treaties—*having done so much, we ought to have done more*, and have stipulated on good security the continuance of the commercial privileges we formerly enjoyed, and which had been guaranteed by treaty. By the impolitic moderation of our conduct, the trade of the Mediterranean sea is almost destroyed, and another expedition may be required to enforce those stipulations which might have been made, ratified, and secured, before the return of lord Exmouth to England. His lordship durst not act beyond the limits of his instructions; and when a Bathurst officiates for the war and colonies, or a Castlereagh presides in the foreign department, the absence of energy, so conspicuous in the first, and the stipulations of the treaties signed with France in the name of England by the latter, are little calculated to persuade us that subsequent negociations will be concluded with greater foresight and sagacity.

FINIS.

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